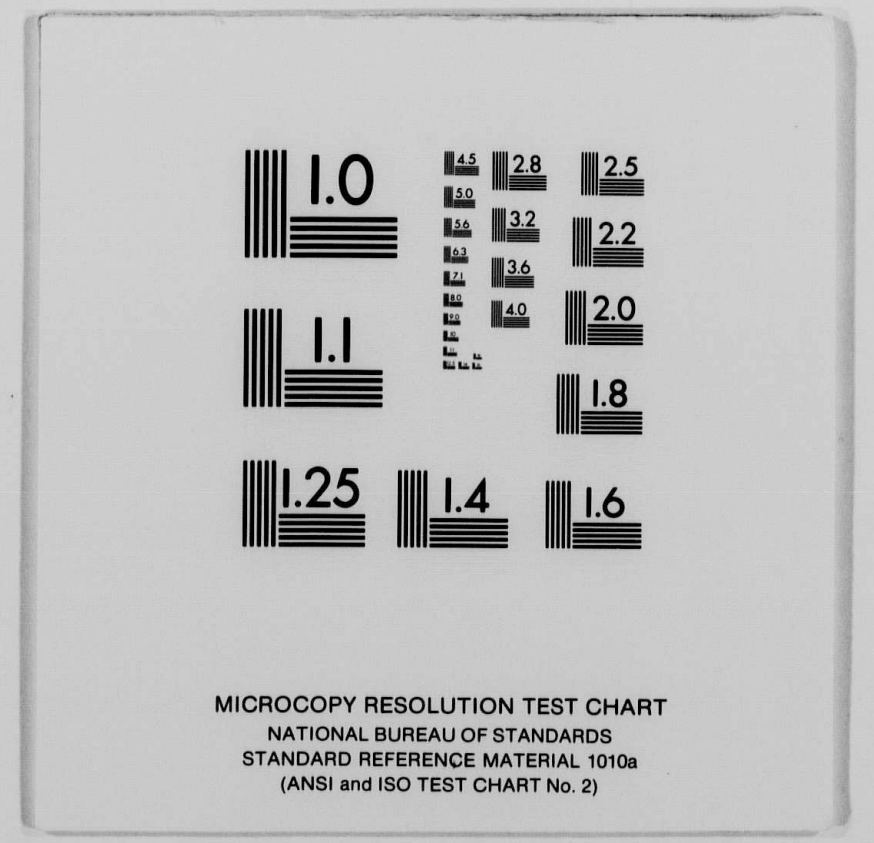
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STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
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MG 26
J

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.

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LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA
BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Mar. 1942	D 42342 - D 42359	
69		The Manpower Problem (National Selective Service). Speeches in Parliament	24 Mar. 1942	D 42360 - D 42398	
69		War Appropriation Bill. Speeches in Parliament	25 Mar. 1942	D 42399 - D 42423	
69		National Security - The Issue in Plebiscite, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 42424 - D 42575	
70		National Security and National Survival, Second Appeal, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	24 April 1942	D 42576 - D 42925	
70		Plebiscite Results. Speeches outside Parliament	27 April 1942	D 42926 - D 42931	
70		Speeches opening Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 42932 - D 42934	
70		Ottawa Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	20 May 1942	D 42935 - D 42955	

236
D 42619

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

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

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

Government Seeks a Free Hand

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

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D 42620

How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

Nature of Restriction upon Government

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

D 42621

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

How Restriction came to be Imposed

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

Importance of National Unity

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every

D 42622

kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of to-day, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe, also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why Plebiscite Necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

D 42623

Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

Canada's War Effort Being Placed in False Light

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out effort on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

The truth, of course, is that our army to-day is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

D 42624

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

Parliament to Safeguard Rights of People

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

National Existence as well as National Freedom Threatened

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity. To a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity.

D 42625

That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

International Situation Exceedingly Critical

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical to-day than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening to-day, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. To-day it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve

D 42626

world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

D 42627

manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

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Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. *It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.*

W. L. Mackenzie King.

D 42629

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

AN APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

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

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 7th, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
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I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

Government Seeks a Free Hand

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The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

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How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

Nature of Restriction upon Government

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

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That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

How Restriction came to be Imposed

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

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Importance of National Unity

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every

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Why Plebiscite Necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

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Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

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Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

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The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question.* The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

Parliament to Safeguard Rights of People

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

National Existence as well as National Freedom Threatened

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity. To a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity.

D 42637

That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

International Situation Exceedingly Critical

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical to-day than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening to-day, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. To-day it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve

world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle. whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

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W. L. Mackenzie King.

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National Unity and National Survival

~~NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE~~

Responsibility to our own and future generations

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~~AN~~ APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

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

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

24th

APRIL ~~7th~~, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

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

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National Unity and National Survival

~~NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE~~

Consulted by the responsibility to our own and future generations

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

April 24th 1942

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

Government Seeks a Free Hand

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

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How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

Nature of Restriction upon Government

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

D 42644

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

How Restriction came to be Imposed

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

Importance of National Unity

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every

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kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of to-day, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe, also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why Plebiscite Necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

D 42646

Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

Canada's War Effort Being Placed in False Light

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out effort on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

The truth, of course, is that our army to-day is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

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The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

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That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

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Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

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manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

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Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

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W. L. Mackenzie King.

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UNE MESURE DE SÉCURITÉ NATIONALE

LA QUESTION DU PLÉBISCITE

LES CHEFS DISENT POURQUOI ET COMMENT VOTER

Discours prononcés par

Le Très Honorable W.-L. MACKENZIE KING
Premier Ministre du Canada

et

L'Honorable P.-J.-A. CARDIN
Ministre des Transports

IRRADIES PAR LE RESEAU FRANCAIS DE RADIO-CANADA
LES 7 ET 9 AVRIL 1942

Publiés par le Service de l'Information, avec l'autorisation de l'Hon. J.-T. Thorson, ministre des Services nationaux de guerre

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
IMPRIMEUR DE SA TRES EXCELLENTE MAJESTE LE ROI
1942

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LA QUESTION DU PLÉBISCITE

DISCOURS DU

Très Honorable W.-L. MACKENZIE KING
Premier Ministre du Canada

LE 7 AVRIL 1942

Je désire vous parler ce soir, compatriotes canadiens, sur un sujet qui, en ce temps de guerre, est de première importance, tant au point de vue de la situation actuelle du pays qu'à celui de sa sécurité future; sur un sujet qui par conséquent touche de près les foyers et l'existence de tous.

Lundi, le 27 du présent mois, vous serez priés de donner au gouvernement une entière liberté d'action pour l'accomplissement de son devoir dans la poursuite de la guerre. Cela peut vous paraître une étrange demande. Ce qui peut paraître plus étrange encore, c'est que cette requête soit faite en temps de guerre. Nous reconnaissons tous, je le crois, qu'un gouvernement a plus besoin de liberté d'action en temps de guerre qu'en temps de paix. Pourquoi alors, demanderez-vous, le gouvernement vient-il, en ce temps de guerre, nous demander entière liberté d'action?

La réponse n'est pas, comme vous pourriez le supposer, que le gouvernement ne possède pas tous les pouvoirs constitutionnels qu'il lui faut pour la conduite de la guerre. Le gouvernement n'a les mains liées ni par la loi ni par la constitution. Il a reçu du Parlement des pouvoirs bien plus vastes pour le temps de la guerre que ceux dont il dispose en temps de paix. Il est important que vous compreniez qu'aujourd'hui, de par les pouvoirs juridiques qu'il possède, le gouvernement est absolument libre de prendre toute mesure quelconque qui sera approuvée par la majorité des membres du Parlement. Ce pouvoir du gouvernement fédéral subsistera jusqu'à la fin de la guerre.

Puisqu'il en est ainsi comment le gouvernement a-t-il les mains liées, me demandera-t-on? Quel est ce lien? Quelle est la restriction qu'il cherche à faire disparaître? Pourquoi cette restriction a-t-elle été imposée? Pourquoi le gouvernement et le Parlement ne prennent-ils pas eux-mêmes la responsabilité de régler cette question sans recourir à un plébiscite? Pourquoi, après deux ans et demi de guerre, la suppression de cette restriction est-elle devenue nécessaire?

On s'est maintes fois posé ces questions depuis que le gouvernement a annoncé son intention de vous demander de le libérer de ses engagements. Cela est tout naturel. Ce sont des questions au sujet desquelles vous comptez recevoir une réponse satisfaisante.

Si la possession du pouvoir était seule à entrer en ligne de compte dans les relations qui existent entre le peuple et le gouvernment, ce dernier aurait, bien entendu, une entière liberté d'action. C'est ce qui arrive sous un régime de dictature, où l'on ne tient aucun compte de la volonté du peuple. C'est d'après ce principe que les dictateurs nazi, italien et japonais agissent aujourd'hui.

Toutefois, sous un régime démocratique, ce qui importe tout autant que la possession du pouvoir, c'est que ce pouvoir s'exerce conformément à la volonté du peuple.

Un engagement sur la conduite de la guerre

Une promesse formelle faite au peuple par ceux qui occupent des positions représentatives et responsables leur crée l'obligation d'agir en conformité de telle promesse jusqu'à ce que le peuple ait été de nouveau consulté. Même si la loi n'y contraint pas, l'obligation n'en reste pas moins sacrée.

Certaines gens, je le sais, font peu de cas de ce qu'ils appellent des "promesses d'élections." On admettra généralement, je pense, qu'il existe une distinction marquée entre un programme politique et une promesse ou un engagement réel et précis. Les circonstances peuvent faire qu'un gouvernement, sans manquer à ses engagements, ne réalise pas à la lettre son programme tout entier. Aucune éventualité ne saurait, toutefois, justifier un gouvernement de passer outre à un engagement formel envers le peuple, à moins que la sécurité nationale ne se trouve en jeu de façon immédiate et que toute consultation populaire ne soit impossible.

L'engagement dont le gouvernement actuel demande d'être libéré ne se rattache pas à un programme politique ordinaire. L'engagement ainsi pris porte formellement sur la conduite de la guerre actuelle. Et le gouvernement et l'opposition ont pris cet engagement avant comme après l'ouverture des hostilités et aucun parti politique ne s'y est opposé alors. C'est à la lumière de cet engagement que la Chambre actuelle des Communes a été élue.

Cet engagement, on le sait, était de ne pas recourir à la conscription comme moyen de lever des hommes pour le service militaire outre-mer. En d'autres termes, de recourir au volontariat comme méthode de recrutement pour le service outre-mer.

Cette promesse restreint aujourd'hui la liberté d'action du gouvernement. L'entrave, je le répète, n'est pas d'ordre légal mais il s'agit d'une obligation morale et, inutile de l'ajouter, des plus sacrées. C'est la seule restriction que connaisse le gouvernement dans l'exercice de ses pleins pouvoirs.

Vous vous demandez pourquoi cette restriction a été imposée et pourquoi cette promesse a été faite. Plusieurs se diront: "Le gouvernement devait certainement savoir qu'il lui faudrait jouir d'une pleine liberté d'action en temps de guerre. Pourquoi alors a-t-il pris cet engagement qui l'empêche d'agir?" La réponse est bien simple.

Ce qui s'est passé en 1917

Cet engagement de ne pas imposer la conscription, tout le monde le sait, a été pris à la lumière de ce qui s'est passé au Canada lors de la dernière guerre. Les méthodes auxquelles on a eu recours pour faire adopter et appliquer la conscription ont donné lieu à d'amères rancoeurs. Les événements ont prouvé, du reste, qu'au point de vue militaire la conscription n'a donné, lors de la dernière guerre, que des résultats insignifiants, sinon entièrement nuls.

Avant la guerre, et aussi dès le début des hostilités, les Canadiens, comme les habitants de la plupart des autres pays, ont continué à se faire du présent conflit l'idée qu'ils avaient gardée du dernier. Ils jugeaient la situation outre-mer

d'après leurs souvenirs de 1914 à 1918. Quant à la situation au Canada, elle leur rappelait la désunion qui a suivi l'adoption de la conscription. Pour eux, le présent conflit était tout simplement une autre guerre européenne. Ils ne pensaient certainement pas qu'elle allait mettre en péril toutes les nations de la terre. Les Canadiens étaient bien loin de s'imaginer qu'au cours du présent conflit le Canada pourrait devenir l'enjeu le plus convoité de la guerre.

Si l'on a pris l'engagement de ne pas imposer la conscription pour le service outre-mer, ce fut afin de sauvegarder l'unité du pays. Sans cette assurance, je ne crois pas que le parlement eut approuvé avec la même spontanéité et le même enthousiasme l'entrée du Canada en guerre. C'est la confiance du peuple dans la parole du gouvernement qui a soutenu l'unité nationale.

Ne perdons jamais de vue l'importance de l'unité nationale. Je suis convaincu que l'unité des citoyens contribue plus à l'heureuse issue d'un effort de guerre national que la plupart des autres éléments réunis. "Tout royaume divisé contre lui-même périra et toute maison divisée contre elle-même croulera."

La limitation du pouvoir de l'Etat, indispensable au début pour préserver l'unité nationale, a servi cette fin jusqu'à ces derniers temps. Mais elle constitue, depuis quelques mois, un thème de controverse et une menace à l'unité. Vous savez parfaitement bien que la préservation de l'unité canadienne a toujours été l'une de mes aspirations politiques les plus chères. Je dois dire que la situation n'est plus la même et que, le Canada ayant, depuis deux ans et demi, joué dans la guerre le rôle que l'on sait, je ne vois plus en quoi on risquerait d'entamer notre unité en faisant disparaître cette restriction. J'ai au contraire, la ferme conviction qu'on contribuera de la sorte à étouffer les germes d'irritation et de désunion qui se font jour dans notre pays.

Faire disparaître un malentendu

Cela contribuera aussi, je le crois, à faire disparaître une cause de malentendu dans les autres pays qui se sont joints au Canada dans un effort commun pour la sauvegarde de la liberté dans le monde.

Je veux maintenant répondre à ceux qui demandent pourquoi le gouvernement et le parlement n'ont pas pris la responsabilité de régler cette question sans recourir à un plébiscite.

La réponse est bien simple. Si le gouvernement avait décidé que, vu le changement des circonstances, il ne se considérait lié par aucun engagement, on aurait immédiatement dit qu'il avait violé le plus sacré des engagements qu'il eût jamais pris.

On aurait certainement dit qu'avant de prendre une telle décision nous aurions dû soumettre la question au peuple dans des élection générales ou au moyen d'un referendum ou encore, comme nous le faisons, par voie de plébiscite, et demander d'être libérés de tous engagements antérieurs. On aurait dit que nous n'étions pas meilleurs que les nazis, que nous avions cessé de tenir compte de la volonté du peuple et que nous comptions désormais sur la force pour appliquer des mesures absolument opposées à celles que nous avions préconisées pour arriver au pouvoir. S'imagine-t-on que le gouvernement aurait pu garder la confiance du parlement s'il avait tenté de faire une telle chose? Si le gouvernement avait fait fi de ses promesses, cela aurait, je le crois, contribué à faire

D 42656

disparaître toute confiance non seulement dans le gouvernement mais aussi dans les institutions démocratiques.

Loin de faciliter l'accomplissement d'un effort de guerre total, un tel manque de parole aurait, je crois, rendu notre oeuvre moins efficace par suite de la désunion qui en serait résultée. En agissant d'une façon aussi arbitraire, nous aurions risqué de détruire l'unité nationale sur laquelle est fondé notre effort de guerre.

A aucune époque de l'histoire n'a-t-il été aussi nécessaire qu'aujourd'hui de préserver ce qui reste de foi dans les institutions démocratiques. L'état de bouleversement dans lequel le monde se trouve aujourd'hui est en grande partie attribuable à la violation de la parole donnée. L'Allemagne nazie a érigé en principe directeur la mauvaise foi et la violation des traités. Cette mauvaise foi et ce manquement à la parole donnée, de même que le mépris de la volonté du peuple, sont les forces contre lesquelles le Canada lutte aujourd'hui.

On me dira peut-être qu'il n'est venu à l'idée de personne que le gouvernement agirait aussi arbitrairement. Le gouvernement aurait dû, prétend-on, demander aux membres du parlement de le libérer de ses engagements. Cette libération lui aurait, dit-on, été accordée immédiatement. Est-ce bien sûr?

Pourquoi c'est nécessaire

De fait, j'ai la certitude qu'elle n'aurait pas été accordée. Et cela pour une raison bien simple; et c'est que la plupart des membres du parlement se seraient considérés comme liés par les engagements pris antérieurement, au même titre que les membres du gouvernement.

Et ceci m'amène à la dernière des questions auxquelles vous attendez une réponse: "Pourquoi, après deux années et demie de guerre, est-il devenu nécessaire de faire disparaître la restriction?"

Je répondrai d'abord que la restriction est interprétée comme une entrave à la poursuite de l'effort total de guerre de la part du Canada. On ne se demande pas si la conscription pour le service outre-mer peut ou non aider à l'effort total du Canada; on laisse entendre que l'impuissance du gouvernement à en considérer l'adoption pose des limites à l'effort de guerre du Canada.

De fait, les effectifs de notre armée sont tout aussi nombreux qu'ils le seraient sous un régime de conscription pour le service outre-mer. Le fait de ne pas avoir imposé la conscription n'a en rien limité notre effort de guerre. Mais le fait de ne pas posséder le pouvoir de l'imposer a placé cet effort sous un jour tout à fait faux devant les Canadiens et, ce qui est plus grave, devant nos alliés. Autrement dit, on a fait de la conscription le symbole d'un effort total, quoi que fasse par ailleurs le Canada pour assurer la victoire.

La question en jeu aujourd'hui n'est pas celle de la conscription. Il s'agit d'établir si le gouvernement doit ou s'il ne doit pas être libre de décider lui-même la question, en tenant compte de tous les facteurs d'intérêt national. Le gouvernement ne vous demande pas s'il y a lieu ou non d'adopter la conscription. Il vous invite à lui laisser ainsi qu'au parlement, la responsabilité de prendre cette décision et de juger, en toute liberté, cette question à son mérite.

D42657

Le Parlement décidera

La question de la conscription, envisagée comme elle doit l'être, est une question d'ordre militaire. C'est au parlement qu'elle doit être discutée. Ce que le gouvernement demande aujourd'hui pour lui-même et le parlement, c'est la liberté d'étudier et de discuter cette question, comme toutes celles qui ont trait à la guerre, sans être lié par aucun engagement et en ne tenant compte que de la sécurité nationale.

Une partie de nos armées devrait demeurer au Canada pour nous protéger contre toute attaque; une partie de nos troupes devrait se rendre outre-mer afin de participer à la défaite de l'ennemi et l'empêcher ainsi d'attaquer le Canada. Les deux tâches sont pareillement essentielles à notre sécurité. Quiconque vous dit qu'une seule est nécessaire vous trompe. Le gouvernement, grâce aux renseignements qu'il est seul à posséder, est en mesure de décider où les armées canadiennes peuvent le plus avantageusement défendre le Canada et aider à vaincre l'Allemagne et le Japon, ou quelles méthodes pourraient le mieux aider à lever les troupes nécessaires. Nous ne demandons pas à la population de prendre la décision. Nous croyons le problème si important que le gouvernement et le parlement devraient avoir liberté absolue de juger chaque question exclusivement à son mérite.

Le peuple canadien n'hésitera pas à faire tout ce qu'il juge nécessaire pour la sauvegarde de sa liberté. Il n'hésitera sûrement pas à prendre toutes les mesures voulues pour préserver son existence nationale, mais avant d'agir, il tiendra à savoir, comme c'est son droit, qu'il y a lieu d'agir et ce d'autant plus qu'il est question d'une mesure qui a déjà été cause de violentes controverses et une source de désunion.

Le seul endroit où l'on puisse décider convenablement de la nécessité d'une mesure ou d'une initiative quelconque est le parlement. Au Parlement, le gouvernement peut exposer sa politique et fournir les renseignements qui seuls permettront d'en arriver à une décision sage.

Si, en ce moment critique entre tous, vous ne voulez pas faire confiance au gouvernement et à votre parlement et croire qu'ils ne feront que ce qui est entièrement dans l'intérêt du pays, en qui ou en quoi mettrez-vous votre confiance? C'est la question que je voudrais que tous les Canadiens des deux sexes se posent en répondant "oui" ou "non" à la question qui leur sera soumise le 27 de ce mois.

L'existence de la nation en jeu

Il est toutefois un motif plus noble et plus impérieux de libérer le gouvernement de la restriction qui pèse sur lui. Et je vous prie de bien noter ceci. Pour une nation, il y a un idéal supérieur encore à celui du maintien de son unité: c'est celui du maintien de son existence. En effet, pour quiconque, par-delà les événements de l'heure, peut sonder l'avenir, ce n'est plus seulement l'unité, c'est l'existence même de notre pays, en tant que nation libre, qui se trouve aujourd'hui menacée. Nous ne sommes plus de ce monde où même la plus puissante des nations puisse compter échapper par ses seuls moyens à l'ambition et à la cupidité des peuples agresseurs. Pour sauvegarder son existence, chaque pays libre aura besoin de tout l'appui que peuvent lui apporter les autres pays libres.

D 42658

Ce n'est que par la plus entière coopération entre elles que les nations libres pourront éviter de devenir, l'une après l'autre, victimes des peuples de brigands qui, à n'en pas douter, ambitionnent la domination mondiale.

A cause de l'immensité de son territoire, de la richesse de ses ressources et du petit nombre de ses habitants, notre pays risque d'avoir un plus grand besoin de l'assistance d'autrui que toute autre nation de l'univers. Si nous ne continuons d'appuyer de notre mieux les autres pays, nous n'aurons pas le droit de compter sur leur concours le plus entier. Tant que la marche victorieuse de l'ennemi ne se sera pas changée en une défaite écrasante, nul pays, et le Canada moins que tout autre, ne pourra se sentir en sécurité.

Je n'ai jamais voulu, et je ne voudrais pour rien au monde, me montrer alarmiste. Je faillirais cependant à la confiance que la population canadienne a placée en moi, si je m'abstenais de déclarer que pour les nations libres la situation est en ce moment plus critique que jamais.

Le Canada ne fait nullement exception. Voyez ce qui s'est passé en ces deux années et demie de guerre, voyez ce qui se passe aujourd'hui, et demandez-vous s'il est possible de penser autrement. Presque toute l'Europe continentale, à l'exception de la Russie, est sous la domination de l'Allemagne et se voit contrainte de servir les besoins de guerre de celle-ci. Bien que la Russie mène magnifiquement la lutte et ait repris du terrain, une importante fraction de son territoire en Europe est encore aux mains allemandes. Qui peut prédire l'issue du conflit russo-allemand?

La situation militaire est critique

Dans le Moyen Orient et l'Afrique, la situation est aussi des plus critiques. En Asie et dans le Pacifique, le Japon est installé dans une grande partie de la Chine et s'est emparé de la plupart des forteresses et des territoires stratégiques de la Hollande, de la France, de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis.

Sur le Pacifique même, les hordes japonaises, telles une marée, ont balayé des millions de milles d'océan. Il y a à peine quelques semaines, elles se portaient à l'assaut et envahissaient Hong-Kong, Singapour et les Indes néerlandaises; un peu plus tard, elles attaquaient la Birmanie et l'Australie et menaçaient la Nouvelle-Zélande. Aujourd'hui, c'est au tour de Ceylan et de l'Inde. Qui sait où s'arrêtera cette vague d'invasion? Les forces maritimes et terrestres n'ont pas réussi à ralentir la marche victorieuse de l'Allemagne et du Japon. Il devient de plus en plus évident que ces deux pays tenteront, en 1942, leur effort suprême de domination universelle. A l'heure actuelle, ils s'efforcent d'effectuer la jonction de leurs armées de façon à commander les lignes stratégiques de communication de tout l'hémisphère oriental.

De toutes les nations du Commonwealth britannique, seuls le Canada et le Sud-Africain ne sont pas directement exposés à une attaque.

Quelqu'un s'imagine-t-il que si les pays agresseurs triomphaient dans les zones actuelles de bataille, ils ne s'attaqueraient pas à l'hémisphère occidental? Y a-t-il une personne assez aveugle pour croire qu'ils n'ont pas déjà jeté des regards de convoitise sur le vaste territoire et les immenses ressources du Dominion? Au large de nos propres côtes de l'Atlantique et de celles des Etats-Unis, les sous-marins ennemis détruisent les navires de commerce d'une façon

D 42659

alarmante. Il y a tout lieu de penser que l'Allemagne espère bloquer, d'ici quelques mois, au moyen d'une grande offensive navale dans l'Atlantique, les routes maritimes entre l'Amérique du Nord et la Grande-Bretagne, et paralyser les flottes marchandes de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis.

Le Japon a le même dessein dans le Pacifique. Ces offensives peuvent se déclencher n'importe quand. Une chose est absolument sûre: Si on ne tient pas l'ennemi en échec sur les océans et si on ne le vainc pas de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique et du Pacifique, les batailles finales du conflit mondial auront lieu dans les eaux territoriales et sur le sol du Canada et des Etats-Unis.

Tel est sûrement le plus impérieux motif qui doit inciter le Canada et les Etats-Unis à tout faire pour aider les autres nations alliées à combattre l'ennemi et à le vaincre là où il se trouve aujourd'hui. Nous ne pouvons défendre notre pays et sauver nos foyers et nos familles en attendant chez nous que l'ennemi nous attaque.

Nous nous battons pour défendre le Canada

Tous les pays qui, dans le présent conflit, sont restés en arrière de leurs ouvrages de défense ont été tôt ou tard attaqués. Rester sur la défensive, c'est prendre le moyen le plus sûr d'attirer la guerre au Canada. Il va de soi que nous devons veiller à notre défense, protéger nos côtes, fortifier nos ports et nos villes contre les attaques, mais nous devons aussi accepter pleinement notre part du combat, nous porter au devant de l'ennemi avant qu'il atteigne nos rives, le battre, si c'est possible, avant qu'il nous attaque, avant que nos villes soient en ruine et avant que les femmes et les enfants soient blessés ou tués dans nos rues et nos maisons.

Il est regrettable que tant de gens en soient venus à penser que l'effort de guerre du Canada est tout simplement de l'aide à d'autres pays. En réalité, c'est beaucoup plus que cela. Tout marin, tout soldat, tout aviateur des forces canadiennes, où qu'ils servent; tout navire, tout canon, tout avion que nous fabriquons, quelles que soient les armées qui les utilisent; les vivres que nous fournissons à nos alliés, tout cela peut constituer de l'aide aux autre pays contre un ennemi commun, mais tout cela contribue aussi à la défense du Canada. Ne vous laissez pas dire que notre pays s'emploie dans cette guerre-ci à soutenir quelque but impérial égoïste. C'est faux. Nous luttons pour la préservation de notre liberté et de notre existence nationale, pour la défense de nos foyers et de nos familles, contre un ennemi qui s'approche toujours davantage de nous.

Nous ferions bien de nous rappeler que le seul moyen de nous défendre contre les ambitions déprédatrices de l'Allemagne et du Japon est de les combattre sur la première ligne de feu, sur terre, sur mer ou dans les airs.

Voici l'une des plus fortes raisons qui nous engagent à ne laisser à personne l'occasion de dire que, par suite d'une restriction imposée au gouvernement dans l'exercice de tous ses pouvoirs, notre effort de guerre n'est pas porté au maximum. Si jamais, chose fort possible dans un avenir prochain, le Canada se trouvait attaqué et que nous ayions besoin du secours des Etats-Unis ou de la Grande-Bretagne ou de quelque autre des nations unies, quel sentiment éprouverions-nous à la pensée que certaines restrictions empêchent leurs gouvernements de venir à notre aide? Nous ferions bien, il me semble, de ne laisser naître aucun

D 42660

doute dans les autres pays sur notre volonté de faire toute notre part dans la lutte commune que nous livrons.

Les agressions se sont succédé avec tant de rapidité dans tant de pays divers que personne ne peut prédire sur quel terrain la guerre va se propager l'an prochain, le mois prochain ou la semaine prochaine. Le danger nous menace, à l'est comme à l'ouest. C'est en face de ce péril que le gouvernement vous demande, pour la défense de notre liberté, de lui donner entière liberté d'action.

DISCOURS DE

L'Honorable P.-J.-A. CARDIN

Ministre des Transports

LE 9 AVRIL 1942

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Dans les quelques minutes qui vont suivre, je voudrais bien jeter un peu de lumière dans le noir où s'énerve hélas, en ce moment, la pensée canadienne.

Je ne veux pas être injuste ni non plus entreprendre, pour l'instant, une discussion avec ceux qui ont déjà pris position et exprimé des opinions opposées à la mienne sur la vitale question du plébiscite. Mais, tout en admettant qu'on a pu être de bonne foi, je puis dire que plusieurs aspects de la question ne vous ont pas été présentés; et, ce qui est plus sérieux, on ne vous a pas indiqué les conséquences graves qui peuvent découler de votre décision. Il se peut fort bien, en effet, que le vote qu'on vous a engagé à donner vous apporte exactement le contraire de ce que vous recherchez.

La vérité c'est un diamant. Il faut creuser la terre pour trouver cette pierre précieuse. Ainsi la vérité ne se trouve pas sans effort, sans recherche, sans réflexion. L'expérience de la vie nous apprend à nous défier des conclusions faciles comme des *brillants* qu'on achète pour cinq sous dans un magasin de cinq, dix, quinze.

Le vrai diamant a plus de prix, parce qu'il est plus rare et qu'il en coûte plus pour le découvrir. La vérité se distingue des choses trop simples en apparence, parce qu'elle coûte plus cher en effort, en travail et en réflexion.

Tout paraît simple à l'enfant qui ne peut réfléchir. Il ne connaît que le désir; il croit qu'il suffit de demander et que personne ne peut oser lui refuser ce qu'il réclame comme un droit, un privilège, un avantage. Mais quand la vie nous a piqués de ses épines, on sait qu'à côté des droits, il y a les obligations et les devoirs.

C'est dans l'examen de tout cela et en creusant son esprit par la réflexion et en puisant dans son expérience, qu'un Canadien, conscient de ses obligations et de ses devoirs, doit chercher la vérité, cette clarté qui doit le guider dans les actions qui peuvent influencer l'avenir de son pays.

D 42661

Ce soir, je voudrais, dans un langage bien simple et avec une sincérité qui console ma conscience, vous indiquer quelques points qui doivent retenir votre attention dans le travail de recherche de la voie que vous devrez suivre le vingt-sept de ce mois.

Je n'aime pas, croyez-le, me trouver dans la situation qui nous est faite par les événements qui ébranlent en ce moment l'organisme politique, religieux, national et social du monde civilisé. J'aimerais mieux pouvoir vous dire des choses plaisantes, des choses qui peuvent flatter vos sentiments, vous faire sourire. Hélas! je ne le puis point.

Chargé de vous représenter dans le gouvernement de mon pays, je n'ai pas le droit de vous berner ni de vous engager à fermer les yeux à la réalité. Je serais un misérable ou indigne de confiance, si je ne venais pas vous indiquer la direction qu'à mon sens vous devez suivre, et vous montrer les dangers qui vous menacent individuellement, comme ils menacent le Canada dans son unité et dans son effort commun de survivance.

Avec vous tous, mes compatriotes, je veux essayer de rechercher, dans les inquiétudes et les incertitudes qui remplissent notre vie, la lumière de vérité. Les étoiles, qui sont des sujets de rêve, pâlissent et s'éteignent quand s'allume la grande lumière du jour. Ainsi, je voudrais que dans mon pays et dans ma province en particulier, la vérité puisse, de sa nette clarté, éteindre, en partie au moins, la trompeuse et fumante flamme des préjugés, de l'agitation et de l'excitation. Cette flamme n'est-elle pas hélas! toujours alimentée par l'insuffisance de réflexion, de raisonnement, aussi bien que par l'ignorance des faits? N'avons-nous pas payé assez cher, depuis quelques années, notre refus de reconnaître et d'admettre les réalités de notre situation minoritaire en ce pays, sur ce continent américain où la Providence nous a placés?

Je sens la question qui brûle vos lèvres en ce moment: que faut-il faire? que nous suggérez-vous, vous qui nous représentez au sein du gouvernement et qui savez ce qui se passe?

Canadiens, répondez OUI

Ici, je voudrais comme empoigner votre âme pour l'unir à la mienne, afin d'être mieux entendu et compris. Canadiens de partout, Canadiens de Québec surtout, répondez *oui* à la question du plébiscite. Vous m'entendez bien, n'est-ce pas? Répondez *oui;* cela sans hésiter et avec confiance.

Voilà ce que je demande surtout aux miens de faire en cette heure de péril où se serre d'angoisse le coeur de tous ceux qui connaissent à fond la situation, comme nous pouvons la connaître ici au sein du gouvernement, et qui peuvent la comprendre.

Vous le voyez, je ne recherche point un triomphe facile, ni des acclamations. Ceux qui sont prêts à tomber pour une cause juste, n'escomptent pas cela. —Ceux qui vous font du bien ne sont pas toujours, non plus, ceux qui vous flattent et disent seulement ce que vous aimez entendre. Ceux qui vous sont utiles sont ceux qui n'ont pas peur de vous dire toute la vérité, même si elle n'est pas pour l'instant très plaisante; les hommes qui méritent confiance sont ceux qui regardent plus loin que le moment passager d'un succès facile et qui, pour vous, songent à demain. Sous la poussée d'une agitation, ils peuvent tomber;

D 42662

on peut leur enlever le pouvoir pour un temps. Cela s'est vu dans l'histoire politique de notre pays et il n'y a pas bien des années: les gens de ma génération s'en souviennent. Mais, après avoir souffert, on sent le besoin de les relever. C'est quand l'arbre est abattu qu'on voit mieux la place importante qu'il occupait dans la forêt!

Les hommes tombent et passent, mais la vérité, la logique, le bon sens, la sagesse ne passent pas.

Oh! je sais bien qu'on m'attribuera toutes sortes de motifs et qu'on me chargera d'accusations. Que m'importe ce qu'on dira?—J'ai le sentiment de faire mon devoir. Après la très sérieuse maladie qui m'a, pendant des mois, terrassé, j'aurais pu trouver une excuse facile dans un repos que la science médicale suggérait. Mais non, je suis revenu plus tôt à mes obligations ici à Ottawa, et j'y suis demeuré.

Après bien des discussions et surtout après avoir bien réfléchi à la lumière des faits que, nous, du gouvernement, nous possédons, j'ai approuvé la politique de monsieur King et je vous demande de l'accepter généreusement aussi. Je veux garder ce vrai Canadien à la tête du pays, même en dépit des efforts de ceux qui, ne paraissant pas savoir ce qu'ils font, aident les gens qui veulent son départ. On répète qu'il faut garder le chef, mais on rejette son évangile! N'est-ce point singulier?—Que vaut un chef d'Etat dans son pays si le peuple rejette sa politique? Que vaut-il comme force directrice, ce chef d'Etat, s'il est abandonné par ceux qu'il a servis et veut encore servir?

Que de changements depuis le début de la guerre!

On m'accusera, sans doute, d'une modification d'attitude. Je n'ai pas le temps de répondre à tout cela. Mais qu'il me suffise, pour l'instant, de dire à ces gens dont je ne discute pas la bonne foi: Arrêtez un moment votre imagination; rappelez à votre mémoire ce qui s'est passé dans le monde depuis le commencement de cette guerre épouvantable; ouvrez les journaux où vous savez bien qu'on rapporte seulement une partie des faits; regardez la carte géographique du monde et notez les changements que l'ennemi a imposés; voyez le nombre de pays qui ont déjà perdu la guerre et leurs libertés et où l'on meurt de faim; comptez les royaumes qui n'existent plus depuis deux ans, observez les empires chancelants; écoutez le bruit du canon qui éclate à quelques milles de nos côtes; songez que les Etats-Unis ont déjà perdu plusieurs de leurs points d'appui et une partie de leur marine de guerre; remarquez que ce grand pays se prépare à construire, pour sa défense, et la nôtre en définitive, un chemin militaire jusqu'en Alaska où l'on craint une attaque par les Japonais, et dites-moi si, au dedans de vous-mêmes, vous n'entendez pas la voix de votre raison vous répéter, avec une tristesse accrue par les menaces présentes, que bien des choses ont changé dans le monde depuis le début de la guerre, et partout sur la terre, des situations nouvelles prévalent dans tous les pays qui ont à jouer un rôle—volontaire ou imposé par les événements—dans ce cataclysme universel.

La défense du Canada

Mais on dit: Occupons-nous de défendre le Canada!—Eh! oui, on croirait qu'il n'y a que ces braves gens qui ont pensé au Canada! Si monsieur King demande aux électeurs d'être libéré, lui et son gouvernement, de certains engage-

D 42663

ments, ce n'est pas assurément parce qu'il veut oublier la défense de son pays. Quand il recherche une certaine liberté d'action, ou plutôt une liberté de discussion et d'étude pour, ensuite, soumettre un programme aux députés, de grâce, n'allons pas lui faire l'injure de dire ou d'insinuer qu'il ne connaît pas les besoins du Canada ou qu'il ne comprend pas, lui, qu'il est aussi nécessaire d'assurer dans la mesure du possible la défense du territoire!

Avant la guerre, en 1935, il proposait de moderniser notre défense et, pour cela, il voulait augmenter les crédits militaires. Qui l'a critiqué alors?—Ceux qui, dans le pays, parlent le plus de la défense du Canada!

Mais, sans doute, que le gouvernement a songé et songe à la défense du Canada. Nous y avons pourvu déjà, et nous l'augmentons. Mais, on ne peut exiger que nous en publiions les détails par tout le monde. Ce serait insensé.

Si vous dégagez monsieur King et le gouvernement de ses engagements,—et vous devez le faire, je vous en supplie, vous surtout, Canadiens de chez nous—cela ne veut pas dire que la défense du Canada sera abandonnée.

On dit encore: Attendons pour défendre chez nous!—Oui, certains pays ont aveuglément attendu ainsi. Et avec quel résultat? C'est l'esclavage, la ruine, la faim, la mort, qu'ils ont recueillis.

Et puis, quand même on aurait gardé tous nos soldats ici, nous n'aurions pas pu résister victorieusement à une attaque sérieuse d'un ennemi puissant. Sommes-nous plus forts que la pauvre France? Les forces que nous combattons sont si grandes qu'il faut les efforts combinés de tous les peuples qui croient, comme nous, en la civilisation chrétienne, et en notre démocratie pour arrêter le flot envahisseur de l'ennemi commun de notre idéal de vie.

Si l'Angleterre était déjà tombée—elle le serait peut-être sans les sacrifices héroïques des peuples et sans les secours venus d'un peu partout—et si sa flotte était passée, même en partie, sous le contrôle allemand, combien longtemps aurions-nous résisté à l'attaque? Et c'est chez nous que les ravages de la guerre auraient laissé, avec la mort de milliers des nôtres, femmes et enfants, des ruines fumantes à la place de nos villes et de nos industries.

Au Canada, il convient de coordonner nos forçes et nos activités afin de pouvoir fournir en armes, en produits agricoles, en instruments de guerre et en hommes, ce que nous croyons devoir offrir comme notre contribution à la sauvegarde de notre idéal de vie.

Faites confiance au gouvernement de monsieur King qui a jusqu'ici, malgré les critiques, fait noblement son devoir. Sous sa direction, notre effort de guerre a, jusqu'ici, provoqué l'admiration de nos alliés et gêné le mouvement de l'ennemi de l'humanité.

La question de la conscription n'est pas en jeu

Le plébiscite ne vous demande pas d'approuver ou de désapprouver la conscription. Vous ne voterez pas pour ou contre la conscription. Vous voterez pour donner ou refuser à monsieur King et à ses ministres, dans les heures tragiques que nous traversons, une autorité, une liberté semblable à celle que possèdent déjà les autres chefs d'Etat pour l'organisation méthodique, logique et libre de l'effort de guerre commun. Si, plus tard, les circonstances exigeaient que la question de l'enrôlement forcé pour service outre-mer soit considérée, monsieur

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King voudrait être libre de l'étudier afin de pouvoir soumettre le sujet au Parlement. Là, et alors seulement, on pourra, avec connaissance de cause et en temps utile, discuter et voter chacun suivant sa conscience et ses convictions.

Ce n'est point la question aujourd'hui. Monsieur King a, en effet, plusieurs fois déclaré à la Chambre et ailleurs que, pour le présent, la conscription n'était pas nécessaire; il a même dit qu'il croyait fermement qu'on n'aurait pas à l'imposer, parce que l'enrôlement volontaire suffisait et que, peut-être, les circonstances présentes pourraient changer.

Certains adversaires de monsieur King lui reprochent de ne pas imposer tout de suite la conscription pour service outre-mer. Les circonstances l'exigent, disent-ils. Voilà le langage de ceux qui le remplaceraient si, un jour, il sentait qu'il n'a plus la confiance de la grande majorité du peuple canadien.

Personnellement, je n'abdique point la liberté d'exercer en temps et lieu mon jugement. Je reste et je veux rester libre de juger les faits et les recommandations qui pourraient plus tard être soumises par les aviseurs du gouvernement en matière militaire. Je réserve ma liberté de décision. Si, plus tard, un projet d'enrôlement forcé pour service outre-mer est soumis, les députés pourront s'y opposer, s'ils le jugent à propos, et même offrir leur démission, si cela leur plaît, S'ils sont assez nombreux, ils pourront même renverser le gouvernement. Mais tout cela ne se présente point sur le vote du plébiscite. Pourquoi une agitation si manifestement prématurée?

Il ne faut pas que le Canada perde aux yeux du monde civilisé, le juste mérite de son bel effort de guerre; il ne faut pas que nous, de Québec, la minorité, nous prenions une position fausse, susceptible de justifier les attaques et les injures dont nous sommes déjà les objets en dehors comme au dedans du pays.

Mais, dit-on, monsieur King et son gouvernement ont déclaré qu'ils n'auraient pas recours à ce moyen; maintenant, il veut être libéré de cette promesse. Alors, il vaut mieux ne pas le délier. N'est-ce pas une singulière façon de témoigner notre confiance en monsieur King et son gouvernement? En effet, cela voudrait dire que votre confiance est fondée uniquement sur la chaîne de la promesse. Vous auriez peur de le laisser libre. Ainsi, votre confiance repose dans la chaîne et non pas dans le chef. Et vous dites qu'il faut le maintenir à son poste! Drôle de logique! Singulière confiance!

Monsieur King a dit à la Chambre, le 25 février, que la conscription n'était pas la question en jeu. Ce sera peut-être la question en jeu plus tard, disent quelques-uns. Mais, alors, attendons pour juger.

Il faut faire la guerre comme l'ennemi ou se soumettre à son joug

On dit encore que le gouvernement a changé d'attitude. Même si cela est vrai, n'est-ce pas que la plus grande guerre que le monde ait connue a fait naître dans le monde entier des situations bien difficiles et a souvent même provoqué des attitudes contradictoires? L'ennemi fait ce qui lui plaît; il frappe à son heure. Et il n'écoute pas nos raisonnements en trois points ou nos formules académiques. Il nous fait la guerre par tous les moyens qu'il croit profitables à sa fin. Il faut un peu le suivre ou se soumettre à son joug.

Ces contradictions, plus apparentes que réelles, sont surtout marquées dans les pays démocratiques ou traditionalistes où le peuple a le droit de parler et

D 42665

d'agir en liberté. On ne voit pas cela dans les pays où la dictature règle la vie et les actes des individus. Là, quand le maître a parlé, tous doivent s'incliner. Ici le gouvernement fait confiance au peuple, il descend vers lui pour lui demander l'autorité morale dont il aura peut-être besoin plus tard. Quel contraste avec les méthodes de nos ennemis!

Sans doute la question présente des difficultés, des conflits d'opinion. Mais c'est dans l'examen calme et réfléchi de ces problèmes communs à tous les pays démocratiques que le gouvernement du Canada recherche la conciliation honorable de toutes les opinions pour la préservation de l'unité et de la bonne entente entre toutes les parties du pays.

Dans le grand problème de la coordination de notre plus effectif effort de guerre, le gouvernement veut montrer au monde entier, à nos alliés et surtout aux Etats-Unis, que la nation canadienne veut que son chef et le gouvernement soient libres d'organiser ou plutôt d'harmoniser, si besoin est, la contribution du pays à l'effort total le plus propre à assurer la survivance des libertés chères, surtout à toutes les nations encore libres de l'esclavage.

Quelqu'un a dit malheureusement chez nous que si Hitler était appelé à nous aviser, il nous suggérerait un *oui* à la question du plébiscite parce qu'il s'agit de briser une promesse. Ce n'est point sérieux. Ceux qui s'imposent la peine de penser, comprennent que rien ne ferait autant plaisir à l'ennemi que le spectacle d'un Canada divisé contre lui-même. Pareille division, en effet, nuirait sensiblement à la formation dans le monde civilisé de la grande force qui aura raison, il le sait, de son désir orgueilleux de domination mondiale.

Pensez aux conséquences de votre vote

Citoyens du Canada, pensez bien à la signification de votre vote. Pensez bien aux conséquences. Avec monsieur King, nous avons traversé sans heurt les temps affreux que le monde a vécus depuis plus de deux ans de guerre. En ayant confiance au peuple, il a pu organiser et développer notre effort de guerre de façon remarquable, et la paix règne dans ce pays. Chacun accepte sans protester les contraintes et les restrictions à ses libertés ordinaires.

Surtout depuis que la guerre s'est rapprochée de notre pays, on a senti, sous l'effet des mesures acceptées par le Parlement, la douce chaleur d'une plus grande communauté de pensée et de sentiment. Jamais plus on n'a goûté, malgré les restrictions à notre vie plutôt facile d'avant guerre, le bonheur de vivre au Canada. Jamais plus, on n'a désiré conserver, même au prix de sacrifices, l'héritage canadien. La guerre nous a fait voir la profonde différence de vie et d'idéal qui existe entre notre pays et les malheureux pays de la vieille Europe. Souvent, et surtout dans la souscription de nos emprunts de guerre, s'est manifesté un meilleur esprit de bonne entente et de fraternité entre les fils de toutes les parties de notre Empire canadien.

Conservons ce bon esprit. Il est nécessaire pour assurer notre grandeur et notre paix future. Monsieur King, indépendamment de toute considération purement politique, a sagement dirigé notre participation à la guerre.

A vous, conservateurs de bonne foi, il ne demande pas de renoncer à vos opinions et de lui donner un certificat de confiance totale; il vous demande de

42666

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voter affirmativement à la question du plébiscite sans vous lier d'avance à un vote de confiance. Vous entendrez sa voix, j'en suis sûr.

Quant à vous, libéraux, dont il est le chef, vous ne pouvez manquer de lui témoigner votre confiance. Vous êtes contents de lui et satisfaits de ses oeuvres. Vous êtes heureux de voir le pays uni sous sa direction. Et vous désirez le conserver à son poste.

Vous, indépendants ou partisans d'une autre doctrine politique, demandez-vous s'il ne vaut pas mieux, à l'heure du péril, le maintenir à son poste par votre vote de confiance et lui permettre ainsi de continuer à développer normalement, logiquement et efficacement, notre participation à la guerre, dans l'unité, la conciliation, la paix et l'ordre entre tous les éléments de notre population.

Aux Canadiens de Québec

A mes concitoyens de Québec, je veux dire simplement, sans faiblesse et sans honte non plus, qu'il vaut mieux ne pas courir le risque de nous isoler. Nous voulons qu'on nous fasse confiance, alors faisons aussi confiance aux autres. Ne parlons pas seulement de droits; songeons quelquefois aussi aux obligations qui les garantissent. Ce sera, à mon avis, un excellent moyen d'augmenter le prestige et l'autorité de ceux qui, dans les conseils de la nation, sont chargés aux heures sérieuses d'interpréter les sentiments et les opinions de chez nous.

Que la vérité vous guide et vous fasse voir que dans votre intérêt, comme dans l'intérêt du pays, il faut voter *oui* à la question du plébiscite.—Un *non* ne vous mène nulle part et ne vous assure rien. Avec le reste du pays, pourvoyons à notre défense partout afin déloigner de nous tout à la fois le péril noir de l'Allemagne sans âme et le péril jaune du Japon trompeur.

Canadiens de toute origine et de toute croyance qui appréciez la valeur de nos institutions politiques,religieuses, nationales et sociales, reconnaissez, je vous en prie, les nécessités de l'heure et donnez-vous la peine de voter le 27 de ce mois, et que votre vote soit un encouragement à ceux qui se dépensent présentement pour l'honneur et la liberté de votre pays.

Et vous, mes compatriotes de Québec, ne soyez pas les derniers. Soyez les premiers à répondre *oui* à la question du plébiscite. C'est votre intérêt d'agir ainsi, d'abord comme citoyens et ensuite comme membres d'une minorité qui a besoin non seulement de la loi et de traités pour se développer suivant son idéal, mais qui doit compter sur la bonne volonté de tous et sentir autour de son âme le respect et la réconfortante amitié de la grande majorité des citoyens du pays!

Ce n'est point pour monsieur King et son gouvernement que vous répondrez *oui*, c'est pour vous et les vôtres!

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When, however, hon. members speak of coming again to parliament, some appear to have one thing in mind; and others quite another.

All are agreed that the present bill, if enacted, will give to the government the power to make conscription applicable to service ~~overseas~~, but only whenever in the judgment of the government ~~that step~~ is necessary and advisable. Some contend that should the government decide that conscription for overseas service has become necessary and advisable, the government should ~~then introduce further legislation making mandatory the introduction of conscription, thereby~~ permit a second debate on the question of its immediate application. Others do not advocate a second debate on conscription, but maintain that a due recognition of the Ministry's responsibility to parliament demands that, as soon as possible after the government's decision has been reached, it should be communicated to parliament, and before effect is given thereto, that opportunity should be given hon. members for an expression of their views.

In setting forth the reasons why, in removing the limitation in the Mobilization Act with respect to service outside Canada, the government had not proceeded by stages, I made the statement that such a course would not have met the purposes of the plebiscite as outlined in the Speech from

the Throne, one of which was to ensure to the government freedom of action subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament..

I gave, however, another and very important reason. I said that to amend the act in any particular would necessitate a debate in both Houses of Parliament - a debate moreover which would inevitably be a debate on the question of conscription. That this would mean going all over the same ground again. Speaking on this aspect of the matter on June 10th, I said:

> "Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people, or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament."

Whatever may have been said or thought of the truth of this statement at the time it was made, after all that has since been said in the course of the present debate, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ for and against conscription for service overseas, it will, I think, be agreed that on this question little more, if anything of value, could possibly be added. It must now be wholly apparent that this House of Commons itself, not to speak of the country, would be impatient of any attempt to traverse the same ground anew; and that public opinion would strongly resent any such ~~attempt~~ procedure.

It is well, therefore, that it should once again be clearly stated that while this bill does not, regardless of circumstances, commit the government to conscription for overseas service, parliament, by enacting this bill, is placing it within the discretion of the government to impose conscription for service overseas, if, in its judgment, the needs of the situation as they may arise should so demand.

~~May I say that~~ This is one of the reasons why the government has been ready to allow to hon. members on the second reading of the bill, the fullest latitude to discuss from all possible angles, and on all possible grounds, the question of the application of conscription to service overseas, and has not sought, in any way, to curtail the debate. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a like opportunity could be afforded at any other time. If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the Administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial

a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method ~~has become necessary with respect to enlistments for~~ to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the United Nations.

I have, I think, made it abundantly clear that, so far, at least, as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to Parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members ~~a very clear statement of the~~ factors ~~of which account would~~ be taken by the Cabinet in reaching a decision.

In speaking in this House on the purpose of the plebiscite, on February 25th, I said: (see unrevised Hansard, Feb. 25, 1942 - page 91):

"What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable, and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time."

And later:

"The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's

war effort, all circumstances considered."

I added:

"May I say that when I say 'all circumstances considered', I have in mind the conditions as they exist in respect to the war in different theatres, and the conditions as they may exist in Canada itself."

It is perhaps well that I should remind hon. members that these statements were made as early in the present year as February 25th. They were repeatedly referred to in the course of the campaign on the plebiscite in explanation of its objectives, and of how the government proposed to exercise its power, if given a free hand. It cannot therefore be said that the government's policy as it finds expression in the present bill was not fully known both to parliament and the public, before and during the time the plebiscite was held.

As to the right thing being done, at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which

opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys ~~in no uncertain measure~~ the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country and in parliament on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that, concerning the wisdom of the decision, differences will ~~assert themselves, the consequences of which, though certain to be far-reaching, cannot be foreseen~~.

Such an expression of confidence is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons. Indeed, if an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt as to the adequacy of its support at any time, and least of all at a moment of crisis. ~~Of the certainty of this support, no member of an administration is in more constant need than the one who is charged with the responsibilities which attach to the office of Prime Minister~~.

In the Speech from the Throne, it was stated that the government was of the opinion that, at this time of gravest

crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the importance to be attached to the words "subject only to its responsibility to parliament" as they appear in the Speech from the Throne, there may well be differences of view. The responsibility of the Ministry to parliament would be the same whether these words were there or not. Their presence in the Speech would seem, however, to endow them with special significance.

How important may be the significance to be attached to them, each hon. member will necessarily decide for himself. For myself, and in this I speak only for myself, holding the views I do, and the views I have always held concerning the responsibility of the Executive to parliament, I do not believe that this House of Commons would feel it had been shown the degree of confidence it had a right to expect from the Ministry, if, in a matter of so great concern to the whole of Canada, the government were to act before so important a decision had been made known to the House.

While it is true that if the present bill becomes law, the administration will possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise subject only to its responsibility to parliament,

I can imagine what would be said by some hon. members opposite, and indeed by many hon. members on this side of the House as well, if, with Parliament in session, and before acquainting hon. members ~~of this House of Commons~~ with the decision of the government, I were to sign an order-in-council putting into effect conscription for service overseas, and immediately thereafter were to come to this House and inform hon. members of the action the government had already taken.

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government, acting in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men ~~raised by the compulsory method~~ who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I ~~should~~ would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached. I intend, at the same time, to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, honourable members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of expressing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

It may be said that such a course will involve a delay; that there have been enough delays, and that action ~~is~~ that is needed is ~~now~~. ~~Indeed that~~ the government would not have reached the decision it ~~did~~ had ~~not~~ action become imperative. That objection might justifiably be raised if a second debate were to be ~~held~~ necessary on the question of conscription. It is not an objection to the course proposed. If the government decides that it is necessary to apply conscription for overseas service, there need be no delay, and unless it ~~became~~ apparent that the Ministry had ceased to enjoy the confidence of this House of Commons, there would be no delay.

Even if Parliament is not actually sitting, it can be brought together in a few days. Under our war-time practice of adjourning rather than proroguing the session, there would be no opening formalities. As the former Minister of Public Works himself suggested on June 11th, (Hansard p. 3562): "In seven days, conscripts are not going to be sent overseas.....Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription." Following the precedents established at Westminster, I would feel that a very short time should be allotted for discussion, and that, ~~if necessary,~~ the rules of the House, limiting discussion, should, if necessary, be applied to that end.

No matter how drastically it might be necessary to restrict discussion, every member would have the opportunity by

his vote to indicate his confidence or lack of confidence in the government.

It will be recalled that a similar procedure was followed in connection with the declaration of war. Parliament met within seven days. The government intimated that the vote on the Address would be accepted as approval or otherwise of its policy. Immediately after the decision, the existence of a state of war was proclaimed.

Within the past week, a resolution of non-confidence in the government, arising out of criticism directed more particularly against the Prime Minister on account of his continuing to hold more than one office at a time of war was debated in the British House of Commons. The debate was definitely limited in time. In less than two days, hon. members found ample opportunity for an expression of their views.

As to the means by which ~~the~~ this House, with respect to the government's decision, could be given the opportunity to express

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D 42678

its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration, hon. members are well aware that it is possible at any time for any hon. member to move a vote of want of confidence on a motion to go into Committee of Supply. ~~Were it thought~~ Should the Government deem it advisable to proceed by that method to ascertain the opinion of the House, ~~if,~~ at the time, there were no estimates before the House, the government ~~might~~ could bring ~~down~~ in a special supplementary estimate, and immediately move to have the House go into Committee of Supply. Any hon. member who wished to do so, ~~might~~ could then move a vote of want of confidence.

There is another, and a more direct method of procedure. That ~~was~~ is the method which was followed in the Parliament at Westminster in January last, after Mr. Churchill's return from his earlier visit to the United States and Canada. On January 27th, Mr. Churchill expressed to the House of Commons his desire to be sustained by a vote of confidence.

The following day, Mr. Attlee moved:

"That the proceedings on the motion relating to confidence in His Majesty's Government be exempted, at this day's sitting from the provisions of the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)".

This was agreed to.

Mr. Attlee then moved:

"That this House has confidence in His Majesty's Government and will aid it to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Debate took place on the 28th and 29th of January, ~~1942.~~ At the end of the latter sitting, the House divided: Ayes 464 and Noes 1.

Hon. members will, I believe, be interested in Mr. Churchill's own appreciation of the ~~significance~~ importance and Significance of the vote he was asking from the House of Commons. On January 27th he ~~said:~~ from time to time in the life of any Government there come occasions which must be clarified ...

"Since my return to this country, I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the Administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which

the House is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives."

I ~~shall not~~ indicate, ~~at this stage~~, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. But I wish to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall wish to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before ~~action is taken~~ ~~to implement the~~ decision.

~~I come now to my reasons for deciding that such a course is desirable and, indeed, essential.~~

D 42682

There are the strongest of reasons why, in war time, an administration should not wait for some obvious or necessary occasion to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons. If the head of the administration is hampered by any uncertainty as to the view taken of the course being pursued by the administration, the most effective way of removing the uncertainty is to seek an expression of confidence from the House. That is the position Mr. Churchill took, on the occasion to which I have referred, because he believed it was the right and proper course for a Prime Minister to follow even when he considers that criticism of the administration has been ill-considered or ill-deserved.

It might be pointed out, that in January last, when Mr. Churchill sought a vote of confidence in his administration, none of his critics had even suggested that he should resign, and that someone else should take his place. He felt, however, that criticism of himself and certain aspects of his administration had reached the point where he required the assurance that he was sustained by the support of those from whom his power was derived. I believe that every man charged with great responsibilities in a democratic country at all times feels the need of such an assurance, and at no time more than on the eve of embarking upon added responsibilities.

D 42683

But there was another reason why Mr. Churchill felt the need of being sustained by a vote of confidence on that occasion. Parliamentary responsibility is twofold. Members as well as Ministers have their responsibilities. The people of the United Kingdom had a right to know where their representatives stood, and what support they were prepared to give to the administration in its grave task of carrying on the war. The people equally are entitled to know what support is withheld from the administration, and why it is being withheld.

I do not think that we, in this House of Commons, will fall into error by following, where ~~the correct~~ procedure ~~is in doubt~~ may be in question, the example of the House of Commons at Westminster. ~~I do not need to~~ Non need) remind hon. members that the first of our rules reads as follows:

> In all cases not provided for hereinafter or by Sessional or other Orders, the usages and customs of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as in force at the time shall be followed so far as they may be applicable to this House.

Only last week, on his return from this continent, Mr. Churchill was faced with a motion of want of confidence in his administration. I have no doubt that most hon. members will have read the text of his speech on that motion. I should like, however, to remind the House of certain of the views and sentiments he expressed on that occasion, because of the light they throw on my own position.

"Everything", he said, "that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government; has been used to prove that the ministers are incompetent and to weaken their confidence in themselves." Of his own position as Prime Minister, he added, "to undermine him in his own heart and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation."

And later on he said: "Questions are asked, comments are made by individual members, or by independents, who represent no organized group of political power, which are cabled verbatim and often are honestly taken to be the opinion of Parliament."

Mr. Churchill added: "I naturally explained to my host that those who were voluble in Parliament in no way represent the House of Commons, just as a small handful of correspondents who make it their business to pour out damaging statements about us to the United States and, I may add, to Australia, in no way represent the honorable profession of journalism. I also explained all this would be put to the proof when I reported to the House of Commons."

D 42685

3 questions

D 42686

(1) Shall we have a plebiscite

(2) Shall we have conscription

(3) Shall the govt be free to be consent to parliament any course of action adverse

3 things it is not
(1) confidence or non confidence in govt
(2)

?

Defence Won't Win the War

Recently the Vancouver *Daily Province* observed :"The world war will have been hopelessly lost to the Allies if it comes to fighting on Canadian soil in British Columbia or the Maritimes." The Vancouver *Sun* promptly rebuked its rival, saying: "To say that if we have to fight in Canada we shall have lost the war is a defeatist view which no Canadian should admit for a moment."

"Defeatist" is an ugly word, and seems to be misapplied in this case. The *Province* was trying to be realistic and the underlying theory of its claim is far from unsound. This is a global war and to obtain a clear grasp of events that fact must be kept clearly in mind. The essential struggle is for mastery of the great land masses of the world. If the Axis powers gain control of the largest mass—Europe, Asia and Africa—the outlook would be black indeed and the

D 42687

D 42688

defence of the American continent would be somewhat irrelevant.

If fighting came to Canada's shores certain tremendous events would have taken place to make that possible. Allied sea power in the oceans of the world would have come to an end. Australia would have been reduced and Britain rendered impotent. Canadians would fight to defend their own. With them would be associated the people of the United States and possibly, but not certainly, the people of South America. It would be a last ditch battle.

This brings us to those who say that Canadian forces should not be sent abroad but should be kept here in the defence of the Dominion. The tragic flaw in that theory is that it would then be too late. The enemy must be fought away from our shores if victory is to be attained. That is the strategy wholeheartedly accepted by President Roosevelt and the American people. It cannot be otherwise. That is why the Russian front is at present the most important and why Russia has been placed at the top of the lease-lend nations by Mr. Roosevelt. Defeatist or not, the belief that the war will be lost if fighting comes to Canadian soil is not a fantastic one.

D42689

General Election, Referendum or Plebiscite

January 26th, 1942:

If, then, it is desirable that the government subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment, irrespective of any previous commitments, it is clear that means must be found of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

There are, as I see it, three means by which this release could be obtained:

The first would be by means of a general election. In a general election at this time the issue of conscription for service overseas would become one of the issues and, in existing circumstances, would almost certainly be the main issue.

The second would be by means of referendum solely with reference to the question of conscription for service overseas.

The third would be by means of a plebiscite, not to obtain a decision with respect to conscription, but solely with the object of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

These three means have been considered by the government with relation particularly to which of the three would occasion the least interference with the war effort of the country.

The government is of the opinion that neither a general election nor a referendum on the question of conscription is either advisable or necessary.

As for a general election, apart from the fact that the government has every reason to believe it continues to possess the confidence of the country, it would not, we believe, be in the interest of the people themselves, in the existing crisis, to leave the country without a parliament for the time which it would take to hold a general election. Moreover, other issues entering in, it would not be possible to say that the verdict of the people, whatever it might be, had related solely to the issue of the application of conscription for overseas service.

The objection to a referendum on conscription is that far from freeing the hands of the government it would be a specific request to the people to make a decision with respect to conscription. As I have already said, the proper place to debate the question as to the extent to which conscription should be applied is on the floor of parliament.

The strongest of reasons why the government should be given a free hand to take, subject to its responsibility to parliament, any course of action which it may believe to be necessary at a time of war is that the government itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action. These reasons cannot all be made public, linked as they are with the combined plans of other countries, with questions of military strategy, and the necessity of such matters being carefully concealed from the enemy.

A plebiscite differs from a referendum in that a plebiscite is taken to ascertain the views of the people, whereas a referendum is a request for a decision by the people on a specific plan or project. The government does not believe that it would be fair to the people to ask them to make military decisions. It is, as I already have said, not possible, in war time, to make public adequate information on which wise judgments can be made.

Not a Referendum on Conscription

D 42690

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942, pages 909-10

Mr. King:

I have said that this is not a question of conscription. Hon. members opposite have been saying, "Why do you not have a referendum, and refer the question of conscription itself to the people?"

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Who said that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: You never said that?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am delighted to hear it.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no!

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: You never have said it?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Who said it?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, I can show my hon. friend several papers supporting his opposition—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Oh, well—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say this, then—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I did not say it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then I understand that my hon. friend now says they are not in favour of a referendum.

Mr. MacNICOL: They never said anything else.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What are they in favour of, then? They are in favour simply of calling parliament and enforcing conscription without reference to the people, either by plebiscite or referendum! There we have the difference between the two parties. Notwithstanding their position in the House of Commons, and the solemn undertaking given by their leader at the time of the last general election—which they did not denounce, but which they supported—they say to the people of Canada to-day, "We will not give you even a referendum. We will not give you a plebiscite; but we will take it into our own hands to do the very thing which our leader said he would not do, or we would not do if our party were returned to power."

Mr. STIRLING: On a question of privilege, may I interrupt the Prime Minister? I have stated in the house this session that the course I consider should be adopted by the government is that of submitting a resolution to the elected members of the House of Commons as to whether they should be freed from the commitments under which they placed themselves.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In other words, if I understand my hon. friend correctly he suggests that we ought to decide among ourselves, without any reference to the people at all.

Mr. STIRLING: The 245 representatives of the people, elected at an election at which this was not an issue.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: And that is where I entirely disagree with my hon. friend. If it was not an issue it was because the leaders of all parties took similar positions, and the position so adopted was that there would be no question of conscription. But that makes the obligation all the greater on every hon. member sitting in the house to see that, before that question is so much as discussed, he should be released from any commitment which may have been made.

Then, in reference to whether the plebiscite is to be in reality a referendum, there is a question which is being asked now which changes the plebiscite into a referendum—and I believe my hon. friend asked this question only a day or two ago—it is, "What are you going to do if the decision is such-and-such?" He wishes me to say that I am going to do so-and-so. If I were to give him an undertaking at this time, and that undertaking is before the people when the question is put before them, is that not a referendum? That is, I commit myself to one course or to the other, and the people then are being asked to decide whether the government should take it or not. In other words I throw on the people of this country the onus of making a political and military decision, when the only body by which such decision should be taken on a question of this kind is the government which is responsible for such decision, advised by its military advisers, and debating its decisions on the floor of parliament, thereby making itself responsible to parliament for the decisions it makes.

D 42691

Referendum and General Election Methods of Consulting the People which are Undesirable in Present Circumstances.

Phis draft P18-19

There are, of course, two methods which the government might adopt to obtain the freedom which we believe we should have at this time in carrying on Canada's war effort. A general election is one of them, and a referendum is another. The objection to a general election at the present time is that it would not be in the interests of the people themselves in the existing crisis to leave the country without a Parliament for the time that it would take to hold such an election. Moreover, other issues entering in, it would not be possible to say that the verdict of the people, whatever it might be, had related solely to the issue of the application of conscription for overseas service.

The objection to a referendum on conscription is that far from freeing the hands of the government, it would be a specific request to the people to make a decision for or against conscription. A plebiscite differs from a referendum in that a plebiscite is taken to ascertain the views of the people whereas a referendum is a request for a decision by the people on a specific plan or project. The government does not believe that it would be fair to the people to ask them to make military decisions. The government itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action.

In consulting the people by plebiscite the government is not throwing on the people the responsibility of making a military decision. It is asking the people to give the government full power and full responsibility to take whatever military decisions the government in the light of all its knowledge believes to be necessary. In consulting the people, therefore, we are not shirking responsibility--we are asking for full responsibility.

CONSCRIPTION ~~AND THE PLEBISCITE~~

I have stressed the seriousness of the world situation. I have pointed out the danger to our national existence. I have said that, because of the seriousness of the situation, because of the danger to Canada, the government should be released from the restriction on its powers. There still seems to be some doubt as to what the situation will be if the government is released. Many still believe that by voting "Yes", they will be voting for conscription. The truth is they will be doing nothing of the kind. They will merely be voting to give the government the same power to recommend to Parliament the adoption of conscription for service overseas that the government now has to recommend to Parliament the adoption of any other measure for the prosecution of the war. The government will not be relieved of the responsibility for exercising its own judgment as to whether conscription is or is not necessary. Parliament will still be free to accept or to reject the recommendations of the government. As the situation stands today, the government is bound by a pledge not to recommend conscription. Most of the members of Parliament are bound by similar pledges not to adopt conscription. There can be no real freedom of discussion of the issue of conscription on its merits as a war measure. Those who advocate conscription today

D 42694

Air, on the Sea, in food, in finance, will be lost sight of in the controversy over this one restriction. The fact that nearly 300,000 volunteers for service anywhere are enrolled in Canada's Army will be forgotten. The one restriction will continue to be magnified out of all proportion to its true significance. The moment the restriction is removed and the government is free and Parliament is equally free to debate the issue of conscription on its merits, it will soon become evident that the question of conscription is merely a question of method. We will then be able to see that it is not the method by which men are raised but the number of men raised which constitutes our war effort in manpower. If conscription is not adopted, the reason for failure to adopt it will be because it is unnecessary, not because of a pledge.

This brings me to the second reason why the hands of the government should be free. They should be free because there is a possibility that conscription for service outside Canada may become necessary to our own security and our own defence before this war is over. There is no present need of conscription for service overseas. The government does not at present anticipate any necessity for conscription for service overseas. We are

D 42695

not planning to introduce it. That has already been made clear in Parliament by the Minister of National Defence but I would not be fair, and I would not be frank if I denied the possibility that the day may come when conscription will be necessary to save our country from defeat and conquest. I do not believe there is one Canadian who would prefer defeat and conquest to conscription. Should such an emergency arise, the hands of the government should not be tied. It is to be prepared for such an emergency, not to meet any present need, that the government should be given a free hand.

D 42696

A5. What the question really is.

The issue on which you are being asked to give your view is: shall the Government have full powers to conduct the war in accordance with its best judgment of the needs of national security, or shall the Government's powers to prosecute the war be limited? In other words, you are being asked to give to the Government and to Parliament the same freedom to decide whether or not conscription for overseas service is required for the defence and security of Canada, as the ~~Government~~ Government and Parliament now have to decide all other questions related to the conduct of the war.

D 42697

A2. Issue not conscription or no conscription.

Let me repeat again what I said on Tuesday evening last. The question is not one of conscription or no conscription. In asking you to vote YES, the Government is not asking you to vote for conscription for overseas service. ~~Xxxx~~ You are not asked to decide whether such conscription is needed, or whether is is not needed.

HOWARD & SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

A6. A non-partisan question.

D 42698

The decision of the Government to hold a plebiscite was submitted to Parliament. After a lengthy debate, Parliament decided by an overwhelming vote that the plebiscite should be held. The decision of Parliament is the law of the land. It has been accepted by all recognized parties in the House of Commons. Whatever individual objections still remain to the holding of a plebiscite should not constitute an excuse for failing to vote or for voting "no". The issue is not a partisan issue. The question is not a partisan question. It is an issue which concerns the safety of the nation and the lives of all our citizens.

B2. Position which will exist when restriction is removed.

The government is now asking you to give it freedom to ask parliament for the same power regarding the use of the services of men and women beyond the borders of Canada. Whether it may ever become necessary to Canada's security to exercise such powers, the future course of the war alone can determine. An affirmative vote will not be regarded by the government as a mandate to adopt conscription for overseas service. It will constitute, simply and solely, a mandate for the government to consider the question of conscription for overseas service on its merits in the light of the needs of our own national security. It will free the government from any obligation to refrain from recommending conscription to parliament, if the necessity should ever become apparent. Moreover, it will free parliament, and the individual members of parliament, from any obligation to refuse to debate and decide the question of conscription on its merits. It will not oblige any member of parliament to support conscription. It will certainly not result in the automatic adoption of conscription for overseas service by parliament or by the government.

B3. Conscription never to be adopted without resort to parliament.

There is one point I wish to stress. If the hands of the government are free, and if the government should ever come to feel that conscription for overseas service was essential to our national safety, it would not be introduced by order in council. The government would make its recommendations to parliament, and every member of parliament would be perfectly free to express ~~its~~ his views fully and to share fully in the decision as to whether or not the recommendation of the government would be adopted. In other words, in asking the people to free its hands, the government is not asking them to free it from its full responsibility to parliament. It is, indeed, asking for freedom both for itself and for parliament.

Section C: The relationship of conscription to the total effort

C1. Restriction represented as a bar to all-out effort.

I should like to refer once more to one of the reasons given in my previous broadcast for freeing the hands of the government. I said then that the present restriction on the government is represented as a bar to an all-out war effort on Canada's part. The mere existence of the restriction has the effect of magnifying the importance of conscription for overseas in relation to Canada's total effort. In the controversy which it arouses, all else Canada is doing is lost sight of or forgotten. Our sense of proportion is destroyed.

D 42702

D 42703

Let me repeat again what I said an Tuesday evening last. The issue is not one of conscription or no conscription. The issue is: Shall the government have full powers, or shall the government's powers be restricted, at a time of war? But, you will say, the decision with respect to the powers of the government must

D 42704

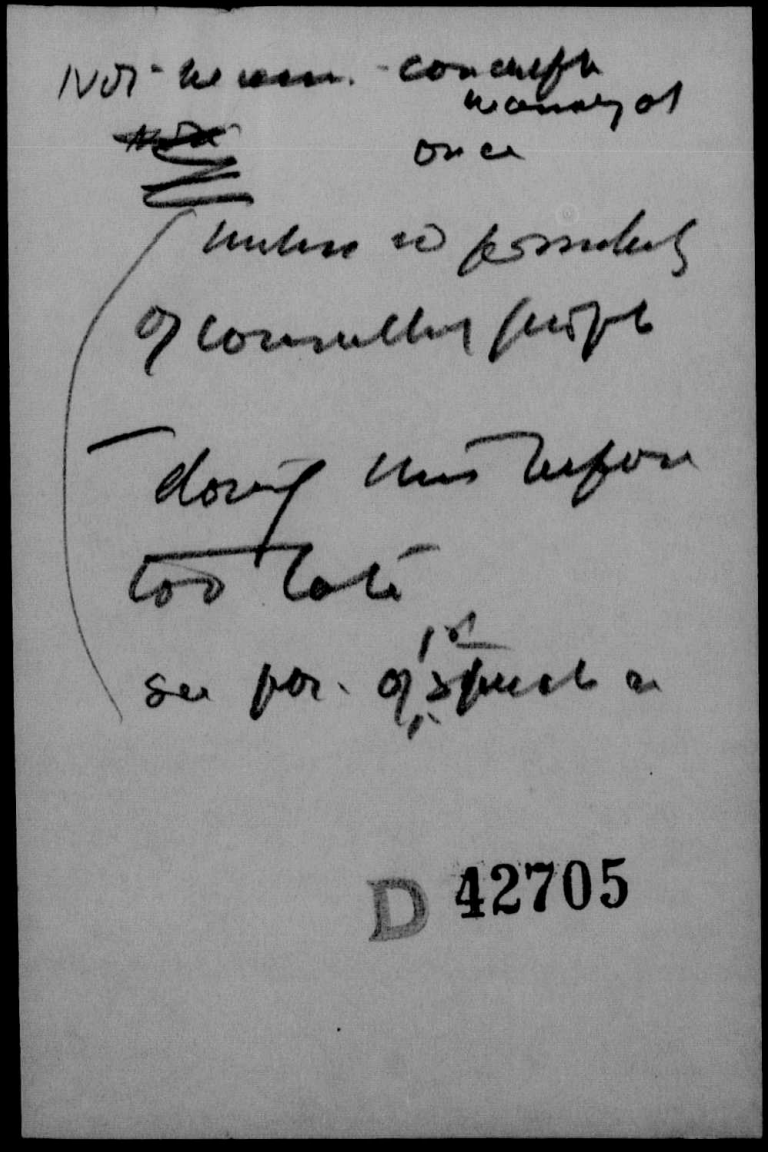
of a referendum in which the question asked would have been: "Are you or are you not in favour of giving the government unlimited powers in the matter of conscription?"

(Look up what was the question asked in Australia?

That would have been placing upon the people the obligation to make a decision with respect to a matter on which they could not possibly be fully informed, and a responsibility for all the consequences of a decision which they should never have been asked to make. It was to avoid this very thing that the government decided against holding a referendum which would relieve it of all the responsibility in the matter of deciding this difficult question, and in

As the matter now stands, the government is obliged to take full responsibility in the conduct of the war but is limited or restricted in the powers which it has.

D 42704-1



D 42705

D42706

Section 5

D 42707

The Case for an overwhelming affirmative vote

not concerned

May I repeat that, in asking that an affirmative reply be given, the government is not asking for a vote for conscription. We are not asking you to decide how to conduct the war. That is the responsibility of the government. We are not shirking that responsibility; we are asking you to strengthen our hands by giving us full responsibility. We are seeking full responsibility because of the grave danger to our own country and our own people. It is the belief of the government that we should have full power to do whatever is necessary to preserve our national existence and to crush the forces of evil which seek to destroy us.

May I repeat that, in asking that an affirmative reply be given, the government is not asking for a vote for conscription. We are not asking you to decide how to conduct the war. That is the responsibility of the government. We are not shirking that responsibility; we are asking y

D42708

D42709

The issue is not conscription

In the address I broadcast on April 7th, I told you that the issue in the plebiscite was not conscription. You are not being asked to decide whether conscription should be adopted for service overseas. You are asked to free the hands of the government from any obligation. You are asked to give to the government and to Parliament the same freedom and the same responsibility in this one aspect of our war effort that we already possess in all other aspects.

The policy of the government regarding conscription for service overseas has not changed. It was set forth recently in Parliament by the Minister of National Defence. I do not think I can express it better than by repeating Mr. Ralston's own words. I ask you to give particular attention to his words:

"So much", he said, "has been said about compulsory service that I want to say a word about voluntary enlistments. I want to see voluntary enlistments kept up. I believe it is better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it are also volunteers".

"Here is the record", Mr. Ralston continued. 422,000 young men of Canada have voluntarily enlisted in

D 42710

the armed forces of Canada since the war began, up to the end of 1941". Mr. Ralston pointed out that over 18,000 more had elisted for service anywhere in the world in the month of January, and he added these words: "You can hardly say that the voluntary system has failed".

And I ask you also to note these words:

"I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and traditions which this country possesses, and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work".

Surely no words could be clearer. The government has not changed its policy. We believe the voluntary system of enlisting our overseas army is better suited to Canadian needs and Canadian conditions, so long as it proves adequate to uphold our national security and to defend our national existence.

At the same time, we do not know what the future holds. No one can say where the danger to Canada may be greatest or how it may best be met, before this terrible conflict is ended. The people of Canada cannot afford to gamble with their safety. They cannot afford to take needless risks with their future. They cannot neglect any

D 42711

possibility of adding to the protection of their homes and families. They cannot, without danger to themselves and their families, keep the hands of their wartime government tied. In the face of its awful responsibilities for the safety of the people of Canada, it is not fair to the government, it is not fair to Parliament to keep them bound. That is why we are asking you, while there is still time, to free the hands of the government so that the government can fully defend your freedom and the freedom and very existence of Canada.

D 42712

Parliament Must Decide the Issue of Conscription and

Must Have Complete Freedom in Doing So.

This draft p. 22-25

. Let me examine another objection which has been raised against the taking of the plebiscite. Some there are who say 'what is the sense of a plebiscite at all if after it has been taken, the government is still to decide whether or not we are to have conscription for service in the armed forces overseas.'

The answere to that is very simple, and it serves to bring us to the point which has been urged by those who say rightly that Parliament is the right place in which to have the issue of conscription and no conscription decided. As matters now stand, Parliament is not free to discuss the issue on its merits. The government is not free to discuss the issue on its merits. Were a debate on the question to ensue, member after member would rise in his seat and say that much as he would like to discuss the question on its merits, he was precluded from so doing because of a pledge which had been given, and by which he regarded himself as bound not to countenance conscription for service in the army overseas. Were I, honestly believing that the situation demanded it, to take an opposite position in Parliament, and say that I believed there should be a limited extension of the principle of conscription for overseas service, and that I wished to recommend this course to Parliament, I would be immediately told - and would have to recognize that

I was bound by a commitment made in the last general election which precluded me from so much as discussion the question on its merits. Every member of Parliament, including myself, who might thereafter wish to press for a limited extension of the principle of conscription for overseas service because we believed it to be a national necessity, would be placed in the intolerable position of having either to remain silent in the face of an imperative obligation notwithstanding the danger to which silence might be expected to lead, or having to say deliberately that we could not longer consider ourselves bound by the obligation; that while we admitted that the obligation existed in virtue of return to Parliament at the time the pledge was given, we could not longer regard ourselves bound by it because the change in the conditions since that time.

Personally, if such an altemative should ever arise, I want to be perfectly free to express my views without anyone having reason to question or to mistake the motive which lies behind them. I do not see how, in any other way, arguments, however sound, could be expected to carry conviction.

It is not to be free of responsibility that the government asks that an affirmative reply be given to the question to be asked on the 27th of this month. It is that the government may have full responsibility and, with it, full power to act; not full responsibility as it has to-day with a restriction placed upon its power.

3. Not a vote on conscription

I should like right here to clear up one misunderstanding. Many still believe that a vote to relieve the government from its pledge is a vote for conscription. That is not correct.

I say with the utmost plainness that the purpose or the plebiscite is no more and no less than simply to release this government from the one restraint imposed upon its freedom of action. ~~We are not asking for a mandate to impose conscription for service overseas.~~ The question whether such conscription may become necessary is a question which should be decided by Parliament if the circumstances justifying and leading to such a step should ever arise. The government is not asking that the people of Canada should make this decision. Such a decision, if it ever has to be made, must be made in the light or conditions that have not yet arisen, and therefore cannot now be appraised. There may never come a time when it will be necessary to adopt conscription for service overseas. Conscription is not an end in itself. It is only a method of raising men. It is my hope and the hope of the government that the men of Canada will so clearly understand the needs of the armed services, that the time will never come when it will be necessary to impose conscription. But if the time should ever come when the safety of our homes and families appeared

D 42715

to depend upon it, Parliament should be free to decide the question with no restraint upon its deliberations or upon its powers. Parliament should be in a position to make the decision on the merits of the case, in the light of the needs of Canada. What the need of Canada is, in the peril of this war, can be stated simply. It is a supreme effort first to keep the enemy away from our country and second to do our full part to crush him so that Canada may remain a free country in a free world.

what the government now seeks for itself and for Parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security. Once the hands of the government are free, the whole question of conscription will be reduced to its proper proportions as a military measure. The government will be free to recommend to Parliament whatever course of action will best serve the interests of Canada. It will

D 42716

D 42717

no longer be possible to accuse the government of holding back because its hands are tied or for any other reason which has nothing to do with fighting the war.

on a specific plan or project. The government does not believe that it would be fair to the people to ask them to make military decisions. The government itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action. These reasons cannot all be made public, linked as they are with the combined plans of other countries with questions of military strategy, and the necessity of such matters being carefully concealed from the enemy. In consulting the people by plebiscite the government is not throwing on the people the responsibility of making a military decision. It is asking the people to give the government full power and full responsibility to take whatever military decisions the government in the light of all its knowledge believes to be necessary. In consulting the people, therefore, we are not shirking responsibility -- we are asking for full responsibility.

the ore[illegible] applying conscription as a method for raising men for service overseas. Whether or not the defence of Canadian territory and the preservation of our freedom requires the application of conscription of men for service overseas, is a question which the government alone with the knowledge it has

Govt to decide conscription

D 42719

in its possession is in a position to decide. It is not a question which the people themselves could be expected to decide even in their own interests without much more in the way of knowledge of existing conditions than it is possible for them to have or possible for the government to give without, at the same time, imparting the same information to the enemy. As matters stand, so long as the government continues to be bound by the existing restriction it is debarred from so much as even considering upon its merits the question of whether or not the application of conscription for service overseas would or would not be a wise course to adopt.

Instead therefore, of the question of conscription being discussed and debated and decided upon its merits, as would be the case, did no restriction exist upon the government's freedom of action, an entirely different issue -- the issue of conscription is being forced to the fore, not upon its merits, but upon ground wholly different, and which can only serve to handicap in their argument, those who see on the merits of the question no need for the extension of the application of conscription for service overseas, and also to place the government and the country in a wholly false position with respect to the total war effort of the country.

Let us assume, for the moment, that as many believe that more men can be obtained for service in the army overseas by voluntary enlistment than it is necessary or advisable to

Once the hands of the government are free, the question of conscription can then be discussed on its own merits in parliament. Conscription will then come to be regarded, as what it really is, namely one method of raising men. It will cease to be a symbol of total war.

The government should be wholly free to recommend to parliament whatever course or policy it deems advisable in the interest of national security. It should be equally free, without suspicion of its motives, to refrain from recommending any change in existing practice. So long as the present restriction remains, it will be said and believed that the reason the government does not resort to conscription in the raising of men for military service overseas is because of past promises and pledges.

What the government is anxious to make clear is that if conscription is not used as a method of raising men for military service overseas, it is not because the government of Canada is limited in any of its powers at a time of war, but because, in our country, voluntary enlistment has proved adequate as a method of raising the numbers of men required for service in the army overseas, just as it has proven the only method needed to secure in adequate numbers the men required for the Navy and for the Air Force.

D 42721-1

I hope I have answered to your satisfaction the questions which have arisen in your minds concerning the plebiscite, and in so doing, have helped also to make clear to you why ~~your own~~ this answer to the question to be asked you, should be in the affirmative. Let me now add just a further word as to exactly what it is that is being asked of you in the plebiscite.

(Take in re: not conscription)

send overseas. So long as it can be said - no matter how untrue it may be - that men are not being sent in larger numbers because the government is subject to the restrictions mentioned, it will never be believed that the country's effort is not all that it should be, and would be in the absence of any such restriction. That means that no matter how near in reality the country approaches the total war effort, its achievement in so doing will never be either recognized or believed, either by a large section of the people in Canada itself and by other countries whose effort is, in fact, smaller in proportion to that of Canada. While in the one country there may be a vastly greater approach to total effort than there is in the other, the mere presence of a restriction upon the government in the case of the one, and the absence of a restriction upon the government in the case of the other, regardless of how meaningless the presence or the absence of the restriction may be on the total result, the effort of the one will be held to outrun the other to the extent of all that the presence of any restriction may be assumed to mean.

Let me examine another objection which has been raised against the taking of the plebiscite. Some there are who say what is the sense of a plebiscite at all if after it has been taken, the government is still to decide whether or not we are to have conscription for service in the armed forces overseas.

D42723

The answer to that is very simple, and it serves to bring us to the point which has been urged by those who say that Parliament is the right place in which to have the issue of conscription and no conscription decided. As matters now stand, Parliament is not free to discuss the issue on its merits. The government is not free to discuss the issue on its merits. Were I tomorrow to say to Parliament that I was against conscription, I would be told immediately that that was the only position I could honestly take in the light of the commitment which I had made to the people at the last general election, and what could be said of me, could be said with equal truth of other members of the government, and of members on both sides of the House. Were a debate on the question to ensue, member after member would rise in his seat and say that as much as he would like to discuss the question on its merits, he was precluded from so doing because of a pledge which had been given, and by which he regarded himself as bound not to countenance conscription for service in the army overseas. Were I, honestly believing that the situation demanded it, to take an opposite position in Parliament, and say that I believed there should be a limited extension of the principle of conscription for overseas service, and that I wished to recommend this course to Parliament, I would be immediately told - and in the absence of having asked to be freed of any restriction

D 42724

would have to recognize that I was bound by a commitment made in the last general election which precluded me from so much as discussion the question on its merits. Every member of Parliament including myself who might thereafter wish to press for a limited extension of the principle of conscription for overseas service because we believed it to be a national necessity, would be placed in the intolerable position of having either to remain silent in the face of an imperative obligation notwithstanding the danger to which silence might be expected to lead, or having to say deliberately that we could not longer consider ourselves bound by the obligation; that while we admitted that the obligation existed in virtue of return to Parliament at the time the pledge was given, we could not longer regard ourselves bound by it because of conditions as they had changed since that time.

Personally I do not wish ever to be confronted with an alternative of the kind. The necessity of anything of the kind has not, thus far, presented itself. It does not present itself at the present moment. It may never present itself, but if it ever does, as a member of the House of Commons, and if then also its leader, I want to be perfectly free to express my views without anyone having reason to question or to mistake the motive which lies behind them. I do not see how, in any other way, arguments, however sound, could be expected to carry conviction.

It is not to be free of responsibility that the government asks that an affirmative reply be given to the

question to be asked on the 27th of this month. It is that the government may have full responsibility and, with it, full power to act; not full responsibility as it has today with a restriction placed upon its power. If all that is being asked of the people is to give to the government, in time of war, the same freedom it would have in time of peace, namely, full power to do, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, what it believes to be most in the public interest, how does it come about that so

Dictated by the Prime Minister

D 42726

So far as the question of conscription is concerned, it is now possible to see quite clearly the purpose which from the outset the plebiscite was intended to serve, and which it will serve if, as I believe will be the case, an affirmative vote will be given on Monday next.

First of all ~~the govern~~ it will give the government a perfectly free hand, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, to frame the country's war effort in accordance with what it believes will best serve the national interests; secondly, it will place beyond question the good faith of the government in any policy it may declare to be necessary to this end. In the third place it will render Parl ament free to discuss wholly on their merits such matters as the government may, from time to time, introduce. That is not the position at the present time. Were the government tomorrow to express the view that it was possible to obtain all the men required for service overseas in the army, as well as in the air force and in the navy, and for that purpose it was best to continue to follow the voluntary method, it would be instantly said, as is now being said, that the reason the government was taking this view was because of the existing restrictions arising out of past commitments. Once the restriction is removed and the governments hands are free, a statement of policy will no longer be open to criticism on that score.

D 42727

First of all the government will be in a position to state its policy to parliament without that policy being questioned on the score that it has been framed, not in the light of what will best serve to make Canada's effort an all-out effort, but on the score that in framing its policy the government has necessarily been restricted, by past commitments with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas. So long as there is any restrictions upon the government's powers, it will never be believed that the needs of the situation have been determined wholly and solely, all factors considered, and what, in the opinion of the government will make most effectively to effect a total effort.

HOWARD SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

plebiscite is a constitutional way of asking the people of Canada to release the government of Canada from the moral obligation entered into at the time of the general elections in 1940. That moral obligation is binding no less upon Members of the House of Commons than upon the Ministers of

D 42728

as a method for raising men for service overseas. Whether or not the defence of Canadian territory and the preservation of our freedom requires the application of conscription of men for service overseas, is a question which the government alone with the knowledge it has in its possession is in a position to decide. As matters stand, so long as the government continues to be bound by the existing restriction it is debarred from so much as even considering upon its merits the question of whether or not the application of conscription for service overseas would or would not be a wise course to adopt.

D 42729

42738
D42730

than from the people themselves, is to assert that democratic power gives way to arbitrary rule; that the moment elections are over, power on the part of the people must make way for the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of those whom they have elected to represent their views and wishes in parliament.

There are, of course, two methods which the government might adopt to obtain the freedom which we believe we should have at this time in carrying on Canada's war effort. A general election is one of them, and a referendum is another. The objection to a general election at the present time, apart from the fact that the government has every reason to believe it continues to possess the confidence of the country is that it would not be in the interests of the people themselves in the existing crisis to leave the country without a parliament for the time that it would take to hold such an election. Moreover, other issues entering in, it would not be possible to say that the verdict of the people, whatever it might be, had related solely to the issue of the application of conscription for overseas service.

The objection to a referendum on conscription is that far from freeing the hands of the government, it would be a specific request to the people to make a decision with respect to conscription. A plebiscite differs from a referendum in that a plebiscite is taken to ascertain the views of the people whereas a referendum is a request for a decision by the people

D 42731

and not place that responsibility upon the people. They say that we are shirking our responsibility in asking the people to vote yes or no on the question which is to be asked them on the 27th of this month. If ~~this~~ the question to be asked were: "Are you" or "Are you not in favour of conscription for service overseas?" I would say that those who take the view that the government is shirking its responsibility and failing to act in accord with the principles of responsible government, were wholly right in that contention. But that is not the question to which the people are being asked to give an affirmative or a negative reply. The question being asked is:

> "Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?"

As I have already explained (this has not yet been fully set forth, but will have to be written out) so far as legal authority goes, the government has, at the present time, all the power required to take and to enforce any course of action it deems necessary and advisable. It is restricted in no particular by any legal consideration. The sole restriction is in the nature of a moral obligation which owes its origin to the circumstances I have described, and which is confined to

[illegible] restriction of not

D 42732

All agreed as to
defence of Canada
= all parts of
[illegible]
when any is

Total was confined with everything relating to [illegible] not all at once
by degrees in most effective way
~~Computation~~

Total effort does not mean total
computation

It means all voluntary effort possible
because [illegible]
= where inadequate – computation
lack to his own place

Total = all
cannot be achieved at once
it is a ideal [illegible]

D 42733

C2: Meaning of a total effort.

May I remind you that a total effort is not merely a military effort. The meaning of a total effort is an effort by all, armed forces, war industry, agriculture, fisheries, mining, transport and other essential services. All must be kept up; all must be kept in balance, if a total effort is to be made. In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the sailor, the soldier, and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in our thought. Its nobility is all the greater because it is freely offered. But the work and effort of those who uphold them by providing them with arms, with equipment, with food is essential to their success; it, too, is honourable service.

C3: Total effort obscured by conscription controversy

The undue stress given to this one restriction takes away from the credit which is properly due to those who are putting forth their utmost effort to provide the food, the equipment, and the weapons for Canada's navy, army and air force, and for the forces of the other United Nations. What is even more serious is that controversy over this one point is obscuring the splendid voluntary response of Canada's young men to the call for service in the navy, the active army and the air force.

In the heat of controversy, it is forgotten that conscription for service overseas would not help Canada to produce more food or to make more of the machines of war. The adoption of conscription would not increase the numbers of the navy, the air force or even the army overseas so long as volunteers are forthcoming in adequate numbers.

D 42735

C C4: Distinction between selective service and conscription

If Canada is to make a total war effort we must maintain our effort in all its aspects. We have a small population. We have undertaken many and heavy responsibilities in the present war. Unless we are to go short of men for the navy or the air force or war production or food production or essential civilian services, only a limited number of our men can be enrolled in the army. We must use our limited man power to the best advantage. That is the aim of the plan of national selective service recently extended in its scope by the government.

Under the plan of national selective service conscription has been applied and is being applied on an extended scale for home defence. Provision has been made to maintain the manpower required on the farms for essential food production. Measures are being taken to increase the supply of labour available for war industries. Underlying the whole plan is one fundamental principle: compulsion is not used for the sake of compulsion; compulsion is used only where and when it will contribute to a greater war effort and a better balanced war effort.

C5: Policy regarding conscription not changed.

The plan of national selective service does not include conscription for service overseas. The armed forces required for service outside Canada have been raised exclusively by voluntary methods. The policy of the government regarding conscription for service overseas has not changed. It was set forth recently in parliament by the Minister of National Defence. I do not think I can express it better than by repeating Mr. Ralston's own words. I ask you to give particular attention to his words:

"So much" he said,"has been said about compulsory service that I want to say a word about voluntary enlistment. I want to see voluntary enlistments kept up. I believe it is better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it are also volunteers."

"Here is the record" Mr. Ralston continued. "Four hundred and twenty-two thousand young men of Canada have voluntarily enlisted in the armed forces of Canada since the war began, up to the end of 1941." Mr. Ralston pointed out that over 18,000 more had enlisted for service anywhere in the world in the month of January, and he added these words. "You can hardly say that the voluntary system has failed."

And I ask you also to note these words:

"I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which

D 42737

this country posseses, and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work."

Surely no words could be clearer. The government has not changed its policy. We believe the voluntary ~~service~~ system of enlisting our overseas army is better suited to Canadian needs and Canadian conditions, so long as it proves adequate to uphold our national security and to defend our national existence.

HOWARD SMITH
BELLEVILLE ONT

C6: Imperative necessity of assuring reinforcements.

The navy, the air force and the active army have, as I have said, been able to secure all the re cruits required up to the present by voluntary means. There is no present indication that this will not continue to be the case. Indeed, there are the best reasons to hope and to expect that with the growing realization of the danger to our national existence, it will become easier instead of more difficult to secure the volunteers.required. At the same time we do not know what the future holds. We cannot tell at what moment the Canadian army overseas may become engaged in active combat with the enemy. No one can predict the extent of the casualties which may be suffered or the need for reinforcements. One thing can be said with certainty. Reinforcements must be provided for Canada's armed forces if it is humanly possible to do so. The Canadian people would never forgive any government or any parliament which shirked that responsibility.

It is my conviction that if the need arises for reinforcements on a larger scale than is now planned the young men of Canada will not fail to respond freely. At the same time the government and the people cannot afford to take any needless risk with the lives of the young men who have gone out to defend our country in the front line of battle. That is one of the reasons why the government is asking the people, while there is still time, to give it a free hand.

On the other hand, the point that conscription for over-service is only a small aspect of national selective service for a balanced war effort needs to be brought out very clearly

D 42739

The identification of conscription with total war has been well covered, both in Parliament and in the first broadcast; wisdom of further repetition is questionable. In any case, this is something which is embarrassing to the government, but does not worry the ordinary person very much.

D 42740

2. Reputation of Canada among United Nations — re War Effort

Another reason for voting YES and freeing the hands of the government is that, at present, our war effort is being discredited. Because, in one respect, the hands of the government are tied, it is being said that Canada is not free to make a total effort. Attention is directed to this one restriction. All else tends to be overlooked. Little notice is taken of Canada's effort at sea, in the air, in war production, in food, in finance; more than a quarter of a million volunteers in Canada's army are forgotten. Because of the restriction, it is said that the government is half-hearted, and the war effort of Canada is limited.

Unfortunately this misrepresentation of Canada's war effort is not confined to Canada. It is also being used in other countries - particularly in the United States - to create misunderstanding and hostility to our country. It is being said Canada is not a full partner in the war; that our people are not ready to do their share to defend themselves and to destroy the common enemies of humanity. As a result, the reputation of our country has suffered.

The government is faced with serious enough problems in wartime without the added burden of being constantly placed in a false position in its own and other countries. Speaking personally, as leader of the government,

D 42741

I do not wish to be left in a false position of this kind. If the question of conscription comes before Parliament - and that is the place it should be discussed - I want to be perfectly free to express my views. I want to be free to discuss the issue without any question arising as to my motives. Since the government cannot escape the responsibility for the conduct of the war, it is surely not unreasonable to ask for complete freedom to discharge that responsibility. That, at all events, is my position as leader of the government. That is one basis of my appeal to the people to be freed from this pledge.

What is even more serious is that Canada should not be placed in this false light before the other countries associated with us in the struggle for our common freedom. In the interests of our safety during the war, in the interests of our future after the war, Canada cannot afford to have her motives questioned or her full participation doubted.

who before enemy?
Shortly their more:
in enemy would

D 42742

Restoring Our Sense of Proportion.

Total effort must be balanced effort

I should like now to speak of another reason why the hands of the government should be free. I have already said that the present restriction on the government is represented as a bar to an all-out war effort on Canada's part. The mere existence of the restriction has the effect of magnifying the importance of conscription for overseas in relation to Canada's total effort. In the controversy which it arouses, all else Canada is doing is lost sight of or forgotten. Our sense of proportion is destroyed.

May I remind you that a total effort is not merely a military effort. The meaning of a total effort is an effort by all, armed forces, war industry, agriculture, fisheries, mining, transport and other essential services. All must be kept up; all must be kept in balance, if a total effort is to be made. In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the sailor, the soldier, and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in our thought. Its nobility is all the greater because it is freely offered. But the work and efforts of those who uphold them by providing them with arms, with equipment, with food is essential to their success; it, too, is honourable service.

D 42743

The undue stress given to this one restriction takes away from the credit which is properly due to those who are putting forth their utmost effort to provide the food, the equipment, and the weapons for Canada's navy, army and air force, and for the forces of the other United Nations. What is even more serious is that controversy over this one point is obscuring the splendid voluntary response of Canada's young men to the call for service in the navy, the active army and the air force.

In the heat of controversy, it is forgotten that conscription for service overseas would not help Canada to produce more food or to make more of the machines of war. The adoption of conscription would not increase the numbers of the navy, the air force or even the army overseas so long as volunteers are forthcoming in adequate numbers.

If Canada is to make a total war effort, we must maintain our effort in all its aspects. We must use our limited manpower to the best advantage. That is the aim of the plan of national selective service recently extended in its scope by the government.

The government already has full power to use all our resources wherever they can be used to the best advantage. The government also has power to use the services of all our citizens wherever they can be used to the best advantage within Canada. These powers have been used, but not abused.

D 42744

They have been used to defend our national existence. What we are asking in this plebiscite is for full authority to take, without restriction, whatever action is required to save our country.

May I repeat once more the question I have already asked the people of Canada. If you are not prepared to trust the Parliament you yourselves elected; if you are not prepared to trust the government you yourselves chose in wartime to protect your country and to free it from danger; who then are you prepared to trust?

BERT-EWZL BOND

The identification of total war with conscription for overseas will be done away with. It has had a two-fold purpose:

1. to confuse the issue with regard to total war, and
2. to conceal the government's record.

D 42745

As such, it is doing an injustice:

1. to men in the armed services, not making clear to other countries how large the numbers are.

D 42746

NOD

Here compare numbers U.S. would have abroad with numbers Canadians have abroad if full story were told.

2. An injustice to the many workers in the shipyards factories, etc. whose work is going to battlefronts all over the world.

3. Injustice to people who have been making sacrifices to enable them to purchase bonds, savings certificates, etc.

4. An injustice to farmers and their contributions: raising of food, etc.

   Injustice to war effort of men and women serving in inconspicuous ways.

All of this to be made to appear as nothing just because it is possible to point to a single restriction upon the government re conscripting men for overseas.

D42747

Conscription for Home Defence now in Operation

Phis draft-
p 13-14

And here, by the way, may I pause to make briefly clear what the issue in Canada is with respect to conscription of men for service in the armed forces. There are many people in Canada to-day who are not aware that already conscription for service in the army for the defence of Canada within Canada is a part of the law of the land and has been ever since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act on June 1940. Day after day I am being asked either orally or in some written communication why our young men should not be obliged to serve in the defence of their country, and if necessary made to join some local regiment or battalion. There are many who believe that the present plebiscite has to do with applying compulsion to men for some force of national service within Canada itself. They are not aware that compulsion for service in the army has been in existence for nearly two years, and that it is not with respect to the question of serving in the armed forces in Canada but only with respect to serving in the armed forces of Canada overseas that the question of compulsion arises in our country or is in any way related to the forthcoming plebiscite.

D 42748

Compulsory service by Canadians in the army was in existence in Canada for a year and a half before compulsory service became a part of the law of the United States. It is since Japan attacked the United States that compulsion has become a part of the law of the United States. It is that now for service overseas as well as at home.

D 42749

Injury to Reputation of Government and Country by Reason

of Present Limitation on Conscription

This draft p21-22

Instead therefore, of the question of conscription being discussed and debated and decided upon its merits, as would be the case, did no restriction exist upon the government's freedom of action, an entirely different issue--the issue of conscription is being forced to the fore in such a way as to place the government and the country in a wholly false position which discredits our total war effort.

Let us assume, for the moment, that as many believe more men can be obtained for service in the army overseas by voluntary enlistment than it is necessary or advisable to send overseas. Yet so long as it can be said - no matter how untrue it may be - that men are not being sent in larger numbers because the government is subject to the restriction mentioned, it will never be believed that the country's effort is all that it should be, and would be in the absence of any such restriction. That means that no matter how near in reality the country approaches the total war effort, its achievement in so doing will never be either recognized or believed, either by a large section of the people in Canada itself and by other countries whose effort is, in fact, smaller in proportion to that of Canada. While in the one country there may be a vastly greater approach to total effort than there is in the other, the mere presence of a restriction upon the government in our case and the absence of

a restriction upon the government in the other cases, regardless of how meaningless the presence or the absence of the restriction may be on the total result, will mean that the effort of the one will be held to outrun the other.

D 42751

If this issue is to be
fought out, the place
for it to be fought out
is on the floors of this
parliament. — ~~[illegible]~~
If however, the Govt. Chief members are
to be free to ~~discuss~~
the express [illegible]
unshackled by any Govt.
commitments — it will
be necessary to have a
Govt. friend of restricted [illegible]
— etc

If Govt. members are to
have freedom of discussion
as well as freedom of
action it is necessary

DEVELOP FOLLOWING POINTS:

re conscription

1) Stages of procedure re adoption or non-adoption of conscription.

2) The Plebiscite -- Government and Parliament to have a free hand.

D 42752

3) No mistake as to ulterior political or other motives in considering matters in Cabinet or debating question in Parliament.

4) Opportunity to take every aspect of war effort into account. e.g.

a) war effort as a whole
b) that part which relates to armed forces in particular
c) extent of armed forces at home as well as abroad
d) method necessary to raise forces

i) not necessary re navy
ii) " " re air force
iii) " " re army thus far
iv) to what extent necessary to apply

Course Which Will be Adopted

D 42754

Section of Mobilization Act confining conscription to Canada will be removed.

Government will then have a free hand on the statute as well as at law.

Will extend duties of Canadian forces to service around Canadian shores and borders of U.S. Men serving there now have volunteered for service anywhere. If more men required to go abroad, this number will be available for that purpose. They have so volunteered.

They will not be overseas, but on islands near Canadian shores. (Note re Iceland, Bermuda, et cetera)

If plebiscite carried, authority to be given Government will be asked of Parliament and will have to be agreed to in the first instance by Parliament.

procedure will be to amend the National Mobilization Act.

Parliament will not proceed under the War Measures Act, but under the enlarged provisions of the National Mobilization Act.

Here, get rid of another misunderstanding and confusion:
Some people are under the impression that we should have conscription in Canada and conscription not only for the armed forces but for industry, etc. They do not yet realize that conscription is part of the law of Canada today and has been since the enactment of the National Mobilization Act in June, 1941; that men are being called up under this Measure, etc.

D 42755

What they really have had in mind (see Legion manifesto) is compulsory national selective service. This programme has proceeded by degrees. Its extended application has been set forth in statement in House prior to Easter adjournment, and is now being continuously applied.

Only limitation of adoption of principle as a whole is what may be necessary to extend it to to men for service in the army overseas; not needed for navy, air, or likely ever to be, but only for army and that only if numbers of men required cannot be obtained by voluntary enlistment.

Voluntary enlistment preferable to compulsory enlistment for service overseas. (my own view).

First, preferable for the army itself, its reputation, its morale, its spirit, etc. Note McLean's statement in Caucus borne out by experience re conscription in last war.

Here, express removal of certain fears:

1) That compulsion would be resorted to simply for the sake of compulsion -- not true -- other means of dealing with slackers.

2) To enable one set of men to have control of their fellowmen -- one section of the country to control the other. A minority in race and religion to be dominated by the majority.

Give assurance that nothing of this kind will happen so long as military matters are controlled by the present government. No good end served by keeping up recriminations regarding the past. Admit the wrongs but profit by them to see that nothing of the kind happens again.

Note: Step taken with regard to farmers.

Re: matter to be discussed in Parliament: Every Member will have a say. It cannot be said hiding behind pledge, etc.

D 42756

4. The case for voting YES:

   3. national security;
   2. reputation of Canada among United Nations;
   1. give full responsibility to Parliament and government.

5. The case for an overwhelming YES vote:

   1. demonstration of national unity;
   2. demonstration of determination to save our freedom.

D 42757

Reasons for free hand of government:

I. Because of terrible danger to unity.
And need to be free to take best course.
That our position may not be misunderstood.

2. That it may not be said we have not a total effort.

3. That we may do our full duty as one of the United Nations.

4. That we expect in return full aid -
co-operative effort by free nations.

5. To preserve national unity -
remove a source of irritation -
prejudice against
" for.

6. That the issue of conscription may be debated on its merits.

7. That we may have a free Parliament at a time of war.

8. Because purpose of restriction no longer necessary -
government's programme shows voluntary enlistment sufficient.

9. That as Prime Minister may take a stand not open to misunderstanding.

D 42758

Reasons for free hand of government:

I. Because of terrible danger to unity.
And need to be free to take best course.
That our position may not be misunderstood.

2. That it may not be said we have not a total effort.

3. That we may do our full duty as one of the United Nations.

4. That we expect in return full aid -
co-operative effort by free nations.

5. To preserve national unity -
remove a source of irritation -
prejudice against
" for.

6. That the issue of conscription may be debated on its merits.

clear to 7. That we may have a free Parliament at a time of war.

8. Because purpose of restriction no longer necessary -
government's programme shows voluntary enlistment sufficient.

9. That as Prime Minister may take a stand not open to misunderstanding.

Reasons for free hands of God

D 42759

(1) Because of Arabic danger to country
must be free to take last measures

(2) That our position may not be misunderstood
that it may not be said we have not a
total effort

(3) That we may be one people strong in unity
the united Nations

(4) That we may build a full aid - that effective
effort of free nations

(5) To prevent national unity - reason a
source of irritation - expression often
(for)

(6) That the cause of conscription may be debated
on the merits

(7) That we may have a free conscience
as a law of men

(8) To ensure proper organization for Canada
war effort - good Program planning
voluntary enlistment suffer

(9) That A.F.M. - never take a stand not free
& unembarrassing

1 1 1

Dictated by the Prime Minister - April 8, 1942 D 42760
2nd broadcast re Plebiscite

Follow same line as in first broadcast by setting forth in the first instance, the questions likely to be in the minds of the public, and then answer in logical sequence. e.g. The Public having come to view the Plebiscite as wise; also all parties in Parliament agreeing upon principle.

How does it come about that there was so much opposition to this course at the start? Answers:

1) Confusion of real meaning and purpose of Plebiscite. Was looked upon as a referendum on conscription, not as a means to enable question of conscription to be discussed on its merits in Parliament.
Also to give Government free hand and to avoid misrepresentation of Canada's position.

2) A party political cause -- by-elections: Quebec, Welland, South York, and Montreal

Believe that Plebiscite might operate as a double-edge sword, helping to destroy Liberal candidates in Quebec on the score that Government was for conscription; also to destroy Government candidate in Ontario, on the score that Government was seeking to avoid conscription (This needs to be carefully worked out)

3) Believe that conscription must be necessary, or Government would not have taken step -- whereas step taken was to bring the whole exact truth into the light of day.

Impatience with length of time necessary and fear that war effort would suffer in consequence -- instead men offering for service overseas in larger numbers than possible to have them trained.

Delay now seen not to have affected situation adversely or likely so to affect.

Expense: note parallel with taking of census.

4) Honest doubt on the part of some as to the necessity for when Parliament might have dealt with itself.

D 42760-1

Section A: Confusion as to issue: what issue really is

A1. Confusion still exists as to the meaning of the question.

A2. Issue not conscription or no conscription.

A3. Not a referendum on conscription.

A4. Why a referendum not held.

A5. What the question really is.

A6. A non-partisan question.

Section B: The relationship between the plebiscite and conscription.

B1. Present position of parliament and government re conscription.

B2. Position which will exist when restriction is removed.

B3. Conscription never to be adopted without resort to parliament.

Section C: The relationship of conscription to a total effort.

C1. Restriction represented as a bar to all-out effort.

C2. Meaning of a total effort.

C3. Total effort obscured by conscription controversy.

C4. Distinction between selective service and conscription.

C5. Policy regarding consciption not changed (quote Ralston).

C6. Imperative necessity of assuring reinforcements.

C7. Restriction will be blamed for all failures.

D 42761

Section D: Why people may vote "No"

D1. Prime Minister really wants a "No" vote. (already submitted

D2. Negative vote required to protect the Prime Minister.
(already submitted)

D3. Government promised limited participation.
(already submitted)

D4. Canada is already doing too much.

D5. Surest defence of Canada is on our own coasts.

D6. Canada's defences would be weakened as a result of affirmative vote.

D7. The hand of the Government forced by Britain (or the United States).

D8. Enemy wants an affirmative vote.

D9. Responsibility involved in voting "No".
(already submitted)

D42762

1. Introductory remarks

Confusion as to issue

What issue really is.
Not a referendum on Conscription.
Request to give Govt. full powers at time of war.
Alternative methods of consulting people.
A non-partisan question.

2. Conscription

Exact position in relation to plebiscite.
Government to be free to state policy.
Will be decided by Parliament, not War Measures Act.
Not necessary at present and not policy of Govt, may not be necessary.

*

All consequences evil.
Failure to permit conscription for overseas.

People who won't allow full powers | to blame for consequences.

* Remove false impression headlines have created that conscription necessary to defeat enemy abroad.

3. Total Effort - nature of, etc.

Need of no restriction that Canada's total effort may be understood,

re co-operation of United Nations.

This real reason why Government needs to have full powers - save false position,
and to discuss question on merits.

4. Why people may vote "No" -

Fear of conscription , fear of leaving Canada bare, (e.g. Australia)

Reasons being urged.
Responsibility for voting "No".

5. Reasons to vote "Yes":

National security.

D 42763

6. International situation - more dangerous.

Danger to national existence.

7. Concluding remarks:

Appeal to vote "Yes",

" " all to help - a form of war service.

Personal position.

The Prime Minister

D 42764

THE PLEBISCITE

Index of Topical Folders

1. The Pledge and National Unity - historical background.
2. All Parties Bound - Parliament without a mandate.
3. Sanctity of Pledges
4. Limitation Moral, not Legal.
5. Necessity for Freedom of Action: seriousness of War. False Position.
6. Conscription used as a political issue
7. Retirement of Prime Minister - suggested alternative
8. Responsible Government
9. Not a vote on Conscription - no future commitments
10. Parallel between men and money
11. Appeal for affirmative vote
12. General Election, Referendum or Plebiscite
13. Mechanics of Plebiscite - nature of campaign.
14. No hampering of war effort - delay and cost.

Headings	Mr. King	Mr. Pickersgill
1. Why government does not act itself?		answered
2. Suggestion Prime Minister and government make way for another.		develop
3. Why House of Commons could not decide.		answered
4. Pledge in a class by itself.		answered
5. Break pledge equals break faith in government and democratic institutions.		answered
6. Alternative methods of consulting people.		develop
7. Why remove pledge now?		answered
8. Country in false light.		answered
9. Not putting forth total effort.		develop
10. To discuss conscription on its merits.		develop
11. To preserve unity of Canada.		answered
12. Changed conditions and need to defeat enemy abroad.		guard against false impression
13. Co-operative joint effort necessary.		develop
14. Not for or against conscription.		develop
15. Conscription - a military question.		~~answered in part~~ ~~answered~~
16. Government assuming responsibility.		
17. Trust in govt. - Responsibility for voting no.		develop
18. Appeal toward end and personal position.		develop
19. Summing up.		

D 42765

D 42766

Topical Outline of First Plebiscite Broadcast.

1. Government asking for a free hand
2. Not a lack of legal power
3. Questions to answer re plebiscite:
    1. What binds the government?
    2. Why was the restriction imposed?
    3. Why should government and Parliament not tackle the question?
    4. Why should restriction be removed?
4. Legal power and moral obligation
5. The sanctity of the pledged word
6. Pledge bound government and opposition alike.
7. The nature of the restriction upon the government
8. Why the promise was given:
    1. Memory of last war
    2. Expectation of another European war.
    3. Need for unity.
9. Vital importance of national unity
10. No reason why removal of restriction should weaken unity.
11. Why government and Parliament did not tackle question:
    1. Destruction of faith in democratic institutions;
    2. Parliament bound as well as government.
12. Restriction places war effort in false light.
13. Issue is not conscription; but power of government and Parliament to decide on conscription.
14. People of Canada prepared to do what is necessary, once need is clear.

D 42767

15. Policy should be discussed and determined in Parliament.

16. National existence more important than national unity.

17. All free nations must co-operate fully

18. Situation never more critical.

19. Need of keeping war away from Canada

20. Canada's whole war effort in defence of Canada.

21. Leave no excuse for doubt as to where Canada stands.

22. Appeal for a free hand.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
March 30, 1942

D 42768

RE: PLEBISCITE BROADCAST

How present situation has come about

On Monday the 27th of this month, the people of Canada will be asked by the government to give to the government a free hand in the administration of the affairs of the country at this time of war. That must strike many of you as a curious request for any government to make. We have all been taught to believe that a government was all powerful, and that anything it wished to do, it would be able to do so long as it was able to command the majority in Parliament.

But there is something stranger even than that. Were this a time of peace, instead of a time of war, there would be no need for the government to make to the people any appeal of the kind, for the government would have full power - subject to its responsibility to Parliament and to the people - to take, with respect to any matter which might arise, whatever course it believes to be in the public interest.

How then, you ask, does it come about that at a time of war, when, above all other times, the hands of the government should be free to take whatever course of action may seem to it most in the interest of the country, that it has not the same full power that it would have in a time of peace, when the decisions to be made are not nearly so important, or where if mistakes either of omission or commission are made, the results may not be nearly so disastrous or even irretrievable.

D 42769

The answer is that while the government, from the legal point of view, has just as much power in time of war as it has in time of peace, and indeed has been given, by Parliament, the right on its own authority to exercise even greater powers than would be given to any government in time of peace, it nevertheless has placed a certain restriction upon the exercise of its own powers, which restriction had no relation whatever to times of peace, but was expressly related to a possible course of action at a time of war.

Let me make this perfectly clear. Parliament at all times is supreme. The only limitation upon the power of a Government in times alike of peace and war, is its ability to command a majority in the House of Commons. That is what we mean by the Government's responsibility to Parliament, and through Parliament to the people whose representatives comprise its members. Tomorrow, if it wished to do so, and had reason to believe its action would be supported by a majority of members in the House of Commons, the Government could ignore altogether anything in the nature of a restriction regardless of the reason for which it may have been imposed, and adopt whatever measure it might wish and deem necessary to adopt.

Under the powers which have been given to the Government under the War Measures Act -- a measure enacted at the time of the last war, but never repealed -- without immediate regard to Parliament, it might immediately take any course of action it

D 42770

deemed in the interests of the State at this time of war, regardless of any restriction. In order to continue in office, the Government would, of course, have to continue to enjoy the support of a majority in the House of Commons for the measures that it might enact. But so far as legal power goes, that power is in the hands of the Government today under the legal power which Parliament at all times possesses because of its supremacy and the power expressly given by Parliament to the Government under the War Measures Act.

Why then, it is asked, does the Government not exercise the power which it has? Why go to all the trouble and expense of a plebiscite simply to ascertain whether or not the people are prepared to free the Government from a restriction given at a time when conditions were vastly different from what they are today? Why, it is asked, should the Government, when we are now in a time of war, be expected to hold to an undertaking given in a time of peace? The facts, however, are that the undertaking given, while related to a time of war, was not given only at a time of peace. It was given during the war itself; given not by members of the Government only, or by the Government's supporters in Parliament and in the country at the time of a general election, but in equal measure by the Leader of the official Opposition, and by, or on behalf of the members of his party in Parliament and in the country at the time of the election.

It is true to say that there is not in the Parliament

D 42771

of Canada today a dozen members -- if indeed there is half that number -- who, at the general elections of 1940 stated their position as one of oposition to the maintenance of the restriction which was recognized to exist at the time, by which it was claimed the government that was returned to office after the election would continue to be bound. These are the facts. They are facts which because of their significance have become a part of the recorded history of our country. They are facts which no government, however lightly it may wish to view the generality of promises made at the time of the election can venture to ignore because, in no uncertain way, they are mirrored in the complexion of the present House of Commons.

You have often heard it said that the public memory is short; that people soon forget and I am afraid toooften that is only too true. But it is true, I believe, of the moment and the short run, rather than of periods of time and the long run. The whole of history goes to show that people do not soon forget, particularly what they believe of injustice; that peoples have long memories and that in meeting problems which arise in the present, the past has to be reckoned with. This is but one of many reasons why a government faced with critical conditions at a time of war is obliged to look into the past as well as to seek to see into the future. With the movement of events, what in the past two years they have become, and immensity of scale and swiftness of time, and to all of us in ever-increasing

danger, it is little wonder that to many of us much of the past should appear to be wholly unrelated to the present. This, however, is anything but the case.

What is needed, however, is that as respects the past and present alike we should review both in the light of all the circumstances past and present. As conditions change in one place and in one particular, so the means of coping with them in other places and in other particulars, also change. No greater mistake could be made by an individual or by a nation than that its position and outlook should continue to be what it was in relation to past conditions, when those conditions themselves are vastly, if not entirely changed.

With these truths in mind, let me now seek to explain what the restriction is that has been placed upon the Government's freedom of action; how that restriction came to have the limiting power it has, and what the circumstances are which render it desirable that it should no longer exist, but that, at this time of war, the Government's hands should be free subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, and through Parliament to the people.

Nature of the Restriction Itself

Up to the present I have said nothing whatever as to the nature of the restriction itself beyond indicating that it related wholly and solely to the Government's powers at the time of war. Here let me say that the fact that the restriction is so related gives to it a significance which it otherwise would

not possess. Generally speaking, it was obvious that, at a time of war, there should be less in the way of restriction of freedom of action by an administration than is the case at any other time. There, in a word, is the answer to those who are apt to take, if not a cynical at least an indifferent attitude toward policies set forth in political platforms and promises made by political parties at times of general elections. No party leader, it has been said, has ever been able to carry out his party's platform in detail or the promises and pledges made with respect thereto by himself for his following. Then why single out for scrupulous observance one particular pledge? Without admitting for a moment that party pledges should be either lightly given or lightly viewed, it must be apparent that there is a difference in kind as well as in degree between commitments which concern the common every-day business of life and the power of life and death which a government of a country is to possess over the lives of its citizens at a time of war. Anything which pertains to the latter necessarily falls in the category of the most solemn of all powers which a government may or may not be called upon to exercise. It has always been held that when their own country was in danger, its citizens one and all might be called upon to defend its territories and their own freedom. It is only since the present war commenced that it has come to be seen that, as among free nations, the freedom of each may be bound up in the freedom of all and that to save itself and its own freedom a nation that is still free may find its surest method of preserving its own freedom in seeking the

preservation and the restoration of the freedom of other nations.

There is nothing to be gained at a time like the present by regrets or recriminations, and I shall be the last who would wish to revive unhappy memories. To understand the present restriction upon the Government's freedom of action in the present war, it is necessary to make a statement at least with respect to what occurred at the time of the last war.

The last war was a war in which the fighting on land was confined almost entirely to Europe. Canada's contribution was almost wholly that of sending expeditionary forces overseas. In that war, Canada's participation ~~in the~~ was made almost exclusively by its experiditionary force consisting in all, over the period of years, of divisions.

The contributions at sea and in the air, relatively speaking, was almost negligible. The five years' term of Parliament expired in 1916. It was extended for a year on the understanding that controversial measures would not be introduced within that period of time. Before the year was out, the most controversial of all measures, an act to apply conscription to forces overseas was passed, and a wartime election act enacted to ensure the return of the Government's pledge to enforce conscription. Both the measure itself and the means taken to protect its enforcement were widely condemned by a large part of the country. The enforcement of the measure gave rise to the bitterest feelings and resentment that ever since have been deeply cherished. In a word a wound was inflicted in the side of the Dominion which

time thus far has failed to heal. National unity suffered the worst blow -- the one really serious blow which it had received since confederation.

As a military measure, conscription itself served no useful purpose; indeed, in its actual effects, it was regarded as detracting from rather than adding to the service of Canada's forces in the Great War.

When the Great War was over the people of all countries prayed that the world might never witness another Great War. With the institution of the League of Nations, it was believed that a method had been found which would be sufficient to maintain peace among nations, or at least serve to localize all future wars. Canadians generally prayed and believed that Canada might never be obliged again to participate in another European war. Public men from all parties took the position that if war ever did come again at least there would not be, so far as Canada was concerned, conscription of men for service overseas. Nazi Germany began to assert powers, first by the invasion of the Rhur, later by the invasion of Austria, and the threatened invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the possibility of another European war loomed on the world's horizon. As the menace increased, and it became necessary for governments to take to self-defence and to face the possibility of future conflict, the position to be taken by each country with respect to sending its armed forces abroad came to be asserted with more and more definitness.

In Canada, as in many other countries, it was difficult enough to have parliament make the necessary appropriations for Canadian defence. I doubt if they could have been made at all without repeated assurances that in the event of another European war there would be no conscription for overseas service.

What was said in Parliament will be found in the Hansard record of the debate. When finally, after the invasion of Poland by Germany, Britain entered the war, and Parliament, within days after virtually decided that Canada would stand at the side of Britain, it was pretty generally recognized that this all-important decisions had been due more than all else to two contributing factors:

1) the position taken by the Government that, with respect to participation in war, Parliament itself would decide, and
2) that, in the event of participation, resort would not be had to conscription with respect to the armed forces overseas.

In both these particulars, the Government had given a solemn pledge, or undertaking, to which it had resolutely adhered. It was the trust which the people had in the Government itself and its pledged word.

I do not think it is too much to say that the immediate entry of Canada into the war as a united nation was due to the trust which all parts of the country placed in the Government's word with respect to participation being a matter for the decision

D 42777

of Parliament itself and the pledge that resort would not be had to conscription for service overseas with respect to our war effort. Indeed, assurances with regard to the latter were given on behalf of the Government in the course of the very debate on the Government's motion with respect to participation.

This was the restriction and the one and only restriction placed on the power of the Government. It was, as you will see, a restriction which was related to Canada's participation in war, given in the first instance before the war itself was declared; given inthe second instance as a pledge at the time the country's decision to enter the war was being made, and given and maintained thereafter while the war itself was in progress.

~~When, in 1940~~

At the time when Canada's participation in the war was being challenged with an election in the Province of Quebec by a government professing a different political faith, a like assurance with respect to service overseas was given in the name of the present government by the late Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Cardain, and other liberal leaders and members of the House of Commons from Quebec. Had that assurance not been given there could be no doubt that the verdict of that Province might have been wholly different from that which it gave at the time. As it was the people of the Province of Quebec turned out of office the government that had

D 42778

sought to thwart Canada's war effort, and placed in office under the leadership of the Hon. Mr. Godbout, a government which was prepared to co-operate with the national administration in furthering the national effort. I doubt if any service, at the time, would have meant more to the Allied cause than that which was rendered by the people of Canad of the Province of Quebec in thus demonstrating the unity of Canada in its war effort.

When, in 1940 the effectiveness of Canada's entry into the war was challenged by a resolution of the Ontario legislature and a general election was held, the adequacy of the Government's war effort was not challenged on the score of its unwillingness to apply conscription for service overseas. Indeed, in stating its position to the country in a general election, both the Government and the Opposition made it perfectly clear, that if returned to power resort would not be had to conscription for service overseas.

This undertaking was given by myself as leader of the party in the name of the Government as a whole and on behalf of its entire following. It was supported by every member of the Ministry in every province of Canada, and by the candidates of the party who were subsequently returned as members of Parliament as to how completely the Government's undertaking with respect to no conscription for overseas service was paralleled by the Opposition, I give you the words of the Hon. Dr. Manion, the then leader of the Conservative Party.

D 42779

(Paragraph to be kept in mind)

In the recent political controversy it has been asserted that I alone was responsible for the pledge which was given not to permit of conscription for service overseas.

D 42780

In a statement issued as recently as Dr. Manion said: (take in)

I mention these undertakings at this time not for the purpose of reviving controversy but rather to make perfectly clear that it was to avoid controversy, the bitterest kind of controversy; racial and religious, that both political parties adopted at the time of the general elections in 1940 the same attitude towards conscription. Parties vied with each other in the adequacy in the maximum effort on Canada's part in the winning of the war. The fact that in thus asserting their convictions they gave assurances there could be no conscription for overseas service is the clearest possible evidence that with the war in the stage it had then reached it was felt that not only was conscription for overseas service unnecessary in connection with an all out effort, but that the raising of the issues in itself would be so injurious to national unity as actually to impede, rather than accelerate the nations efforts.

But it was not alone the people who recognized as a means of maintaining national unity, the wisdom of refraining from a policy of conrscipbion for overseas service. Parliament itself some months later adopted a like attitude under circumstances much more critical. When the National Resources Mobilization Act was passed, giving the Government

D 42781

power to mobilize for the defence of Canada all the resources, human and material, its provisions were definitely limited to the defence of Canada as interpreted by its geographical boundaries. In other words, care was taken to avoid controversy arising at a time of war with respect to the vexed problem of conscription of men for service overseas.

And here, by the way, may I pause to make briefly clear what the issue in Canada is with respect to conscription of men for service in the armed forces. There are many people in Canada today who are not aware that already conscription for service in the army for the defence of Canada within Canada is a part of the law of the land and has been ever since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act on June 1940. Day after day I am being asked either orally or in some written communication why our young men should not be obliged to serve in the defence of their country, and if necessary made to join some local regiment or battalion. There are many who believe that the present plebiscite has to do with applying compulsion to men for some form of national service within Canada itself. They are not aware that compulsion for service in the army has been in existence for nearly two years, and that it is not with respect to the question of serving in the armed forces in Canada but only with respect to serving in the armed forces of Canada overseas that the question of compulsion arises in our country or is in any way related to the forthcoming plebiscite.

Compulsory service by Canadians in the army was in existence in Canada for a year and a half before compulsory service became a part of the law of the United States. It is since Japan attacked the United States that compulsion has become a part of the law of the United States. It is that now for service overseas as well as at home.

In the light of all that I have said, there can, I think be no doubt that the pledge given with respect to conscription for service overseas, so far as Canada is concerned, is as respects pledges or undertakings given by Parliament in a class by itself. It is a pledge which owes its origin to historical considerations, and known circumstances of which no Government in Canada should fail to take full account. It is a pledge which counted in hundreds of thousands of our citizens has influenced them in their attitude towards Canada's participation in the war and our war effort ever since.

It is something that goes to the very roots of our system of representative responsible government and to the very bases upon which the authority of government itself is derived, namely the will of the people as known and expressed in certain methods as the constitution of the country provides.

There is only one way in the circumstances which have lead to its existence that a government can be freed of a pledge of the kind, and that is by receiving from the people themselves to whom it has been given the release which is necessary to give

D 42783

the government the perfect freedom which it desires.

Let me examine for a moment the force of what has been said to the contrary. First of all it has and is being said that this being in a time of war, and the war having assumed the proportions it has, the government should no longer pay attention to the promises it has made, or the pledges it has given. Had these promises and pledges not specifically related to a particular aspect of the war effort itself, there might be something to be said for regarding as of less importance than the war some matter some matter which related to other. Here, however, is something which relates to the conduct of the war itself, and was specifically considered from the point of view of the effect upon the country's war effort which its adoption might have. To ignore the pledged word of the government and to attempt arbitrarily to impose a course of action which the electorate has been led to believe would never be imposed without its consent, instead of furthering, would only serve to frustrate the efforts which, up to the present, have so successfully been put forth in the direction of total war and in maintaining toward that end the inestimable boom of national unity.

What, however, is more serious than this would be the the effect of such a step upon the confidence of the people in their public men and political institutions. There never was a time when the need is what it is today to conserve and to preserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges.

D 42784

Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges and disregard of the popular will are the forces against which Canada is fighting today.

There are those who say that they recognize quite clearly that, having given the pledge I did, and which they say may have been necessary or expedient at the time, that the proper course now to be taken would be for me to admit my obligation up to the present but ask Parliament to relieve me of it from now on. They feel sure that Parliament would be quite prepared were I to ask them so to relieve me. A much simpler method, some say, would be for me to resign and ask His Excellency the Governor General to send for some other person whom I might name, who would not be prepared to regard himself as in any way bound by a pledge of the kind, and who would administer the affairs of the Government accordingly. Pleasing, as such a course of action might be to some of my political opponents, I am far from believing that it would be viewed with like favour by those by the enjoyment of whose confidence I hold office at the present time and have held office over many years in our country. I wonder what the same persons would be the first to say of me were I ever to take a step of the kind. Never, would it be said, was there such a betrayal of public confidence in the history of the country. Never were colleagues so betrayed by their leader. Never was a country so disgraced by its Prime Minister. Never were a people so betrayed by the chief

D 42785

adviser of the Crown.

Without first placing before the people reasons why, in the national interest, change in conditions might render necessary the Ministry being given a perfectly free hand to resign office simply that/office might be handed over to another unwilling to recognize pledges which bind the Government as a whole would as regards the offense itself be a difference only in degree but not in kind. I might say that those who speak so readily of what they believe Parliament itself would do in response to such an appeal, speak without an appreciation of the sense of obligation which most members of parliament have towards their constituents. I am perfectly sure that however ready and willing many members might be to meet the wishes of the leader of the government in circumstances of the kind, the majority would feel that because of the commitments they themselves have made, or which had been made on their behalf, and which they would feel the electorate had taken into account at the time of their return to parliament, without first going before their constituents to obtain their consent to such a course, they themselves would not be free to give the desired release. It would be strange indeed if our representative institutions are to be regarded as truly representative and democratic, if such were not the case. To assume that once a government has attained office, it is free either to ignore all pledges given or gain release therefrom at the instance of its following in parliament, rather

(4)

D 42786

D 42787

Section D: Why people may vote "No"

D1. Introductory

D2. Wish of Prime Minister regarding vote

D3. Canada in no danger and doing too much

D4. Canada in great danger and should keep all her men at home

D5. An affirmative vote means sending all our men to fight for some other country

D6. The hand of the government forced by Britain or the United States

D7. The enemy wants an affirmative vote

D8. The responsibility assumed in voting "No"

Section E: Affirmative vote for national security

E1. International situation still more critical

E2. Resources of the United Nations in themselves no guarantee of victory

E3. Time is not necessarily on our side

Section F: An affirmative vote for national unity

Section G: An affirmative vote for the good name of Canada

G1. Canada's effort in a false light

G2. False position a danger to Canada

G3. In Canada's interest to remove all doubt as to our position

re NO

D4. Canada is already doing too much.

Another reason you are given for voting "No" is that Canada is already doing too much in this war. It is said that if you vote "Yes", the Government will impose conscription for overseas service and thus add to the sacrifices of the people.

Those who tell you that Canada is already doing more than its share in this war are either blind to the danger which faces our country, or they are deliberately trying to deceive you as to the danger. Let me in turn ask you and ask them how it is possible to do too much to save our own lives and to preserve our own country. In any event, the question being asked in the plebiscite is not whether Canada should do more or whether Canada should do less to win the war. That question cannot arise because the Government has already decided and Parliament has approved the decision that our country should put forth a maximum effort.

D 42789

D5. Surest defence of Canada is on our own coastx.

One of the arguments often used for a "No" vote is that the surest defence of Canada is on our own coasts and in our own territory. This argument is more serious. It is quite natural for every Canadian to feel concerned about the extent of our defences. You naturally want to know whether our own coasts, our own ports, and our own cities are being adequately protected. You cannot fail to ask yourselves where Canada's armed forces can best be employed. At the same time, it is impossible for the Government, without informing the enemy, to give the people the information on which a wise decision on this question could be made. It is the gravest of all the responsibilities of a Government in wartime to decide how and where to employ its armed forces. It is because this question is so important that the Government is asking for a free hand to make that decision. But the decision itslef will not and cannot depend upon the vote in the plebiscite; it will and it must depend upon the course of the war and the needs of our own country.

There are those, I know, who say that Australia provides us with an example of the danger of sending troops out of the country, that Australia would be more secure to-day if she had not sent an army to the Middle East or to Singapore.

D 42790

But let us not forget that Australia is receiving not only the sympathy but the active support of the United States and the other United Nations to-day. An American armed force is laready in Australia. Does anyone think that Australia would have received the same willing help if she had not already earned that help by her own contribution to the common cause of freedom? At the same time, it should not be supposed that the armed forces of the United States have been sent to Australia solely to help Australia. They are also there to protect the Uni ed States and Canada, and to hold across the Pacific, a base from which Japan can in turn be attacked.

It is not, therefore, true to say that the surest defence of any country is on its own coasts. Every country which hopes to defend itself against the present threat of world-wide slavery must do all it can to fortify its own territory and to strengthen its own coasts; it must also do all it can to meet and defeat the enemy. Let me, however, repeat that the issue in this plebiscite is not where our armed forces are to be used, but whether the Government is to be completely free to decide where they are to be used.

D6. Canada's defences would be weakened as a result of an affirmative vote.

Another argument given for voting "No" is closely related to the last argument. It is said that an affirmative vote would give the Government a mandate to send all our armed forces out of the country, and to leave our own territory unprotected. This argument, like the previous argument, is based upon two false assumptions. In the first place, it is assumed that the people are being asked to decide where the armed forces of Canada will be employed. No such question is being asked. In the second place, it is assumed that the armed forces and, for that matter, the munitions of war which Canada is sending overseas are not being used for the defence of Canada. This idea is wholly false. No matter where our men fight, no matter where our munitions are used, those men are fighting, and those munitions are being used, to defend Canada. The fact that the hands of the Government are free is not going to alter in any way the disposition of Canada's armed forces. So long as I remain at the head of the wartime administration of Canada, our forces will be used and our munitions will be sent wherever the Government believes, in the light of the best information available, they will contribute most to the security of Canada.

D7. The hand of the Government forced by Britain (or the United States).

It is also being said that the hand of the Government has been forced by Britain or by the United States. In other words, you are urged to vote "No" to safeguard the autonomy of Canada. The suggestion that the plebiscite is being held because of pressure from London or from Washington, is wholly and completely false. Every decision relating to Canada's war effort has been taken in Canada by the Canadian Government. The Government, ofcourse, consults with the governments of its allies, and particularly with Britain and the United States. They equally consult with us. But at no time has there been the slightest suggestion of any pressure on the Canadian Government from Britain, from the United States, or from any other country. Moreover, the Government would not tolerate such pressure for a moment.

Canada is participating in this war as an equal partner in the grand alliance of the United Nations. We are also a full partner in that alliance. As a full partner we have freely accepted the responsibility of putting forth an all-out effort. If the good name of Canada is to upheld among the free nations, we must not only remove all restrictions upon our war effort; we must equally remove every appearance of restriction. It is for Canada's safety, for Canada's future, that the Government seeks a free hand.

D 42793

Wilder mailer no 11

D8. The enemy wants an affirmative vote.

The strangest of all reasons you are given for voting "No" is that the enemy would like you to vote YES. It would, I believe, be easy to show, by an appeal to your common sense, that this is absurd. It is not, however, necessary to argue the point at all. The Government knows how the enemy wants you to vote. He has told you and told us over the radio, in the broadcasts from Paris, I do not need to tell you that not a single word is broadcast from Paris that Hitler does not approve. The Paris radio is advising the people of Canada to vote "NO". That means that Hitler is advising you to vote "NO". The enemy wants you to vote "NO" because he wants to divide the country. He wants you to vote "NO" in order to sow discord between the country and the Government. He wants you to vote "NO" because he knows that if he can destroy our national unity, he can destroy our war effort. Those who tell you that the enemy wants you to vote YES are not telling the truth. The enemy does not want you to vote YES because he does not want your Government to have full powers to carry on the war.

~~IWP/JMC.~~
~~18.1.42.~~

D 42794

Section D. Why people may vote "No."

D.1. Introductory.

The principal reason given by those who advise you to vote "No" is that by voting "Yes" you are voting for conscription. I have already pointed out that this is not true. You are not asked to vote for conscription or no conscription. You are asked to say whether or not you are willing to trust the government and the Parliament of Canada to decide the issue of conscription in the same way any other question would be decided.

There are however, a number of other reasons given to you for voting "No". You are being told that I do not really want you to vote "Yes". You are also being told that you should vote "No" in order to protect me from the advocates of conscription. In addition to these personal arguments, you are being told that Canada is in no danger; that the government promised limited participation; that Canada is doing too much in this war. The same people who tell you that Canada is in no danger also tell you that Canada is in great danger and must therefore keep all her men at home. They tell you that if you vote "Yes" all our men will be sent overseas to

D 42795

fight for some other country and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. They even tell you that the government is asking you to vote "Yes" because its hand is forced by Britain or by the United States. Yet no sooner have they told you that Britain and the United States want you to vote "Yes" than they tell you that the enemy wants you to vote "Yes."

These, I believe, are the main reasons you are given for voting "No". I am now going to take each of them in turn and answer them.

D.2. Wish of Prime Minister regarding vote.

Let me first answer those who tell you that I am not sincere in asking you to vote "Yes"; that in fact, I really want you to vote "No". That statement is wholly false. It is moreover, a serious reflection upon my honour as a public man. There is not the slightest excuse for this statement.

When the plebiscite was first announced, I told Parliament that the desire of the administration to possess complete freedom of action would receive the vigorous and wholehearted support of all members of the government. I regret that some of those who pretend to be my friends have told you that my words are not sincere.

These same persons, who pretend to be my friends, also say that you should vote "No" to protect me from pressure from advocates of conscription in the country, in my own party and even in the Cabinet. Do you not think it is a strange way to protect a man by trying to keep his hands tied when he himself is asking you to free his hands? Is my position as Prime Minister going to be stronger or weaker when my hands are free? Is the position of the government going to be stronger or weaker when its hands are free? To ask those questions is to answer them.

So long as the hands of the government are

D 42797

tied, every word we say on the issue of conscription is discounted because of the existence of this restriction. Once the restriction is removed, both the government and Parliament will be free to discuss the issue of conscription on its merits.

D.3. Canada in no danger and doing too much.

Let me turn now to the next reason given to you to vote "No". It is said that Canada is really in no danger; that the government promised limited participation; and that Canada is already doing too much in this war. It is hard to believe that those who used this argument are sincere. Surely no man who has watched the progress of Nazi aggression and Nazi conquest in the last two years; surely no-one who has watched the spread of Japanese conquest over thousands of miles of sea in less than 5 months; surely no-one who has counted up the number of ships sunk - almost within sight of the shores of Canada and the United States - is still so blind as to think that Canada alone in the world is safe from attack.

Those who tell you that Canada is in no danger, then go on to say that because we are in no danger, Canada should not be taking part in the war. They say that in order to persuade them to accept participation, the government promised that Canada's part in the war would be limited or, as some call it, moderate. This statement is not true. The government made no such promise. When the government appealed to the people in 1940 for a mandate to carry on war, I used the following words in a national broadcast delivered on February 23rd, 1940:-

"This war" I said, "demands Canada's utmost effort."

D 42799

By giving the government overwhelming support in the election, the Canadian people gave the government a mandate to organize the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The only restriction recognized by the government - and by the Opposition as well - was not a restriction upon the extent of Canada's effort. It was a restriction solely upon the methods of raising men for military service overseas. It is that restriction from which the government is asking to be released. You are not being asked to decide whether Canada's effort shall be a limited effort or an all out effort. That question has already been decided by the people themselves in the general election of 1940.

Those who tell you that Canada is already doing too much in this war are either blind to the danger to our country, to our homes and families, or they are deliberately trying to deceive you as to the danger. The danger is so great and so apparent that I cannot believe any considerable number of the people of Canada will be deceived. Nor do I believe that any true Canadian will say that it is possible to do too much to save our own lives, the lives of our families and the freedom of our country. But, let me repeat, you are not being asked to

D 42800

say whether Canada is doing too much. That is not the question. You are being asked to say whether or not you will trust the government and Parliament to do whatever is necessary for the safety of Canada.

D 42801

D.4. Canada in great danger and should keep all her men at home.

When those who advise you to vote "No" have finished telling you that Canada is in no danger and is therefore going too much in the war, they at once turn around and tell you that our country is in very great danger and should therefore keep all its men at home. They cannot have it both ways~~x~~ ~~and~~ The fact that such contradictory arguments are used is in itself evidence of the weakness of their position. It is true that Canada is in danger of attack; it is true that the enemy wishes to destroy our national existence and to conquer our territory. It is quite natural for every Canadian to feel concerned about the extent of our defences. Our people want to know whether our own coasts, our own ports and our own cities are adequately protected. Our people want to be sure that Canada's armed forces are being used in the best way possible to defend Canada, but the people cannot decide for themselves where our armed forces can be used to the greatest advantage. It would be impossible to give the people the information on which to make a wise decision without also informing the enemy. The disposition of our forces is, in fact, the gravest of all the responsibilities of a government in wartime. It is precisely because this decision is the most important of all decisions, that the government feels the need of being

D 42802

free of all restrictions upon its power to make that decision. The people are not being asked to vote upon ~~the~~ as to where our troops are to be used ~~that~~ question ~~in the plebiscite~~. That decision should depend, and will depend, upon the course of the war and the needs of our own security.

Moreover, it is not true to say that the best way for a country to defend itself is to keep all its men at home. We do not want to fight this war in Canada. We want to keep it away from our coasts. At the same time we must strengthen the defences of our coasts and we must fortify our territory in order to meet the enemy if he breaks through our outer defences. Some of our fighting men must be kept in Canada and will be kept in Canada. Some of them must go out to meet the enemy and will go out to meet the enemy to keep him away from our shores and finally to help to defeat him. ~~but~~ The government is not asking the people to decide how many men will be kept in Canada and how many men sent outside Canada. That is our responsibility and our duty as the wartime government. We are asking for complete freedom to make that decision, subject only to our responsibility to Parliament.

D42803

D.5. An affirmative vote means sending all our men to fight for some other country.

You are also being told that if you vote "Yes" all our men will be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the selfish Imperial interests of Britain or the interests of Communist Russia or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own. There may be a few Canadians who place the imperial interests of Britain before the interests of Canada; there may be a few Canadians more concerned about the fate of other countries than about the existence of their own, but they are, I believe, a small minority. The great majority of Canadians are fighting this war at Britain's side, not because Britain's selfish imperial interests are in danger, but because Britain is keeping the enemy away from Canada. The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to keep the enemy away from this continent and to

D 42804

help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us.

Every man in Canada's fighting forces who is overseas or at home is engaged in defending Canada. By voting "No" you are not voting against sending men overseas. By voting "Yes" you are not voting ~~for~~ to send men overseas. That is not the question. The question is whether the government is to be completely free to decide where our fighting men can best be used to protect Canada and how they can best be raised.

D 42805

D.6. The hand of the government forced by Britain or the United States.

Those who are telling you to vote "No" are also telling you that the government is asking you to vote "Yes" because its hand has been forced by Britain or by the United States. They tell you to vote "No" in order to safeguard the autonomy and freedom of Canada. The suggestion that the government is holding a plebiscite because of pressure from London or Washington is wholly and completely false. Every decision relating to Canada's war effort has been taken by the Canadian government. The government, of course, consults the governments of our allies, and particularly the governments of Britain and the United States. Their governments equally consult us. But there has at no time been the slightest pressure on the Canadian government from Britain, from the United States or from any other country.

Canada is taking part in this war as one of the United Nations. Among the united nations Canada is an equal partner; Canada is also a full partner having full responsibilities. As a full partner, Canada ~~fully~~ freely ~~expected~~ accepted the responsibility of putting forth an all out effort. Those Canadians who wish to uphold the freedom, the autonomy and the good name of Canada, can do

D 42806

so by helping to remove any shadow of doubt as to our determination to play our full part as a nation. Not only must we remove all restrictions upon our war effort; we must equally remove every appearance of restriction.

D.7. <u>The enemy wants an affirmative vote</u>. D42807

No sooner have those who are advising you to vote "no" told you that Britain and the United States want you to vote "Yes" than they tell you that the enemy wants you to vote "Yes." This is the strangest of all reasons you are given for voting "No". It would I believe, be easy to show by appeal to your common sense that the enemy does not want you to vote "Yes". It is not, however, necessary to argue this point at all, because we know the facts. The enemy has told us how he wants us to vote. He has told us over the radio in broadcasts from Paris. I do not need to tell you that every word broadcast by the Paris radio is approved by Hitler or his agents. The Paris radio is advising the people of Canada to vote "No". What that means, is, that Hitler is advising you to vote "No."

Why does the enemy want you to vote "No."? He wants you to vote no because he wants to divide Canada. He wants you to vote "No" because he wants to set one section of the country against another. He wants you to vote "No" because he knows that if he can destroy our national unity he can destroy our war effort. Those who tell you that the enemy wants you to vote "Yes" are not telling you the truth. The enemy does not want you to vote "Yes" because he does not want the government of Canada to have full powers to carry on the war.

Plebiscite

D 42808

Not adopted

Suggested Plan for Second Broadcast

1. Introduction:

   Scope of broadcast - an answer to NOES

   and appeal for an affirmative vote.

2. The reply to the noes:

   taking up each point in turn.

3. The responsibility involved in voting NO.

Section 2.

D 42809

Reply to negative case.

1. Prime Minister really wants a NO vote.

I want first of all to reply to those who are telling you that I am not sincere in asking you to vote YES; that, in fact, I really want you to vote NO.

I cannot find words strong enough to deal with that allegation. I am being charged - in some cases by those who pretend to be my friends - with saying one thing in public and another in private. It is pretended that I am asking the people to do one thing when I want them to do another. Not only is the charge false in itself, it is a serious reflection on my honour as a public man. Such conduct would be wholly unworthy of a Prime Minister at any time, and least of all, at a time of war.

Moreover, there is not the slightest excuse for making the charge. When I placed before Parliament the reasons why the government was going to hold a plebiscite I concluded with these words:

"In the presentation of the plebiscite to the electorate the desire of the administration to possess complete freedom of action will, of course, receive the vigorous and whole-hearted support of all members of the government. It will, I hope, receive the support of every member of parliament and will, I believe, receive the support of the Canadian people."

That is what I said when the plebiscite was first proposed. That is what I have always said. That is what I say now.

D42810

2. A negative vote required to protect the Prime Minister.

Closely related to the false statement that I desire a negative vote is the argument that a NO is required to protect me from the pressure of the advocates of conscription in the country, in my own party, and even in the Cabinet.

It seems to me curious that anyone should think that the way to protect a man is to keep his hands tied, when he is himself asking you to free his hands. May I in turn ask this question? Is my own position as Prime Minister going to be stronger or weaker when my hands are free and the hands of the government are free?

To-day every word we say on the question of conscription is discounted because of the existence of this restriction. Let that restriction be removed; give the government full power and full authority; and we can then place our position before Parliament on its merits.

I might add that the suggestion that the Prime Minister must be kept in chains in order to protect him is a serious reflection upon my own strength of purpose and devotion to duty. I cannot believe in the sincerity of the friendship of those who pretend to be my friends, but who trust me so little as to suggest that I would be diverted from the path of duty by pressure or by public clamour.

Electorate may
~~[illegible]~~
Vote No. for the reasons
(1) - fear of conscription
(2) - need of men at
home - both matters
for [illegible] to decide

D42811

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remove conscription from
arena of controversy - to fate

Need for Change 2 Nations
at Washington

Going to Meeting of Pacific
Council —
Australia No. "conscription"

3. Government promised limited participation.

I turn now from arguments which touch my personal situation to those which are more general.

The argument most frequently used by those who tell you to vote NO is that, at the outbreak of war, the country was divided into two opposed camps. It is said that, in order to gain the support of those who were opposed to Canada's entry into the war, the government made a bargain or contract in which it promised that Canada's participation would be limited or, as some call it, moderate.

This statement is wholly false and baseless. The government made no bargain or contract of any kind with any group of people to limit Canada's war effort. The only restriction ever recognized by the government was not a restriction upon the extent of our effort; it was a restriction solely upon the methods of raising men for service overseas. What is more, the pledge not to use conscription for overseas service was not given to any group or section of the country. It was given to the people of Canada in every part of Canada.

The government seeks today to be freed from that restriction. It is appealing for a free hand to all the people of Canada. The defence of Canada, the security

D42813

of our country, the safety of our homes and families is of equal concern to all our citizens regardless of race or creed. The very suggestion that the government would bargain away the national security is a serious charge. It is a charge which could be made only by those who are completely blind to the danger to our very lives.

D42814

4. Canada is already doing too much

Another reason you are given for voting NO is that Canada is already doing too much in this war. It is said that if you vote YES, the government will impose conscription for overseas service and thus add to the sacrifices of the people.

D 42815

5. The Surest Defence of Canada is on Our Own Coasts

One of the arguments often used for a "No" vote is that the surest defence of Canada is on our own coasts and in our own territory.

D 42816

6. Canada's defences would be weakened

Closely related to the last argument is the argument that an affirmative vote would give the government a mandate to send all our forces out of the country and to leave our coasts defenceless.

D 42817

7. <u>The hand of the government forced by Britain (or the United States.)</u>

It is also being said that the hand of the government has been forced by Britain or by the United States. In other words, you are urged to vote NO to safeguard the autonomy of Canada.

D42818

8. <u>The enemy wants an affirmative vote</u>.

The strangest of all the reasons given for voting NO is that the enemy would like you to vote YES.

Cruel dilemma?

Section 3

D 42819

The responsibility assumed in voting NO

May I now ask this further question? What is the meaning of voting NO? What are those who advise you to vote NO, in reality advising you to do?

They are telling you that they understand better than the government the needs of our country. They are telling you that, in face of the terrible danger to our freedom and our national existence, they know better than the government what should be done to defend Canada. They are telling you that the government of your own country, and the Parliament you yourselves elected, cannot be trusted to make the right decisions to protect your families and defend your homes. They are telling you to refuse to trust the government, to keep the government in chains, regardless of what may happen this spring or this summer or next year. By telling you to vote NO, they are telling you to risk the very existence and the whole future of Canada, in order to hold the government to a promise made at a time when the full extent of the present danger could not have been foreseen.

Who are the men who are advising you to vote NO? What are their qualifications? Is there among them one man with wide experience of world affairs? Is there one man who knows the gravity of the danger to our country? Is there among them one man who understands military science?

D 42820

No doubt some of those who are advising you to vote NO are sincere and honest men. But more than sincerity and honesty are needed to guide a nation through this terrible crisis in the world's history. The Canadian people, I believe, will demand of those who advise them and who seek to lead them, the wisdom that comes from knowledge and experience of national administration, of world affairs and of the problems of defence and strategy. Who among the men telling you to vote NO possesses such qualities?

To vote NO is, in fact, to disregard the advice and to reject the guidance of the government which is responsible for your own safety. To vote NO is to place your own individual judgment before the judgment of the government and Parliament of Canada. To vote NO. is to take upon yourself a direct personal responsibility for the future safety of your families which you deny to those in authority.

D.8. The responsibility assumed in voting "No"

May I now ask this further question? What is the meaning of voting NO? What are those who advise you to vote NO, in reality advising you to do?

They are telling you that they understand better than the government the needs of our country. They are telling you that, in face of the terrible danger to our freedom and our national existence, they know better than the government what should be done to defend Canada. They are telling you that the government of your own country, and the Parliament you yourselves elected, cannot be trusted to make the right decisions to protect your families and defend your homes. They are telling you to refuse to trust the government, to keep the government in chains, regardless of what may happen this spring or this summer or next year. By telling you to vote NO, they are telling you to risk the very existence and the whole future of Canada, in order to hold the government to a promise made at a time when the full extent of the present danger could not have been foreseen.

Who are the men who are advising you to vote NO? What are their qualifications? Is there among them one man with wide experience of world affairs? Is there one man who knows the gravity of the danger to our country? Is there among them one man who understands military science?

D 42822

No doubt some of those who are advising you to vote NO are sincere and honest men. But more than sincerity and honesty are needed to guide a nation through this terrible crisis in the world's history. The Canadian people, I believe, will demand of those who advise them and who seek to lead them, the wisdom that comes from knowledge and experience of national administration, of world affairs and of the problems of defence and strategy. Who among the men telling you to vote NO possesses such qualities?

To vote NO is, in fact, to disregard the advice and to reject the guidance of the government which is responsible for your own safety. To vote NO is to place your own individual judgment before the judgment of the government and Parliament of Canada. To vote NO is to take upon yourself a direct personal responsibility for the future safety of your families which you deny to those in authority.

(5)

D 42823

Reason to vote V

National security

Re: Sir Wilfrid, Dandurand and Lapointe

D 42824

Re Sir Wilfrid:
Statement re referendum.

Re Dandurand:
Member of government when plebiscite decided on; strongly favoured.

Re Lapointe:
Statement made in Parliament to young men of Quebec, and statement at time of death to Father Gaudreau.

Re my large Quebec following:

Would I advise a course which I knew might embarrass or be difficult for them or cause me the loss of part of my support were I not certain that the course I was recommending would be in the interests of the province in the long run? That an opposite course would be harmful to the province injuring its position in the eyes of the rest of Canada, just as Canada's position is being injured in the eyes of other countries by the maintenance of restriction?

Important to view the present in relation to the future. Look at the goal to be reached and see the obstacles in between. Not allow them to obstruct one's vision but rise to heights

D 42825

of vision which will show the best means of getting around them.

The goal is the maintenance of national unity and the preservation of national existence, and making Canada's contribution one of the outstanding achievements to victory and preservation of freedom.

Get complete record of arguments being made against plebiscite; how campaign against is being waged and answer all seriatim.

Protection of minorities a cardinal principle of Liberal policy.

Note phrase "unrestricted war against enemy of hymanity"
also note phrase "totalitarian war", "war for world freedom".

Make an appeal for organization to get out the vote.

D 42826

"If any scheme is to be successful, it must carry the broad agreement both of the minorities and of the rulers of the Indian states." (Halifax)

Section 4

D 42827

The Case for Voting YES

1. Give full responsibility to government and Parliament

In asking you to vote YES the government is not asking you to vote for conscription for service overseas. You are not asked to decide whether conscription is needed or whether it is not needed; you are asked to give the government and Parliament the same freedom to decide that issue as they now have to decide all other issues related to the conduct of the war. Parliament has already given the government full power to use the property and resources of all citizens for the purposes of war; that has not meant that all the property of our people has been conscripted. Parliament has also given the government full power to conscript all men and women for service within Canada; that has not meant that every man and woman has been conscripted. The government is now asking you to give it freedom to ask Parliament for the same power regarding the use of the services of men and women beyond the borders of Canada. Whether it may ever become necessary to Canada's security to exercise such powers, the future course of the war alone can determine.

Canada has a small population. We have undertaken many and heavy responsibilities in the present war. Unless we are to go short of men for the navy or the air force or war production or food production or essential civilian

D 42828

services, only a limited number of our men can be enrolled in the army. Conscription after all is merely one method of raising men. If the men required are all forthcoming of their own free will, conscription would be a needless waste of money and effort.

The Minister of National Defence has made it quite

D42829

3. National Security

There is little need, I believe, to repeat what I said on Tuesday last as to the strongest of all the reasons for giving the government a free hand. In the light of the critical situation, in the face of the uncertainties of the future, no one can say where Canada can best defend herself or what methods may need to be used, before this war is won. The government is not willing to gamble with the safety of our people and the future of our country. That is why we believe our hands should be free. There is not a present emergency. It is a future contingency which we should be ready, if need be, to meet. We know that our enemies leave nothing to chance. If we hope to overcome them, we, too, must prepare for all eventualities.

In urging you to vote YES, I ask you not to hesitate through fear that, at any time, or in any way, the interests of Canada would be subordinated to the interests of any other country. If I may introduce a personal note, may I say that, in my whole public life, I have always set above all other things the service of Canada. In every situation, in every crisis, I have always asked: "What do the interests of Canada require?" And what those interests appeared to me to require has been done. I have never sacrificed those interests to the claim of any person, any party, any idea. The interests of our country have always

D 42830

come first. In the light of that record, I ask you to believe that if the hands of the government are freed, I shall preserve my life-long devotion to the service of Canada. So long as I remain at the head of the administration, whatever it may propose to Parliament, will be proposed for one reason and one alone--that it is believed to be necessary for the security and well-being of Canada.

D 42831

Section F An Affirmative Vote for National Unity

In my broadcast of April the 7th I said that national unity was more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. I added that there was one thing more important to a nation than the preservation of its unity. That, I said, was the preservation of its existence. In saying that, I did not, for a moment, wish to suggest that, in defending our national existence, we must sacrifice our national unity. What I had in mind, and what I desire now to emphasize, was the need for a wider and a deeper conception of national unity that we have ever had before in Canada.

The foundation of our national unity is a partnership between the English and French speaking peoples. That unity is maintained, and can only be maintained, by maintaining freedom, tolerance and justice for Canadians of all races, creeds and classes who have joined together to build our country. It can only be maintained by a common devotion to Canada and to the interests of Canada as our common homeland. It was because these interests were threatened that Canada freely, as a free nation, entered this war at the side of Britain.

The unity of Canada as a nation is based upon equality and brotherhood among men. Germany and Japan are striving to impose upon the world a unity based upon racial superiority and the domination of the weak by the strong.

To dominate the world, Germany and Japan must first destroy the very existence of all other nations. Canada is one of their prospective victims. There is no doubt that our enemies are seeking, by deception and intrigue, to destroy the unity of Canada from within our own borders.

Nothing would delight them more than to use the forthcoming plebiscite as an instrument of treachery and disunity among Canadians. But the enemy can only create disunity in Canada, if the Canadian people fail to understand his true purpose. Once let us realize the magnitude of the danger to our very existence as a nation; once let us realize the vital need of standing together and of trusting one another; Once let us show our resolve to work together for the common safety and the enemy will seek in vain to divide our country from within.

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote "yes", I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races and all creeds in all parts of Canada to trust one another, and to trust the government they themselves chose, in war-time, to carry on the war. I am appealing to them to demonstrate to their fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable, and that our people are prepared for any and every sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. A free

D 42833

Canada can only ~~xxxxxx~~ survive in a free world. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the restoration of ~~F~~freedom to the world and of peace to mankind.

D 42834

7. Appeal for affirmative vote.

To vote "No" is to place your own individual judgment before the judgment of the government which is responsible for the safety of the nation. Failure to vote is an unworthy evasion of your duty as a citizen. In urging every citizen accordingly to vote "Yes" let me say that no one should hesitate to give the government a free hand through fear that, at any time or in any way, the interests of Canada will be subordinated to the interests of any other country.

If I may conclude on a personal note, may I say that, in my whole public life, I have always set above all other things the service of Canada. In every situation, in every crisis, I have always asked: "What do the interests of Canada require?" And what those interests appeared to me to require has been done. I have never sacrificed those interests to the claim of any person, any party, any idea. They have always come first. In the light of that record, I ask you to believe that if this government is released from the present restraint upon its freedom of action, I shall preserve my life-long devotion to the service of Canada. So long as I remain at the head of the administration, whatever it may propose to Parliament, will be proposed for one reason and one alone - that it is believed to be necessary for the security and wellbeing of Canada.

D 42835

Section G. An affirmative vote for the good name of Canada among the United Nations.

G.1. Canada's effort in a false light.

I have given two reasons why you should vote "Yes". I have said that an affirmative vote will give the government full authority to defend our national existence. I have said that an overwhelming affirmative vote will strengthen our national unity.

There is a third reason why you should vote "Yes". An overwhelming affirmative vote will show the rest of the world that Canada is determined to do its full part to defeat the enemy, and to save its own and the world's freedom. So long as the restriction remains; so long as the hands of the government are tied; it will be said that Canada is holding back; that the Canadian people are not ready to defend their own existence; that Canada is counting on other nations to defeat the common enemy, which is also Canada's enemy.

That, in fact, is what the critics of Canada are saying. They say that the hands of the government are tied, and that Canada is not free to make a total effort. All attention is directed to this one restriction. All else is overlooked. Canada's effort at sea, in the air, in war production, in food, in finance is forgotten. The fact is ignored that Canada has nearly 300,000 volunteers in the active army, enlisted for

D 42835-1

service anywhere in the world. Because of this one restriction it is said that Canada's war effort is limited and half-hearted.

Unfortunately these things are being said about Canada in other countries. They are being said particularly in the United States by those who seek to foster division and disunity between Canada and the United States. The fact that the charge is not true does not matter. We cannot expect people in other countries to understand the local conditions in Canada; we cannot expect them to know the reasons why the hands of the government are tied; we cannot expect them to understand that the restriction upon the government has not, in fact, limited our war effort. So long as the restriction is there, it will continue to be regarded as a limit upon Canada's war effort. So long as the restriction is there, Canada's good name will suffer among the united nations. So long as the restriction is there, Canada's war effort will continue to be placed in a false light.

G.3. In Canada's interest to remove all doubt as to our position.

In the interests of the security of Canada during the war; in the interests of the future of Canada after the war; the Canadian people cannot afford to have their motives questioned or their full participation doubted. So far Canadian territory has not been attacked. No one can say how long our country will continue to be spared from attack. Danger draws ever nearer both from East and from West. If Canada should be attacked - and attack may come at any moment - we will need the help of other nations. If that help is to come fully and freely, we must remove all doubt of our willingness to help other nations freely and fully.

We know that if the enemy strikes Nova Scotia, the people of New Brunswick will not hesitate to go to the help of the people of Nova Scotia. We know that if the enemy strikes at British Columbia, the people of the Prairies will not sit quietly behind the mountains while British Columbia was conquered. We know that if Quebec is attacked, the people of Ontario will not shrug their shoulders and say: "We are a long way from the sea and safe from attack; we are going to keep our men at home." We know they will rush to the aid of their fellow Canadians.

D 42837

G.2. False position a danger to Canada.

Everyone, I am sure, will agree that the responsibility placed upon the government in wartime is very heavy. No Canadian citizen who places the interests of his country before his own selfish interests will wish to add to that burden. The fact that this restriction places Canada's war effort in a false light in our own and other countries does add to the burden being borne by the government. Speaking personally, as leader of the government, I do not wish to be left in a false position of this kind. If the question of conscription comes before Parliament - and this is the place it should be discussed - I want to be perfectly free to express my views. I want to be free to discuss the issue without any question arising as to my motives. The government cannot escape the responsibility for the conduct of the war. It is surely not unreasonable, therefore, to ask for complete freedom to discharge that responsibility. That is one reason why the government is asking for freedom from this restriction.

The government is not asking you to free its hands for any selfish reasons. We are not thinking of our own interests as a government. We are thinking of our responsibility for the interests and the safety of Canada. We believe that it is a danger to Canada to be placed in a false light before other countries associated with Canada in the common struggle.

D 42838

Appeal for Affirmative Vote

January 26th, 1942:

In the presentation of the plebiscite to the electorate the desire of the administration to possess complete freedom of action will, of course, receive the vigorous and whole-hearted support of all members of the government. It will, I hope, receive the support of every member of parliament, and will, I believe, receive the support of the Canadian people.

D 42839

Prepared to Trust the People

January 26th, 1942:

It will be seen that in seeking freedom for itself to act on all matters pertaining to war in accordance with its judgment, the government is taking a course which will remove all legitimate excuse for controversy, and the course best calculated to maintain the unity of the country in this time of war.

I am quite prepared to trust the people; my hon. friend certainly is not. Just here may I pause to say that if my hon. friend is afraid that the people will pronounce against conscription, for that is what he has in his mind, and he is still prepared to have conscription put into force without any reference to the people, then I should like to know how he expects that the unity of this country is going to be maintained.

D 42840

Appeal for Affirmative Vote

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942, page 915

Mr. King:

My hon. friend asks me what the government's attitude on the plebiscite will be. I took care to state that at the time I was speaking on the address, and I should like to read this one word in conclusion, from page 58 of *Hansard* of January 26:

> In the presentation of the plebiscite to the electorate the desire of the administration to possess complete freedom of action will of course, receive the vigorous and wholehearted support of all members of the government. It will, I hope receive the support of every member of parliament, and will, I believe, receive the support of the Canadian people.

There is nothing half-hearted about our purpose in this. I do not believe it will be possible for an administration to carry on, in a time like this, with the sense it ought to have of complete authority without being given complete power. It should not be put perpetually in a false position just because of some obligation necessary at an earlier time, but which, as I explained in the debate on the address, is having an effect quite different from that originally intended in its relation to the state of affairs that exists at the present moment. I have not gone into that this afternoon, because I spoke on it at length in the debate on the address. The reasons which to-day would actuate the people in respect of the powers being given to a government when we have war all over the world, on every continent and every ocean, are surely vastly different from what they were when we were contemplating a war which was expected to be limited to the confines of Europe. I think that almost all the people realize that it is in their interest to give to the government, in time of world-wide war the utmost powers that can possibly be given, realizing of course, that these powers can only be exercised in the light of its responsibility to parliament and that the government must receive the support of the majority in parliament before any measures can be given effect to.

D 42841

are open to the suspicion of doing so for the purpose of embarrassing the government. Those who oppose conscription are accused of hiding behind their pledges. The real merits of the conscription issue are obscured by political considerations unrelated to the winning of the war. Once the government and Parliament are freed from their commitments to the people, honest discussion of the question will be possible.

There are some who honestly believe that conscription is essential to a total war effort. There are others who equally sincerely believe that an all-out effort is possible without conscription, and in fact that our country can make a greater effort without imposing conscription for overseas service than with it. That is a question which should be settled in Parliament. It can be settled in Parliament once the government and all other members are free to discuss it without any question arising as to their motives.

It is said, for example, that the adoption of conscription would destroy the balance of Canada's war effort by throwing too much emphasis on the Army. It is said that more men are volunteering than the government would be justified in sending outside the country. It is said that the real need for men is in war industries rather than in the armed forces. All these are given as reasons

D42842

D42843

Report re

Canada most concerned
of all prizes of war

Why vote yes?
Canadian many
was support this rights
no misunderstanding other
Nations

Section 3

D 42844

Why the Government Should be Freed

If the pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was essential to our national unity in 1939 and 1940, why is it no longer essential to-day? Why should the government now wish to have its hands free? No one would deny that national unity is as necessary to-day as it was in 1939 or 1940. The unity of our country is, indeed, more important than ever in the face of the steadily growing danger.

The reason why the government wishes to have a free hand is that conditions in the world have changed drastically and completely. The war has moved closer to our own shores; the danger to our own country is grave; the future is uncertain. When war broke out, the people of Canada recognized that our interests were at stake. Most of us did not then realize that our national existence itself was threatened. No one can doubt to-day that our own freedom as a people is at issue in this war.

we seek to have removed? The answer is that the government is bound, the opposition is bound, and, indeed, all but a very few members of Parliament are bound by a solemn promise or pledge to the people. That pledge places a restriction upon the freedom of the government in the conduct of the war. The government believes that, in the terrible state of the world, in the face of ever-growing danger, no government charged with the conduct of the war should be restricted. If we are to be responsible for the safety of our people, our hands should be completely free. That is why it is necessary to appeal to the people to free the hands of the government.

D 42845

So long as the hands of the government are tied by the pledge given to the people, the question of conscription for overseas service cannot even be discussed on its merits in Parliament. Once the hands of the government are free, the whole question of conscription will be reduced to its proper proportions as a military measure. The government will be free to recommend to Parliament whatever course of action will best serve the interests of Canada. It will no longer be possible to accuse the government of holding back for reasons which have nothing to do with the prosecution of the war.

D 42846

D 42847

The Minister of National Defence has made it quite clear to Parliament that there is no need at present for conscription for overseas service. The time may never come when conscription will be necessary to raise the men required for service overseas. Canada has a small population. We have undertaken many and heavy responsibilities in the present war. We can only enroll a proportion of our men in the army without becoming short of men for the air force or the navy or war production or food production or other services essential to the prosecution of the war. Conscription after all is merely a method of raising men. If the men required are all forthcoming of their own free will, conscription would be a needless waste of money and effort. It is my hope and the hope of the government that the men of Canada will so clearly understand the needs of the armed forces and the nobility of the cause that the time will never come when it will be necessary to impose conscription for service overseas.

May I say to you with the utmost seriousness that anyone who seeks to keep the hands of the government tied is assuming an awful responsibility. Those who are advising the people to vote "No" are taking on themselves an even greater responsibility. By telling you to vote "No", they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to make the right decisions to preserve our national security and the safety of your homes and families. By telling you to vote "No" they are telling you to risk the whole future of Canada. They are telling you to say that, regardless of circumstances as they may develop this summer or next winter or next spring, the government cannot be trusted with a free hand; that it cannot be permitted to exercise its judgment as to the needs of the country. That is the awful responsibility which is being assumed by those who propose, by voting "No" to refuse a free hand to their government.

D 42848

Who are the people who are advising you to vote "No"? Is there among them one man with sufficient experience of world affairs, with sufficient knowledge of military developments, with sufficient understanding of the real dangers which face us, to qualify him as a leader, as an expert, as a wise counsellor for the people of Canada.

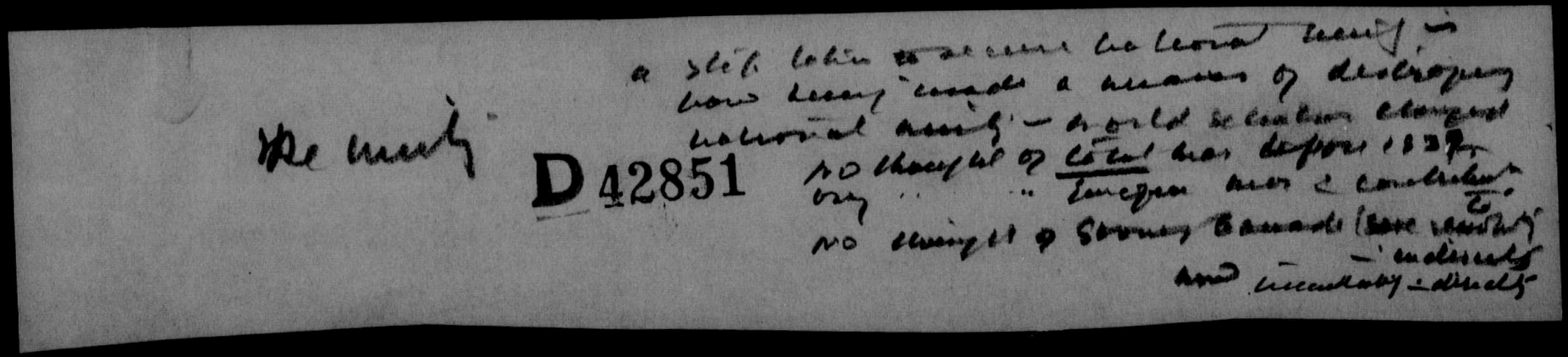
D 42849

I observe that some of those who are loudest in their advocacy of voting "No" are rowdy youths, and, in some cases, mere boys. Surely, in this hour of danger, we are not D 42850 going to be guided in our most serious decisions by undisciplined and inexperienced youths.

To vote "No" is, in fact, to place your own individual judgment before the judgment of the government which is responsible for the safety of the nation. Surely it is far wiser to trust the government which has shown its willingness to trust you; to trust the government which has

access to information, which has experience and which has the guidance of its expert military advisers. In urging you to vote "Yes" I say to you that you should not hesitate to give the government a free hand through fear that, at any time, or in any way, the interests of Canada would be subordinated to the interests of any other country

D 42850-1



the unity

D 42851

a step taken to secure national unity is
now being made a means of destroying
national unity — world situation changed
no thought of total war before 1939
very " " Europe more & contributes to
no thought of Sovereign Canada (save reality)
— indirectly
and incidentally — directly

(13)

a cooperative
[illegible]
new [illegible]
[illegible]

The free nations have finally come to see that the freedom of each is bound up in the freedom of all. The result was the formation at Washington last December of the union of 26 nations joined together to preserve their common freedom and pledged to fight on until the Axis powers are finally defeated. Canada joined that union of free nations as a

D42852

D 42853

full and equal partner. Our country is one of the United Nations, because we know that we will never be safe until the spirit of aggression is uprooted and destroyed.

5. <u>The Awful Responsibility of a Negative Vote</u>.

What I have said of the danger to Canada from the east, I might also say of the danger from the west accross the Pacific where there is another northern bridge of islands stretching from Japan right to the Queen Charlottes and Vancouver Island. We cannot run the terrible risk of waiting for the enemy; we must do our part to meet and defeat him. Those who would deny to their government, in the face of this peril, the fullest authority to use any and every means which may become necessary to meet the danger, are assuming an awful responsibility. It amounts to saying two things which in such a situation no citizens should say.

To vote "No" is to say that one does not trust the government of Canada to make the right decision in the light of all the information available to it about military needs, and in the light of the expert advice it receives from its diplomatic and armed services, and from the headquarters of the various allied nations.

To vote "No" is also to say: "I, who vote No, am willing to risk the whole future of this nation. I am willing to decide the issue in advance. I am willing to say that no matter what may be the situation in the fall of this year, or next spring, or in distant 1944, I cannot, under any circumstances, agree to allow

the government a free hand to decide on its merits what methods should be adopted in enlisting men for military service.

Such is the awful responsibility assumed by those who are proposing to vote "No." Before they cast a vote which would have for its effect to hobble the freedom of action of the government, to close the government's ears in advance against the counsels it may receive next fall, next year, or the year after next, surely they should inquire with the utmost care into the qualifications of those who are advising a negative vote. Among those who advise the people to vote "No" is there even one man who has any expert knowledge of military, naval or air matters? Is there one with any claim to come before the Canadian people and say that he knows what line of action by our armed forces would best serve the interests of Canada? No; there is not one. Is it not far wiser to trust the government to form its policy, taking into account, as it will, all the information, all the opinions furnished to it by its military experts and the experts of Britain, the United States and the other allies.

6. Meaning of failure to vote.

Some electors, convinced that a negative vote would be wrong, may have in mind staying away from the polls. They may have this in mind because they do not think it matters whether or not their vote is cast, or perhaps they find it hard to decide how to vote.

It is never a characteristic of a good citizen in a democratic community to evade the responsibility of taking his proper part in the formation of the great national decisions. To exercise the franchise is a duty morally binding on all electors. In this present emergency there are considerations of special weight which should bring every elector in Canada to the polls on April 27th.

D 42857

Wars & Rumours
No Court in false Lights

D 42858

C7: Restriction will be blamed for all failures.

I have already said that the restrictions on the powers of the government is represented as a bar to an all-out effort. [redacted] There is however another serious objection to the restriction. So long as it is there, every failure, every shortcoming, every weakness in Canada's war effort is likely to be blamed on this one restriction. Its removal is required to restore our sense of proportion, to enable us to keep all aspects of our war effort in balance. Once the hands of the government are free, once parliament is also free to consider the question of conscription on its merits it will cease to have the exaggerated significance which is now attached to it because of the existing restriction. The government will be completely free to recommend to parliament whatever course of action it believes will best serve the interests of Canada. The government will no longer be open to the accusation that it is holding back because its hands are tied, or for any other reason which has nothing to do with the prosecution of the war. It will no longer be possible to say that the government is prevented by a pledge from organizing the utmost effort of which the country is capable.

removing the restriction on the power of the government, the people will also save the government, and, what is far more important, the country from being placed in a false light before other governments and other nations.

So long as the restriction on its power remains, Canada will be open to the charge that our country is not putting forth its utmost effort. The fact that the charge may be wholly false will not weigh in the balance.

D 42860

(6)

D 42861

Thomas Lecomte

International Salvation
Army Congress
National Portraits - addressed to

JAG/DR
4:23:42

Re: Devoir editorial

P 42862

Since I spoke to the people of Canada on April 7, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been carried still farther in the Pacific. Two British heavy cruisers and an aircraft carrier have been sunk in the Indian Ocean. India itself has been bombed. The gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to give way before superior forces. Japanese land forces have been searching for any weak spot on the Burma front through which they can pour in fresh thousands of new troops. There are signs of a greatly strengthened enemy offensive in Libya. Malta has been under incessant attack from the air. The battle of the Atlantic continues in all weathers. In France, the arch-collaborationist, Pierre Laval, has come back into power, commited to a policy which can only aid the Nazis.

These ominous signs also emphasize the approach of danger to our own shores. There never was a time when action was more imperative. The United Nations battling the enemy must not find our co-operation whittled away by limitations upon our ability to help them. They must have all the help we can give in meeting a gigantic spring offensive which may now begin in a matter of days.

This is the situation as I see it. Yet in some parts of Canada influential sections of the press are urging people to vote NO because they think this further aggression is

D 42863

"improbable," and because there are many countries nearer to the aggressors' hands. They argue therefore that Canada is relatively safe, and they imply that the need to free the hands of the Government arises, it at all, from other causes not related to the seriousness of the war situation.

I must say here and now that this attitude is misguided. I think it is a refusal to face the facts, growing ever more ominous on a horizon of aggression now closer to Canada's shores by thousands of miles than it was even six months ago.

Let us examine the arguments which are being put forward by those who think that Canada is safe from attack because richer prizes lie closer to the Nazi hand. Let me also try to show how perilous is this attitude; how, if it is persisted in, it can do untold harm to all our war effort of the last two and a half years. Let me repeat that a responsibility rests upon all of us, people of Canada, to see that the Government is freed from the remaining restriction upon its freedom of action. With each day likely to bring mounting perils, that responsibility can only be discharged by voting <u>YES</u> in the plebiscite. Let my explain why.

JAG/Z
23-4-42

(3)

D 42864

A

It has been said that I have let it be understood that any attack in force against Canada would be based upon certain conditions. Here is a list of them. Before Canada were attacked in force

Britain and the United States would be defeated on the Atlantic;

Russia would be defeated in Continental Europe;

Britain would be defeated in the Mediterranean;

Anglo-American forces would be defeated in the Indian Ocean;

in short, all the United Nations might be submerged by the Berlin-Tokyo wave.

But, for myself, so far from these being "conditions precedent", I have never disguised from the people of Canada my concern that <u>any or all of these things may happen</u>. They are the real danger against which Canada is fighting at this very moment - fighting on land, at sea, in the air. These are the very reasons why, in this very year, we are spending nearly three billion dollars to help make strong the war effort of all the United Nations.

B

Next, it is said that if the government have the least reason to believe the near approach of the dangers I have just spoken of, they should organize with all possible speed the effective territorial defence of Canada. We should also, in this view, suspend for a time the sending of large numbers of troops overseas.

The answers to these questions are simple and direct. They are reasons for voting YES, not for voting NO. The effective territorial defence of Canada has been a primary concern of government since before the outbreak of war in 1939. It has been balanced against our potential contributions to the United Nations for two and a half years since. In this present year our defences on both coasts have been strengthened by additions to our own home war establishment: two new army divisions (7 and 8), which are being trained in Commando and guerilla tactics; coastal and anti-aircraft guns, which are now made in Canada; many more patrol vessels, and increased fighter, bomber and coastal reconnaisance squadrons.

With the formation overseas of the Canadian Army in Britain - a compact, well-armed, hard-hitting striking force - the sending overseas of more troops

D 42866

will be confined to reinforcements to keep this new army at full fighting efficiency. Men of the Navy will, of course, continue to serve on all oceans and in all weathers. They have done so from the earliest week of the war. In the skies, over these seas and over many embattled lands, men of the Air Force have brought battle to the enemy.

We should not now think of our task as that of sending undefined numbers of men outside of Canada. Every man who has gone overseas so far - and every one has gone voluntarily - has been for some definite purpose and to fill some definite place in the larger strategy of the United Nations. We must engage the enemy wherever he may be found, especially if he comes near to our own shores. We must help our allies to fight the enemy by maintaining in full flow the guns and shells and ships and tanks and food of which Canada is today the third largest supplier in the world.

We must fight on, on all fronts. We can fight unitedly if you vote YES; we will fight haltingly and with restriction if you vote NO.

D42867

Next, it is said: Suppose Mr. King is right. Suppose the situation of the United Nations is desperate. Does he really think that Germany would fling herself upon Canada, to conquer and pillage, before disposing of other intended victims near at hand -

Russia, disarmed and conquered;

England, rich and at Hitler's mercy;

France, crushed and already partly occupied;

Switzerland, Spain, Portugal - all without real defences;

North Africa, abandoned;

Turkey, leading to the immense oil resources of the Caucusas;

United States, exposed on many fronts.

I only know that Hitler and his minions will stop at no limits of greed, deceit, and treachery. Hitler and all he stands for is a terrible enemy. We must help to beat him wherever we can; but it would be the most abject folly to hide behind the possibility of any other country coming first. Hitler's strategy has been to divide and confuse his victims, and to gobble them up one by one. So, too, Japan may not wait to deal with Australia or other tempting islands of the western Pacific before harrying our own Pacific coast. Our own special safety demands that we stand together with every resource we can command.

D 42868

In short, I deny that Germany or Japan, in their grasping plans of world conquest, will be guided by any thought that "other countries are much richer, or as large, or more empty, or more accessible, or more desirable, or more easily to be defended" than is Canada.

(8)

But it is said, I am exaggerating. I am brandishing a German threat. It is said that if the black peril of Germany and the yellow peril of Japan were a danger as imminent as I have insisted it is, then the United Nations must be close to defeat. It is represented that I do not believe that the present danger is so great. But I say again that at no time in this world-wide war, at no other moment in our history, has the danger been so great.

I do not doubt that we shall meet any danger that threatens us. Some there who doubt, even if they were to vote to free the hands of the Government, that we should be able to resist any invasion from abroad. But I repeat that so far from being reasons for voting NO, these are the most imperative reasons for voting YES.

Those who take the first view, add that it would be just as sensible to tell them that they are going to lose this war if they do not vote as Mr. King desires. I cannot agree. I think this attitude unfair, and perilously unreal. I do not ask you to vote yes simply because I think it a good thing to do. I do ask you to vote as citizens of Canada, weighing all the dangers in your mind, realizing how urgent is our task of aiding the United Nations with all our strength, and determined ~~that aiding the United Nations with~~ that we are in this war to the very end. I do ask you to vote YES because of the dangers which lie in any other course.

April 12, 1942

D42869

Every Possible Means Necessary to Accomplish Defeat of Enemy.

With the military successes of Germany what they have been in two and a half years of war; with the military achievements of Japan what they have been in four and a half months of war; with the combined powers of the aggressor nations what they now are, it must be apparent that if subjugation is not to be the lot of the United Nations, every possible means will have to be taken to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

There has been and continues to be far too great a tendency to measure our strength, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is said it will become; to speak of it in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources, rather than in terms of effective fighting forces, and actual available supplies of ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, at the points at which they are most required. If geographical areas, extent of potential resources, and sizes of populations were the factors that counted for most in warfare today, Germany and Italy would never have gone to war or become involved in war with the British Empire, the United States, and Russia, not to mention the other countries, whose peoples they have already attacked and conquered, and

D 42870

whose empires or territories they have already dismembered or come to possess. Nor would Japan ~~also have, in addition~~ following upon ~~to~~ years of war with China, have entered upon war with the United States, more particularly in the light of the undertaking given by the Prime Minister of Great Britain that war with the United States would mean as well war with Britain. This, Japan well knew, meant war ~~as well~~ also with the nations of the British Commonwealth fighting at Britain's side.

There is something here, the significance of which, I feel, has never been sufficiently stressed, if, indeed, it has not been all but completely overlooked. It is that Germany, Italy and Japan were not forced into war, ~~but~~ were themselves the aggressors. Over a period of years, ~~in fact,~~ every possible effort was made on the part of other countries to avoid any provocative step. Even after some countries were attacked, and even then ~~Observance of every rule of~~ neutrality ~~was carried out~~ on the part of others to a point that made them easy victims of the aggressors' designs.

The fact that with this knowledge of the known military and industrial power of the combined free nations, and the seeming unlimited extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, and Russia, not to speak of those of French and Dutch Empires, and China,

D 42871

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor nations, and were prepared to enter into conflict with all combined, leaves no room for doubt that, in laying their plans for world conquest as they did, these gangster nations believed that in the end they would be able to conquer all continents and subsequently divide the spoils of a conquered world/themselves between.

Far from regarding the size of populations, or the extent of territories and resources as a source of potential strength to other countries of which they should be afraid, these were the very things that lured them into war, the very means by which, in their warfare, they hoped to be sustained, and for which, as the prizes of war, they were prepared to make any sacrifice. The knowledge the piratical countries have had of the enormous populations, vast territories and unlimited resources of the free countries, instead of being a deterrent to aggression, has been in their eyes its main incentive. And, up to the present, it must appear to them that they have been justified in their beliefs. Having conquered country after country in Europe, Germany has caused their enslaved populations to feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to augment the might of Germany's all-powerful military machine. The territories of the conquered countries

D42872

have been turned so far as the remaining free countries are concerned, from barriers against attack to bases for further and more effective aggression.

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains made in the Orient by Japan. In one third of a year, ~~as~~ Dr. Evatt of Australia, in his ~~recent~~ visit to Ottawa pointed ~~out~~, the Japanese have acquired the physical structure of an empire. As respects the Far East, ~~Dr. Evatt might have added~~ that, in the same period of time, the Dutch Empire has been destroyed, the French Empire made subservient to the will of the aggressor, the British Empire in part dismembered and its very existence, in Pacific and Indian oceans, threatened as never before. To this ~~he might also have~~ added the loss by the United States of many of its ~~mandated~~ territories ~~or~~ and island possessions. What, ~~however~~, in the Orient as ~~it is~~ in Europe, is of gravest concern to the free countries fighting to preserve their freedom, is not merely the losses sustained in ~~territory~~, ~~much~~ needed war supplies and ~~in~~ all-important strategic strongholds and military bases, ~~but~~ what these enormous losses signify by way of colossal gain to the enemy. Not only have the free countries lost, in necessary war supplies, some of the main sources of their strength, but the possession of these supplies has become a source of vastly increased strength to the enemy. Rubber, tin, iron ore, petroleum, all these and

D 42873

other resources are now denied in large quantities to the free countries which have been dependent for them on Malaya, the Netherlands Indies and British Borneo. What perhaps is even worse they are now being supplied instead, in considerable part at least, to Germany and Japan.

The same, as respects relative loss or gain of strength in combat, is true of the possession of military bases and of the control of routes of communication and transport. What, by way of security on the Pacific, Hong Kong, Singapore, Java and the Philippines have afforded in the past to the British, the Dutch, the United States and other countries, they now afford to Japan as bases for more in the way of conquest and aggression.

To this must be added the effects of Japanese victories upon the morale of the fighting forces in the East, and not on the fighting forces only but upon the entire populations of the countries involved. Nothing succeeds like success, ~~just as~~ nothing depresses like defeat.

The time surely has come when the United countries, individually and collectively, should cease to estimate their strength in terms of vast areas, unlimited population and undeveloped resources, and speak only in terms of the effective fighting strength which they are in a position to bear individually and collectively [redacted] wherever the enemy is to be found. All else may well prove to be a delusion and a snare.

D 42874

This also should put us on our guard against the most fatal perhaps of all forms of deception at a time of war, namely, that "time is on our side". It may prove to be such if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from ~~joining~~ new sources of strength ~~while~~ our own strength is being sapped. I need not restate what you already know of the situation in Europe, and of the situation as I have just referred to it ~~in~~ the Orient, though I should perhaps direct your minds to the situation in Africa ~~and what it may become in India~~. One thing is perfectly certain and that is that the plans of Germany and Japan are made for a union of forces, by a series of additional conquests during the present year, and for the isolation of this continent by a titanic struggle to gain the supremacy at sea, alike ~~on~~ the Atlantic and the Pacific. This plan of world conquest, as patterned at the outset is now wholly clear.

With the military successes of Germany what they have been in two and a half years of war; with the military achievements of Japan what they have been in four and a half months of war; with the combined powers of the aggressor nations what they now are, it must be apparent that if subjugation is not to be the lot of the United Nations, every possible means will have to be taken to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

"Every possible means". I am sure you will agree with me that this is true. If it be true, then it is an end which the United Nations individually and collectively should seek to attain. And, in doing our part, we must seek to view our obligation in exactly the same light as other countries with which we are associated, and upon whose co-operation in the defence of our own shores and land, and homes, as well as of our freedom, we may come to be in imperative need.

One possible means of defeating the enemy is by the strength and mobility of the armed forces of the combined free nations. There are but two methods of raising the armed forces and of increasing their mobility: the one voluntary, and the other by compulsion; or, as they are termed, the method of voluntary enlistment, and the method of conscription. Most countries employ both methods, without restriction of any kind. Some, the method of conscription only as regards the forces to be retained within the country; and some, the method of voluntary enlistment only as regards the forces to be sent beyond its confines. The method of raising forces by conscription for service within its own boundaries, and by voluntary enlistment to the extension of conscription for service overseas, and as was the case in the United States prior to the declaration

D 42876

of war against that country by Japan and Germany, and is still the case in Australia and Canada. Neither in Australia or in Canada has there been any need for resort to conscription to raise men in the required numbers for service overseas. Men have sought enlistment voluntarily in the Navy, the Air Force, and for service in the Army overseas beyond the numbers required or the numbers it was possible to train and equip, or for which the necessary means of transportation could be found. That has been one of the features of Canada's war effort which Canadians may well view with pride. It may so continue to the end of the war. It was so viewed by Americans as well as by Canadians until the moment of Japan's attack upon the United States and America's entry into the war against Germany and Japan alike and the adoption by the United States of conscription without restriction, as the method of raising men to serve abroad as well as at home. That being the method now employed by the United States, and the fact that the United States is now sending its armed forces to Britain and to Australia and other countries across the seas, its Navy into all the oceans of the world, and its Air Forces to all parts of the world

Since then, notwithstanding ~~the fact that,~~ before America's entry into the war, Canada's armed forces overseas, on the sea, in the air and on land, have been serving for more than two years,

the fact that the U.S. is now sending its forces overseas,

(and) all future comparisons will show as not having had conscription

D 42877

II. Fear of the Axis?

After having said that "of all the nations of the British Commonwealth only Canada and South Africa are not directly exposed to an attack", Mr. King adds that <u>if</u> the Axis triumphs in the present zones of battle "it will be able to attack the Western Hemisphere"; and that then "<u>if</u> the enemy is not held in check on the oceans, and <u>if</u> it is not conquered on the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will take place in the territorial waters and on the soil of Canada and the United States."

Accordingly, our government must be released as soon as possible from its promises against conscription. This requires some consideration. How would we transport overseas our soldiers if the apprehendions of Mr. King and Mr. Cardin were well founded? If what they say were true, in the course of a few months there would no longer be any means of sending overseas in the face of the powerful fleets of the Axis, which one of these gentlemen evokes, five, ten, twenty thousand soldiers. Then, of <u>what use</u> would it be to have conscription for overseas service? Of what use to release the government from its promise of 1939?

Mr. King leaves it to be understood as condition pre-requisite to an attack in force against Canada and North America that Britain and the United States would be defeated on the Atlantic; that Russia would be defeated in Continental Europe; that the British would be defeated in the Mediterranean; that the

D 42878

Anglo-American coalition would be defeated in the Indian Ocean; in short, he appears to glimpse the total submersion by the Berlin-Tokyo wave of the mass of the allied powers of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and all the United Nations. If Mr. King has the least reason to believe this [Mr. Cardin spoke of "those who have a full knowledge of the situation in the way in which it can be known by the government, and who can understand it:"have the Ministers a monopoly of knowledge and of intelligence ?] that should lead him to organize with all possible haste the effective territorial defence of Canada; - and, without any doubt, to suspend for a time, since it would become impracticable, the sending of large numbers of troops overseas where we have already sent more than 150,000 men. Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible, if not impossible, that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, can find themselves during these months in a situation frankly desperate. Even supposing that he was right, does he really think that before throwing themselves upon a Russia at last disarmed and conquered, upon an England rich, and henceforth at their mercy, on a France crushed and already partly occupied, on a Switzerland, Spain and a Portugal without veritable defences, upon a North Africa abandoned, upon a Turkey leading to the immense resources in oil of the Caucasus, upon a United States exposed to their desires, Germany would immediately make for Canada? Or that Japan, before taking full possession of

D 42879

India, Malaya and the Netherland Indies, before annexing the vast continent of Australia almost empty and without any close neighbours, almost as large as the United States and with a population less than seven millions - this country has no common frontier with any neighbour and the Japanese can live there - would, instead, come and install themselves in Oregon, California and British Columbia? Mr. King has too good judgment to believe this, which is unbelievable.

In the world Canada has certainly an honourable and important place, nevertheless, in the desires of Berlin or of Tokyo it does not hold the first or , even the fifth rank, and Canada would be a country which Berlin would find it impossible to keep long. Other countries are much richer, or as large, or more empty and more accessible, or more desirable, more easily to be defended than Canada - from European and Asiatic Russia to the Indies and Australia. Mr. King, then, is exaggerating. He brandishes the German threat in 1942 as his Tory predecessor, Sir Robert Borden, did from 1912 to 1918. If it were true that "the black peril of the Germany without a soul" that "the yellow peril of deceitful Japan" Mr. Cardin were as immanently dangerous as all this for Canada, would that not signify that the Anglo-American-Russian alliance was on the eve of finding itself close to defeat? We do not believe this any more than we think it is believed by Mr. King. If he really believed this the hour for organizing the territorial defence of North America would,

D 42880

one thinks, already be late. No sensible man will wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors. Certainly the Axis is a very grave danger for the world. If Russia, the United States, and England could not remove this danger, certainly one may wonder - whatever our attitude may be towards the plebiscite, and even if we were going to answer Yes to free Mr. King from his pledge of 1939 - whether Canada could withstand such an invasion. This picture of Europe impotent as a whole, of the United Nations completely defeated, of the United States conquered and invaded, is a story for "a child who is incapable of reflection" [Mr. Cardin]. It would be just as sensible to tell us that we are going to lose this war if we do not vote as Mr. King desires. This remains absolutely improbable.

III. Confidence in the King Government?

We have almost all had confidence in Mr. King up to a certain point to be sure.....even to the point of supporting him in our attitude and with our votes in 1921, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1935, 1940. Similarly, we had confidence in Mr. King in 1939 and in 1940 when he told us some months before the war that there would be no Canadian Expeditionary Force in the case of a conflict overseas. We had confidence in Mr. King's judgment when he told us, at the end of March, 1939:

"We must, to a greater or lesser extent, choose between keeping our own house in order, and trying to save

D12881

Europe and Asia. The idea that every twenty years this country should automatically and as a matter of course take part in a war overseas for democracy or self-determination of other small nations, that a country which has all it can do to save itself should feel called upon to save, periodically, a continent that cannot run itself, and to these ends risk the lives of its people, risk bankruptcy and political disunion, seems to many a nightmare and sheer madness."

Debates, House of Commons, March 30, 1939.

We gave him our confidence again, we believed him above all, when, in September, 1939, he told us categorically, what he repeated in March, 1940, what he repeated even in 1941, namely, that Canada would never have conscription for overseas service. Had he reflected upon what he was saying that day? We thought so. We have continued to have in him a reasoned confidence in face of the excesses and intemperances of opinions on the part of the Tory element, the Meighens, the Hansons, pushed on by the two hundred Ontarians.

Since that time there have been such singular speeches by Mr. Ralston, such Imperialist remarks by Mr. Ilsley, such words so pregnant with meaning as those of Mr. King on Tuesday evening:

> "This pledge (that of September, 1939) was not to have recourse to conscription as a means of raising men for military service overseas; in other terms, to have recourse to the voluntary system as the method of recruiting for service overseas. This promise to-day restricts the government's freedom of action. This is the only restriction upon the government in the exercise of its full powers."

D 42882

Immediately after this, Mr. King asked that this restriction on "the exercise of his full powers" should disappear. Why? Either Mr. King wishes to use his full powers and then we shall soon have conscription which Quebec will never - the expression is Mr. Lapointe's - accept, and Quebec will not be alone in not accepting it, or Mr. King does not mean to use his full powers. Then, of what use is it to agree to give them to him when we know that the day after to-morrow, and quite independently of Mr. King's personal will, one of the conscriptionists in his Cabinet, in which there are seven or eight, if not more, may be called upon to replace him in the direction of the affairs of the country. Mr. Cardin has spoken of "premature agitation", he has advised that we should "wait to judge". Did he wait, himself, to agitate, prior to 1939, against conscription, to bind himself against conscription in September, 1939? Did he wait "to judge" from 1917 to 1941? No! He said in 1939 that the action once....taken the consequences flow from it, and he set forth his declaration, he took his position as a wall against it.

Confidence in Mr. King? He has not an eternal lease of life or of government. Confidence? Mr. King said, himself, to the Commons on the 25th February, 1942 (page 946 of Hansard, French edition):

> In order that there may be no possible misunderstanding I wish to add this: An overwhelming vote in favour of the government will not constitute a vote of confidence in a particular regime for the conduct of the war, but an indication that the people is according to any government the full powers they think indispensable to any administration under present conditions."

D 42883

The affirmative vote that we would be giving would be valid, moreover, as long as desired by the present or future rulers of the country. A relative and measured confidence in Mr. King? Yes, and first prudence, reflective prudence, and wisdom. Let us give no blank cheque to anyone. Let us not give a blank endorsation to anyone. Let us not have blind faith in anyone. We are all agreed that we should protect and defend the country and aid our allies. Above all, let us know what we are doing. Let us not allow anything to be done with our eyes closed. Let us not spread out our hands wide open. Let us keep our rulers well under rein like a mount which may stumble, which has already stumbled. Let us not vote Yes even if we may regret imposing this refusal on Mr. King. Let us remember that opportunism is more than ever at the basis of present Canadian politics, and that in the hours of extreme danger extreme vigilance is necessary and prudence also. Let us not allow anyone to dispose of us whether his name be King, Hanson, Cardin or Godbout. If we wish to spare to Canada contempt for democratic institutions, the certainty of internal division with conscription for service overseas, let us have absolute and total confidence only in thoserulers whose acts we can thoroughly control and who will not be able to impose on us the very same thing that they promised in 1939 they would never impose on us, and that they would never allow to be imposed on us. Without this promise they would never have had the extreme confidence which we placed in them.

D 42884

Let us vote No. By voting No we shall protect ourselves. By voting Yes we shall become, we shall be, at their mercy.

Let us remain our masters in 1942 as in 1939, still more in 1942 than in 1939, for at that time there were walls.....and since then the walls have fallen.

Georges Pelletier.



Editorial in Le Devoir
April 11, 1942

D 42885

"For the defence of our liberty/the government asks you to give to it complete liberty of action." In this fashion, Mr. King concluded his speech of Tuesday, the speech of which Mr. Cardin's on Thursday evening is only the more or less weakened echo. To analyze the first is to analyze the second except that Mr. Cardin insisted on the argument of confidence in Mr. King, on the fact that conscription is not necessarily at issue and on the moral obligation resting on a minority to vote in such a way that it can count on the goodwill "the respect and the comforting friendship of the citizens of the country." Mr. Cardin told us that since 1939 "many things have changed." And men too since the election at St. Henri in 1938. Is this a reason why we should have a blind confidence in them? Shall we begin that adventure all over again?

On what reasons in particular do Mr. King and Mr. Cardin depend in asking us to release all the federal parties beginning with their own from so many pledges against conscription? There are three principal reasons which may be reduced as follows:

1. Our allies have a right to expect our full support. And "conscription has been made the symbol of total effort whatever else Canada may do to assure victory." (Mr. King)

2. The Germans and the Japanese are so formidable, they have such a desire for the possession of Canada that, to safeguard the very existence of the country which they seek to seize, we must have in the face of what is going on overseas, government whose ~~extraordinary~~ powers are restricted in no respect. (Mr. King and Mr. Cardin)

3. "The government, thanks to information which it alone possesses, is in a position to decide where the armies of Canada can best defend Canada and assist in conquering Germany and Japan, and what methods could most effectively help in the raising of the necessary troops. . . . . If, at this moment, which is supremely critical, you are not willing to have confidence in your government and your parliament, and to believe that they will do only what is entirely in the interest of the country, in whom or in what will you have confidence?" (Mr. King and Mr. Cardin)

So, according to them, we should vote yes on the 27th of April because we must not displease our allies; because Germany and Japan threaten the very existence of Canada; and because we must put our whole confidence in the King government. Let us see if all that corresponds well with the reality.

D42887

1. Our Allies?

According to Mr. King, they would interpret a Canadian restriction on the subject of conscription for overseas "as an impediment to the pursuit of a total war effort by Canada. ..... It is being said that the government's impotence to consider the adoption of conscription sets limits to the war effort of Canada..... The fact of not being free to impose (conscription) has placed this effort in a completely false light before Canadians and, which is more serious, before our allies..... (Mr. Cardin is thinking "especially of the United States"). If Canada were ever to be attacked, a thing which is possible in the near future, and if we needed the aid of the United States or Great Britain or of any other of the united nations, what would be our feeling at the idea that certain restrictions prevented their governments from coming to our aid. We should do well, it seems to me, not to let any doubt be born in other countries concerning our will to do our full share in the common struggle in which we are engaged." (Mr. King) (How many of these nations could really help us?)

Does Mr. King forget that his argument is such that we can easily see in it at once very clear indication of his will to impose conscription upon us. He establishes

D 42888

in fact the necessity of voting No for we do not want conscription any more than Mr. Cardin was willing to have it spoken of from 1917 to 1941, witness fifty of his speeches of that time. To reassure our allies, to encourage the united nations to aid us in case of attack -- for them it would be a case of self interest -- is it necessary that our government should have the power to impose, when it wishes, conscription for service overseas. If it has that power, it will have to exercise it. It will be forced to move on to that point; for it might be said to our government, just as much from Washington as from London "you have the power to impose conscription and you do not wish to impose it? You prové that you are ready for total effort only in words." It will be at this point that the conscriptionist ministers of Mr. King will themselves desire to throw him overboard. The situation of Mr. King, if he gets the full powers which he asks for, will be more dangerous than if Canada remained able to say like South Africa, Australia and even Northern Ireland -- these are three of our allies, Mr. King appears to have forgotten this -- "The question of compulsory service overseas cannot arise in our country. So it was agreed from 1939 and 1940 and the people have reaffirmed this in 1942."

We are not alone indeed among the allies in not having conscription. None of these three countries has it yet. And this alone justifies us in replying No

to Mr. King on the 27th of April. Moreover, would Mr. King be so pusillanimous as to fear the bitter-sweet remarks which our allies might address to him. Have we for our part reproached them with anything whatever or dictated to them anything whatever from the moment we became allies? They manage their policy as they see best. We have nothing to say concerning what happens in the United States or in England much less in Russia. What they do concerns them as what we do concerns us. What have they done more than we have done? What are they doing more than we are doing, if Mr. King told the truth as to our war effort, growing more and more since 1939 -- and he told the truth. What have half the united nations done beginning with Haiti? Little as yet, and we ask nothing of them. The United States, eleven times more populous and at least twenty or thirty times richer than Canada, have from a million to a million and a quarter men in active service in all branches. We already had 422,000, at the end of December, 1941 (speech of Mr. Ralston). Multipled by eleven that would be equivalent to almost 5,000,000, (4,642,000,) in the United States. Now the Americans have not a third of that number of men in arms. We shall have in camps or on the sea 615,000 men by the 31st of March, 1943, at least so Mr. Ralston says. That would be equivalent to almost 6,750,000, in the United States. The Americans by March, 1943, will scarcely have

D 42890

raised half that number. As to the expenses and taxes in which war has involved Canada, these already exceed in proportion those of the United States. They are quite comparable with those of the English taxpayer from 1939 to 1942, and we have neither the resources nor the fortune of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Have we not just given -- with no hope of reimbursement for it is a present -- almost two billion dollars to London, one billion net and seven hundred million loaned without interest for an indefinite time. Who has so far given London twenty-two billions among our allies?

None of these then has or will have the right to reproach us for having limited our war effort. That effort is inferior to none and superior to the average. Mr. Ralston who has not lost all good sense recognizes that "national resources vary from country to country. One country has a vast capital of manpower for which total war means concentrating its efforts on raising troops and depending on its allies for food and supplies. In another country possessing a surplus of food and supplies total war will mean an increased effort on the side of production and an effort proportionately less in the raising of troops". (speech of the 10th of February, 1942). None of our allies then would wish to or could legitimately demand that because this is war we, each of us, adopt the same methods of common

D 42891

aid, raise each of us the same proportion of soldiers with conscription itself without taking any account of the international situation in each country. Mr. King to support his cause supposes that our allies are less intelligent, less just, more susceptible than they are. His line of argument in this matter besides being scarcely convincing demonstrates that essentially he will let himself be pushed towards conscription if he is given a very little encouragement being to this degree concerned to do everything that is desired by such and such an ally or such and such an influential group at home -- such as the two hundred. It is because he is already on the way, whatever he may say, that he cannot prevent the peeping through his speech of Tuesday of the veritable reason for the plebiscite: To obtain release from his pledge in order that he may arrive at the outcome against which in 1939, in full agreement with all his ministers and partisans -- Mr. Cardin along with the others -- he took that pledge.

thinking person will mistake these ominous signs of aggression; aggression which, wherever it proceeds unchecked, threatens to envelop more and more free territory.

D42892

D 42893

The military successes of Germany in Europe in two and a half years of war have been formida_ble. The military achievements of Japan in four and a half months of war in the Far East have altered the whole balance of forces in the Pacific. With the combined powers of the aggressor nations what they now are, if subjugation is not to encompass the United Nations, the enemy will indeed have to be attached wherever he may be found, and every possible means will have to be seized to accomplish his defeat.

D 42893-1

Concluding remarks
Re accident & settlement
offers made &c
Appeal & call to help – a form of war service
my personal position

42894

personal course

All bitterness

My own personal opinion re responsibility in connection with war effort: determination to take course I believe in country's interest if unable to secure support - will have to seriously consider course which I shall then follow.

Note here what press have been saying about pledge being my own and means of freeing it and my tendering resignation being way to be rid of it. Show wherein this complete betrayal.

Make clear I have not wavered from any course becuase of ferociousness of criticism; belittlement, etc., but have spoken the truth as it has been given to me to see the truth.

Look at press headings and emphasis placed on first broadcast, with a view to putting emphasis on the right place in the second, e.g.Morning Journal of April 8: "Enemy must be defeated overseas"

D 42895

D 42896

There are some who say that they can understand why I should not wish to break my pledge. They recognize that the pledge was necessary at the time. But, they say, times have changed, and this is no time to hold a plebiscite to consult the people. They say, instead, that the present government should make way for a new administration which would not consider itself bound by the ~~plebiscite~~ pledge. No doubt such a course would please some of my political opponents. I doubt if it would be pleasing to those who have given me their confidence and support over the last 20 years, and who, only two years ago, extended that support in larger measure than ever before. If I took such a course, they would be the first to say that I had betrayed their trust. They would be right in saying so. The government of a democratic country is not a personal possession to be handed over from one man to another without any reference to the people. Such a course would indeed be the greatest betrayal of public confidence in the history of our country. Never, it would be said, were colleagues and supporters so betrayed by their leader. Never was a country so disgraced by its Prime Minister. Never were the people so betrayed by the Chief Adviser of the Crown.

Not only do I appeal to everyone to vote in the plebiscite and to vote "Yes". I appeal equally to all to do their full part to persuade their neighbours to vote and to vote "Yes". Freedom, justice, civilization are in peril; our own national safety is at stake. Surely if ever there was a time for a united national response this is the time. I appeal to the people of Canada to show one another, to show all our allies of the United Nations, to show the enemy, that we are united in our determination and that no sacrifice is too great to defend our homes and to safeguard our future as a nation.

(18)

D 42897

D 42898

needed is in Parliament. In Parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

By freeing the government from past commitments, you will place it in a position to express its view to Parliament. You will equally place Parliament in a position to decide freely all matters of supreme importance to our country; matters which today affect the homes and lives of all.

Not only do I appeal to everyone to vote in the plebiscite and to vote YES. I appeal equally to all to do their full part to persuade their neighbours to vote and to vote YES. Freedom, justice, civilization are in peril; our own national safety is at stake. Surely if ever there was a time for a united national response this is the time. I appeal to the people of Canada to show one another, to show all our allies of the United Nations, to show the enemy, that we are united in our determination and that no sacrifice is too great to defend our homes and to safeguard our future as a nation.

D42899

Not only do I appeal to everyone to vote in the plebiscite and to vote YES. I appeal equally to all to do their full part to persuade their neighbours to vote and to vote YES. Freedom, justice, civilization are in peril; our own national safety is at stake. Surely if ever there was a time for a united national response this is the time. I appeal to the people of Canada to show one another, to show all our allies of the United Nations, to show the enemy, that we are united in our determination and that no sacrifice is too great to defend our homes and to safeguard our future as a nation.

D42899

D42900

The government is faced with serious enough problems in wartime without the added burden of being constantly placed in a false position in its own and other countries. Speaking personally, as leader of the government, I do not wish to be left in a false position of this kind. If the question of conscription comes before Parliament - and that is the place it should be discussed - I want to be perfectly free to express my views. I want to be free to discuss the issue without any question arising as to my motives. Since the government cannot escape the responsibility for the conduct of the war, it is surely not unreasonable to ask for complete freedom to discharge that responsibility. That, at all events, is my position as leader of the government. That is the basis of my appeal to the people to be freed from this pledge.

I meant to be free of that pledge which handicaps me in any discussion of conscription on its merits. — I intend to regard my self as free to advocate the course I deem in the public interest, if it should seem consistent to me in my [illegible], etc.

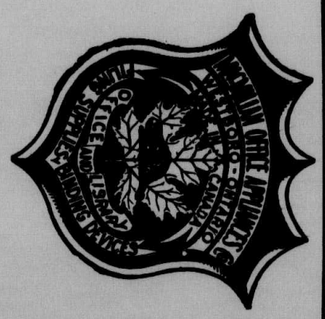
(19)

I [illegible] [illegible]

D42901

Plebiscite 42902

Plus relevement
au alternative
suggested



APEX
VERTICAL FOLDER
No. Sp. 421B
Made in all sizes
Patent No. 286772

D42903

Formation of a New Administration Suggested

January 26th, 1942:

Perhaps I should add that yet another course of action has been suggested. It is that I should resign and advise His Excellency the Governor General to call on some other person to form a government which would ignore all past commitments and undertake to enforce conscription without any prior consultation with the people. In other words, I am being asked to sell my birthright for their mess of pottage, and to destroy whatever confidence the people of Canada may possess in my honour as a public man, and, in doing so, also to destroy the confidence the people possess in the honour and integrity of the government.

Those who speak and write in that way might be prepared so to act, but I am not. If we wish to destroy, not at this time of war alone, but for all time, the last vestige of confidence which the people of Canada have in their free political institutions and in their public men, that would be the most effective way to go about it.

D42904

The Prime Minister's Retirement a Solution

Not Compatible with Keeping Faith with the People

Phi's draft p 16

There are those who say that they recognize quite clearly that the pledge I gave was perhaps necessary or expedient at the time, but that the proper course now to be taken would be for me to ask Parliament to relieve me of my obligation from now on. They feel sure that Parliament would be quite prepared to give such a release were I to ask them for it. A much simpler method, some say, would be for me to resign and ask His Excellency the Governor General to send for some other person whom I might name, who would not regard himself as in any way bound by a pledge of the kind, and who would administer the affairs of the government accordingly. Pleasing as such a course of action might be to some of my political opponents, I am far from believing that it would be viewed with like favour by those by whose confidence I hold office at the present time and have held office over many years in our country. I wonder what the same persons would be the first to say of me were I ever to take a step of the kind. Never, would it be said, was there such a betrayal of public confidence in the history of the country. Never were colleagues so betrayed by their leader. Never was a country so disgraced by its Prime Minister. Never were a people so betrayed by the chief adviser of the Crown.

as mandatory, [illegible] — interfering measures

Subject to extent resources act to cover continent

D42905

as to over seas.

Such consent of the people of Canada to govt being given first discretion to ~~decide~~ exercise power of compulsory selection service for over seas service, if in opinion freedom of Canada demands that course.

~~[illegible]~~ keep away up to strength

At same time not necessary at present may [illegible] become necessary. But if in opinion of govt necessary power to exercise should exist

Nevertheless nothing lost

Men will be training. —

First Revise
April 22, 1942

D 42906

I wish to speak to you again tonight, my fellow Canadians, as I did on the seventh of this month, with reference to the plebiscite to be held on Monday next.

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the matter over the radio, in the press, at public meetings, and otherwise. This discussion, for the most part, has been all to the good. It has ~~done very much~~ some for to clarify the issue. Many persons are now asking themselves, why it was that so great a storm of protest should have been raised against the idea of a plebiscite, when it was announced. Why was it, they ask, that the matter was debated at such great length in Parliament, when, today, ~~the leaders of all the recognized political parties are united~~ so many of those who were strongest in their opposition to the holding of the plebiscite are united in asking for an affirmative vote. The answer to these questions is now clear. When the plebiscite was announced, ~~people generally~~ some confused the plebiscite & distinguished between Referendum and Plebiscite did not distinguish between a plebiscite and a referendum. ~~Moreover they~~ Some thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing upon the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of ~~[illegible]~~ for deciding the question

did not understand what it was all about & were in a hurry to get back to their work.

D42907

assuming that responsibility itself. They did not see that the purpose of the plebiscite was to free the hands of the government from a restriction upon its own powers.

You will recall that much was said about the government evading its responsibility; about the matter being one which Parliament should decide, one with respect to which the government should have its own policy.

The failure to distinguish between a plebiscite on the question of freeing the hands of the government, and a referendum on conscription, was of itself sufficient to create confusion and misunderstanding. There were, however, other circumstances which contributed to the confusion.

You, perhaps, have forgotten that at the time the plebiscite was announced, four by-elections were pending. Two of these by-elections - one in Ontario and one in Quebec - were being contested by Ministers of the Crown. Election campaigns do not always help to clarify issues. They frequently lead to confusion. During the by-election campaigns, and even before the by-elections themselves had been announced, the contentious issue of conscription had been forced to the fore. Through an attempt to identify the adoption of conscription with total effort for total war, the magnitude and

2(a)

D 42908

nature of Canada's war effort was ~~being~~ obscured.

I am the last who would wish to revive controversy. My only purpose in referring to it is that you yourselves may be able the better to understand how it was that so much confusion arose at the time, and why the protests against the action of the government, and against myself in particular, were as violent as they were.

You may have noticed that, once the by-elections were over, argument about the plebiscite did not last long. The principle of the plebiscite bill was adopted in the House of Commons without any division.

But, there was one other reason which helped to explain the protest raised against the plebiscite. It was thought the government would not have held a plebiscite unless it had reason to believe that there was some immediate need for conscription for service overseas. Many felt that the war effort ~~was being~~ delayed while a plebiscite was being held. They were naturally indignant, even to the point of exasperation, at the thought that, in the face of growing danger, anything ~~was being~~ allowed to hold up the prosecution of the war. There was,

~~in fact, no such thought~~ in the government's mind, As is now realized, there has been no need ~~for~~ conscription ~~for~~ service overseas.

We are within three days of the date fixed for the plebiscite. It is now apparent that no aspect of our war effort has been in any way delayed by the plebiscite. The plebiscite has not delayed war production. It has not delayed enlistment in the Navy. It has not delayed enlistment in the Air Force. Nor has it delayed enlistment in the Army, ~~or its expansion.~~ Voluntary enlistments for service anywhere have continued and are continuing at a satisfactory rate. Young men ~~are~~ also being called up for compulsory military service in Canada, as has been the case since October, 1940. Nothing has been delayed; nothing has been held back. This can now be said without any fear of contradiction.

Had the government wished to relieve itself of responsibility for a decision with respect to conscription, a referendum on conscription itself would have been held, instead of a plebiscite, to free the hands of the government from a restriction upon its own powers. The government would have asked the people to say whether or not they were in favour of conscription for service overseas. If the government had asked the

D 42910

people to decide the question of conscription, the government would have been placing upon them the responsibility of making a decision about a matter on which the people could not possibly be fully informed. In so doing, it would most certainly have been shirking a responsibility which belongs to the government and to parliament. Such a course would have been an abandonment of responsible government. Had the plebiscite really been a referendum on conscription, all the indignation that has been expressed would have been thoroughly justified. The government would have been rightly blamed for shirking its responsibilities.

In consulting the people by plebiscite, the government is not throwing on the people the responsibility of making a military decision. It is asking the people to give the government full power and full responsibility to take whatever military decisions the government, in the light of all its knowledge, believes to be necessary. In consulting the people, therefore, we are not shirking responsibility, we are asking for full responsibility.

D 42911

The issue on which you are being asked to give your view is: shall the government have full powers to conduct the war in accordance with its best judgment of the needs of national security, or shall the government's powers to prosecute the war be limited?

Issue removed from all party considerations

Revised by the Prime Minister
April 24, 1942

D 42912

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings, ~~and otherwise,~~ of the forthcoming plebiscite. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, ~~served to~~ also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated, and how greatly, as a consequence, the people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. Of the persons who already have decided to vote YES, many are now asking themselves why it was that so great a storm of protest should have been raised against the idea of a plebiscite when it was announced. Why was it, they ask, that the matter was debated at such great length in parliament, when, today, so many of those who were strongest in their opposition to the holding of a plebiscite are united in asking for an affirmative vote.

I want to say a word to you tonight on both these matters. I hope that what I say may serve to resolve any doubts in your minds as to the importance of your voting YES, and also, I hope, convince you of the necessity of doing all ~~in your power~~ you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as ~~it can possibly be made~~ humanly possible. When the plebiscite was announced, ~~there were very~~ many ~~who~~ did not ~~clearly~~ understand what it was on which they were going to

D 42913

be asked to express an opinion. Some thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility and making its own recommendation to parliament. It has now been made clear ~~now known~~ that conscription is not the issue. ~~The purpose of the plebiscite~~ Let me ~~make that perfectly clear~~ emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to ~~give~~ obtain for the government and for parliament a perfectly free hand in dealing with this as well as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour ~~, at this time of war~~, of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. An affirmative vote will give the government freedom to recommend to parliament, without regard to anything that has been said in the past, whatever measures it deems necessary for the protection of Canada and for the preservation of our freedom ~~at this time of war and also whether you are in favour of parliament being accorded a like freedom.~~ That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will enable the government and you will enable parliament to discuss and decide the question of conscription for military service overseas ~~, should it arise,~~ upon its merits.

D 42914

Should it arise it could then be discussed
in the light of all conditions and circumstances, without ~~either~~ members of the government or ~~other~~ members of parliament being suspected ~~accused~~ of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of any promises or pledges which may have been given in the past. ~~If you cannot trust~~ my colleagues and myself, ~~whom~~ If you could trust us you have elected to carry on the government to do what is right ~~and most~~ in the interest of the people ~~with respect to any and every question that may arise~~ at this time of war, who are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary ~~period~~ time in the history of our country, it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. ~~What, at any moment, may become a violent upheaval.~~ The responsibilities of government are heavy enough at any time. They are greater today than they have ever been. ~~Moreover,~~ If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament, to see that ~~so far as in them lies~~ no step is taken which is not in your interest and in the interest of our country, who are you going to trust? Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of small boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription", when conscription is not the issue, ~~or by how~~ the radio from Paris ~~asks~~ you ~~to~~ vote when you ~~know~~ that its voice is the voice of Hitler. ~~There is too much at~~

Nor do I imagine that I am ~~must~~ be influenced by* Suggesting that "NO" are ~~must~~ when

stake ~~for~~ the lives and homes ~~of~~ everyone ~~of you, not~~ ~~be~~ be guided ~~at this time~~ by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive. Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we all did not honestly believe that it was in the interest of our country for you to do so? ~~and in the interest of yourselves and your families?~~ I want you to know that that is what I ~~and everyone of my colleagues honestly believe~~. Let no one tell you that I am halfhearted in this matter, ~~that you will be helping me to resist pressure and to protect your interests if you vote NO. You will not be helping me.~~ Instead of helping, you will be ~~hindering~~.

Had the government wished to relieve itself of responsibility for a decision with respect to conscription, the government would have asked you to say whether or not you were in favour of conscription for service overseas. That is not the question you are being asked. We are asking you to leave that question to the government and to parliament and to give to both a free hand to discuss it on its merits. ~~If the plebiscite carries, and~~ the government ~~feels~~ that changes should be made in any statute to permit of a wider application of its provisions, this step will not be taken under the War Measures Act by an order-in-council. It

D 42916

will be taken by Act of Parliament. Whatever the government proposes will have to meet with the approval of ~~both Houses~~ of Parliament ~~before it becomes law.~~

~~The issue of the plebiscite was further confused by the discussions which took place at the time of the by-elections.~~ It so happened that four by-elections were pending ~~while the holding of the plebiscite was announced.~~ You may have noticed that, once the by-elections were over, argument about the plebiscite did not last long. The principle of the plebiscite bill was adopted in the House of Commons without division. ~~It is being supported today by members of all parties. In no sense can it be regarded as a party question, nor can the result of the plebiscite be viewed as either gain or loss for any party.~~

~~The reason that perhaps must explain the protest raised against the plebiscite, when it was announced,~~ was that ~~they~~ many thought the government would not ~~have held~~ a plebiscite unless we had reason to believe that there was some immediate need for conscription for service overseas. ~~Many feared that~~ Many felt that the war effort would be delayed while the plebiscite was being held. They were naturally indignant, even to the point of exasperation, at the thought that, in the face of growing danger, anything would be allowed to hold up Canada's part in the prosecution of the war. ~~As a matter~~

of fact, there was no such thought in the government's mind, and as is now realized, the need to resort to conscription as a method of raising men for military service overseas did not in fact exist.

We are within three days of the date fixed for the plebiscite. It is now apparent that no aspect of our war effort has been in any way delayed. The plebiscite did not delay subscriptions to the recent war loan. It has not delayed food production. It has not delayed the production of ships, or planes, or tanks, or guns, or munitions of war. It has not delayed enlistment in the Navy. It has not delayed enlistment in the Air Force. Nor has it delayed enlistment in the Army. All three services have steadily expanded. In all three, voluntary enlistments for service anywhere have continued and are continuing at a satisfactory rate. Young men have also continued to be called up for compulsory military service in Canada, as has been the case since October, 1940. Nothing has been delayed; nothing has been held back. This can now be said without fear of contradiction.

So much for some of the doubts that existed when the plebiscite was announced, and which public discussion has fortunately helped to remove. Let me speak now of some of the doubts that still remain and of some of the

reasons which, in some quarters, are being given as to why you should vote No and not YES on Monday next. ~~To what I am about to say, you cannot give too close attention.~~

By-Election Campaigns also a Source of Confusion and Resentment.

The failure to distinguish between a plebiscite on the question of freeing the hands of the government, and a referendum on conscription, was of itself sufficient to create confusion and misunderstanding. There were, however, other circumstances which contributed to the confusion.

You, perhaps, have forgotten that at the time the plebiscite was announced, four by-elections were pending. Two of these by-elections - one in Ontario and one in Quebec - were being contested by Ministers of the Crown. Election campaigns do not always help to clarify issues. They frequently tend to confuse them.

During the by-election campaigns, and even before the by-elections themselves had been announced, the contentious issue of conscription had been forced to the fore. Much had been said about the need of total effort to meet total war. Through an attempt to identify the adoption of conscription for overseas service with total effort, the real extent and balanced nature of Canada's war effort was obscured.

I am the last who would wish to revive controversy. My only purpose in referring to it is in order that you yourselves may be able the better to understand how it was that so much confusion arose at the time, and why the protests against

D 42920

the action of the government, and against myself in particular, were as violent as they were.

You may have noticed that, once the by-elections were over, argument about the plebiscite did not last long. The principle of the plebiscite bill was adopted in the House of Commons without division.

Belief of Immediate Need of Conscription - Consequent Impatience over Plebiscite.

But, there was one other reason which helps to explain the protest raised against the plebiscite. It was thought the government would not have held a plebiscite unless we had reason to believe that there was some immediate need for conscription for service overseas. Many felt that the war effort would be delayed while a plebiscite was being held. They were naturally indignant, even to the point of exasperation, at the thought that, in the face of growing danger, anything would be allowed to hold up Canada's part in the prosecution of the war. As a matter of fact, there was no such thought in the government's mind at the time. As is now realized, there has been no need to resort to conscription as a method of raising men for military service overseas

D 42921

We are within three days of the date fixed for the plebiscite. It is now apparent that no aspect of our war effort has been in any way delayed ~~by the plebiscite~~. The plebiscite did not delay subscriptions to the recent war loan. It has not delayed food production. It has not delayed the production of ships, or planes, or tanks, or guns, or munitions of war. It has not delayed enlistment in the Navy. It has not delayed enlistment in the Air Force. Nor has it delayed enlistment in the Army. All three services have steadily expanded. In all three, voluntary enlistments for service anywhere have continued and are continuing at a satisfactory rate. Young men have also continued to be called up for compulsory military service in Canada, as has been the case since October, 1940. Nothing has been delayed; nothing has been held back. This can now be said without fear of contradiction.

D 42922

Conclusion -- Personal Position and Appeal

The sincerity of my desire for an affirmative vote has been called into question. It has even been questioned by some who pretend to be my friends and supporters. They have urged the people to vote NO because they say the Prime Minister really wants a negative vote. I hope what I have said to-night has removed any lingering doubt there may be as to my personal attitude. At no time have I given the slightest excuse for doubt as to my desire for an affirmative vote.

There are others, who also pretend to be my friends, who are urging the people to vote NO, in order to protect me from pressure from the advocates of conscription. The suggestion that a man can be protected by keeping his hands tied when he is himself asking to have his hands free is surely a strange one.

I should like to ask whether my position as Prime Minister is going to be stronger or weaker when my hands are free. I should like also to ask whether the position of the government is going to be stronger or weaker, when the restriction on its powers has been removed. The answer to both of these questions is surely obvious.

When the plebiscite was first announced, I said that the desire of the administration to possess complete freedom of action would receive the vigorous and whole-hearted support of all members

of the government. Every Minister of the Crown has appealed wholeheartedly for an affirmative vote. The government has given every evidence of its unanimity and its sincerity. I have given the reason why the government wishes to be free of any and every restriction upon its authority. I have pointed out how great is the responsibility assumed by those who, by voting NO, seek to deny that authority to the government, and to keep the war-time government of their country in chains.

May I conclude by appealing to each and every elector to vote in the plebiscite and to vote YES. Not only do I appeal to everyone to vote YES. I appeal also to all to use their influence with their friends and neighbours to persuade them of the gravity of the decision and of the importance of performing their duty as citizens. Much has been said of the desire of the people to find some form of service in which they can help to further the war effort of their country. Here, surely, is an apportunity for practical service.

Do not fail to vote yourself. Urge the members of your family to vote. Help to get your neighbours to the polls. Do your part to make the plebiscite a great demonstration of national unity and national determination.

If ~~there~~ ever there was a time for a united national response, this is the time. Freedom, justice, and civilization are in peril; the very existence of our own country is at stake. I appeal to the people of Canada to show one another, to show all our allies of the United Nations, to show the enemy, that Canada

D 42924

is united in purpose and effort; that no sacrifice will be too great to defend our homes and to safeguard our future and the future of mankind.

D 42925

Not Shirking Responsibility

January 26th, 1942:

3

In consulting the people by plebiscite, the government is not throwing on the people the responsibility of making a military decision. It is asking the people to give the government full power and full responsibility to take whatever military decisions the government, in the light of all its knowledge, believes to be necessary. In consulting the people, therefore, we are not shirking responsibility, we are asking for full responsibility.

D 42926

From the returns thus far received, it would appear that 8 out of the 9 provinces of Canada had given an affirmative majority in the plebiscite. Viewing the country as a whole, it will not be possible to say, until all the returns are in, how large relatively to the negative, the affirmative vote will be. There can be no doubt, however, as to the significance of the vote.

The result is a national expression of view on a national issue. It should be so viewed in all its aspects. In all of the provinces, affirmative and negative votes have been cast. The vote was taken in a democratic fashion, and it will be recognized throughout the country that, in a democracy, the will of the majority prevails.

The government asked that its hands should be free at a time of war. The people have expressed the view that the government is to be free and parliament to be free to discuss and decide each and every aspect of the country's war effort solely upon its merits. The judgment and the action of the government and parliament will no longer be restricted in any way in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's war effort. The vote means that the people all generally recognize that the war has taken a course which was altogether unforeseen by us at a time when unexpected may yet arise, and that, in consequence, it is necessary

to remove any restriction upon the freedom of the government and parliament.

While the result of the plebiscite is largely in the affirmative and therefore gratifying to the government, it is not to be construed either as a vote of confidence in the present administration or as a vote for any political party. The electors were not called upon to vote for or against the government. Political considerations and views were not in question. The plebiscite, in fact, was selected by the government as the method of obtaining the views of the people precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of popular opinion on a specific question regardless of political parties or political considerations.

From the returns thus far received, it would appear that 8 out of the 9 provinces in Canada had given an affirmative majority in the plebiscite. Viewing the country as a whole, it will not be possible to say, until all the returns are in, how large relatively the negative vote will be ~~to the negative~~. There can be no doubt, however, as to the significance of the results.

The government asked that its hands should be free at a time of war. The people have expressed the view that the government is to be free and parliament to be free to discuss and decide each and every aspect of Canada's war effort solely upon its merits. ~~Hereafter, neither the government nor members of parliament will be handicapped in their consideration of war policy or of any war measure because of any restrictions in the nature of a moral obligation arising out of past promises and pledges.~~ It means that the people generally recognized that ~~the war has taken conditions~~ have changed ~~in the course of the war;~~ that the war ~~itself~~ has taken a course which was altogether unforeseen; ~~and~~ that conditions wholly unexpected may ~~still~~ arise, and that, in consequence, ~~the removal of~~ any restriction upon the freedom of the government ~~has become necessary~~.

The government and parliament ~~are now in a position~~ to ~~exercise~~ ~~their best~~ judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's war effort, ~~without members of the government or members of parliament~~

being suspected of being influenced by commitments arising out of promises or pledges given in the past. Moreover, the country's war effort itself will no longer be capable of being placed in the false

D 42930

From the returns thus far received, it would appear that 8 out of the 9 provinces ~~in~~ Canada had given an affirmative majority in the plebiscite. Viewing the country as a whole, it will not be possible to say, until all the returns are in, how large relatively to the negative, the affirmative vote will be. There can be no doubt, however, as to the significance of the ~~results~~ vote.

The government asked that its hands should be free at a time of war. The people have expressed the view that the government is to be free and parliament to be free to discuss and decide each and every aspect of ~~Canada's~~ the country's war effort solely upon its merits. The judgment and the action of the government and parliament will no longer be ~~xxxxx~~ restricted in any way in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's war effort. The vote means that the people generally recognize that the war has taken a course which was altogether unforeseen; that conditions wholly unexpected may yet arise, and that, in consequence, it ~~was~~ is necessary to remove any restriction upon the freedom of the government and parliament.

A most important result of today's vote is that it will no longer be possible to have the country's war effort placed in a false light, ~~as a consequence of~~ ~~much as~~ even the appearance of any restriction ~~existing~~ has now been removed upon the powers of the government. The result ~~of the~~

~~plebiscite~~ is a national expression of view on a national issue. It should be so viewed in all its aspects. In all of the provinces, affirmative and negative votes have been cast. The vote was taken in a democratic fashion, and it will be recognized throughout the country that, in a democracy, the will of the majority prevails.

While the result of the plebiscite is largely in the affirmative and therefore gratifying to the government, it is not to be construed either as a vote of confidence in the present administration or as a vote for any political party. ~~The fate of the Administration was in no way bound up with the outcome of the plebiscite.~~ Political considerations and views were not in question. The electors were not called upon to vote for or against the government. ~~In fact~~, the plebiscite, in fact, was selected by the government as the method of obtaining the views of the people precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of popular opinion on a specific question regardless of political parties or political considerations.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Mar. 1942	D 42342 - D 42359	
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69		National Security - The Issue in Plebiscite, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 42424 - D 42575	
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70		Plebiscite Results. Speeches outside Parliament	27 April 1942	D 42926 - D 42931	
70		Speeches opening Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 42932 - D 42934	
70		Ottawa Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	20 May 1942	D 42935 - D 42955	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Times 5172/42

Date May 26/42

D 42932

Subject

Allied Air Training

The contribution of Canada to allied power, said MR. MACKENZIE KING in opening the conference on air training at Ottawa last week, is not to be measured by her population. Canada has become an important factor in the air strategy of the United Nations through the advantages of planning, experience, and geography which she is proud to have the opportunity to share with others. The decision in 1939 to make Canada the main centre of air training for the Empire was chiefly dictated by the great areas of open country there available, open spaces enjoying weather favourable for flying and remote from the dangers of enemy interference. To-day all the allies, except the Soviet Union, which for mainly geographical reasons continues to train its airmen at home, participate in the scheme, and Canada has become the joint aerodrome of the United Nations. The purpose of the conference at Ottawa was to provide for the future administration of the scheme on its broadened basis, and at the same time to extend it beyond the sphere of training proper. Henceforward a permanent combined committee will sit in Washington for the general supervision of allied air training. The training establishments of the United States have already begun to cooperate with those of Canada, and many pilots of the R.A.F. have passed through them.

The other new development is a consequence of the enhanced significance that the geography of the enlarged war has imposed upon Canada, and upon North America generally. This is now a two-ocean war, and Canada faces both oceans. Production of aircraft becomes ever more imposing; training of pilots and crews still keeps a little ahead of it. But the most difficult factor in the maintenance of air power is to provide for its mobility. This is mainly a problem of shipping. Here the central position of Canada is supremely important; the Dominion can be made the principal depôt of the United Nations, from which reinforcements of men—and large supplies of aircraft—can be sent to any of the fighting fronts by the shortest route and with the least strain upon sea transport. This is the object the conference had in view when it extended the existing plan to include operational training units.

A corollary of this extension is that the airmen of the fourteen nations now collaborating in the scheme must become more and more interchangeable, more and more intermingled with one another. Men from all these nations have long been congregating in the Canadian and American schools; from there they may now be sent out, in any combination of nationalities and to any part of the world where the common cause has need of them. In the Battle of Britain and in the counter-attack upon Germany British airmen have grown accustomed to flying side by side with men from the Dominions and the United States, from Norway, from Poland, from Czechoslovakia. This process will now go forward more intensively.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator

Date May 19/42

Subject

D 42933

Mackenzie King's Speech Opening Ottawa Sessions On Air Training Project

Ottawa, May 19.—(CP)—Following is the text of the speech given by Prime Minister Mackenzie King at the plenary session of the Ottawa air training conference to-day:

On behalf of the Canadian government, I desire to extend a very hearty welcome to Canada to those who have come from other countries to attend the Ottawa air training conference. To all who are here as members of the conference itself, I extend the warmest welcome. It is a pleasure to recognize in the personnel of the delegations so many who have been foremost in the establishment and development of air training. Their associations have been so constant and intimate during the years of the war that they will need no introduction to one another. Many of you meet here as old friends; very many are familiar figures in this capital.

Of First Importance

The conference is assembling at a time which, in the course of the war, may prove to be the most telling of all. On every continent and on all oceans the opposed forces are in conflict. Over continents and oceans alike, the forces in the air hold their sway, combining their strength with the strength of armies and navies of the united nations to ensure the ultimate triumph of freedom. In the perfecting of co-ordinated effort among the combined forces of the united nations lies the key to victory. Taking account of the stage hostilities have now reached, as well as of the purpose of its deliberations, the Ottawa air training conference is of first importance to all the nations that on the first day of the present year united in a pact to fight together till victory is achieved.

I should like, at the outset, to say a word as to the origin of the conference. The proposal to hold the conference grew out of the preliminary consideration which the Canadian government had been giving to the terms upon which the British Commonwealth air training plan should be extended when the existing agreement expires on March 31, 1943. We felt that it would be an advantage to the common cause to have the widest possible use made of the experience gained in Canada, in co-operative air training, by the nations of the British Commonwealth. It was also felt that the fuller the knowledge on the part of those engaged in air training, both in the United States and Canada, of existing conditions in our respective countries and of probable future developments the better it would be for our joint efforts. The other British nations participating in the plan shared the view of the Canadian government.

F. D. R. in Agreement

Accordingly, during my visit to Washington in April, I discussed the proposal with Mr. Roosevelt. As to the advantages of a conference, the president expressed himself as being in whole-hearted agreement. Mr. Roosevelt made important suggestions as to the scope of the conference and its agenda. The announcement that, at Canada's invitation, an air training conference would be held at Ottawa was made immediately thereafter from the White house by the president and myself.

It was originally contemplated that the conference would be confined to those of the united nations with air training programs actually under way on the North American continent. It was realized that the North American training problems to be discussed might not be of immediate concern to the other united nations. It was felt, however, that it would be to the general advantage to invite to the conference representatives from all the united nations who are actively participating in combat in the air. To-day, only one month after the conference was announced, the delegates of 14 nations are assembled here to begin its deliberations.

Regret Russ Absence

It is a matter of regret to the Canadian government, as I am sure it is to all present, that circumstances have made it impossible for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to be represented. The magnificent effort and achievement of the soviet air force in actual combat would have ensured for its representatives the warmest of welcomes.

It will, I am certain, not be regarded as invidious if I extend a word of special welcome to the Chinese delegation. We are proud to be associated with China in the struggle for freedom which that country waged alone for so long, and has continued so heroically. None know better than our Chinese allies how vital to ultimate triumph is supremacy in the air.

It was the same appreciation of the need for superiority in the air that brought about the British Commonwealth air training plan. The negotiation of an agreement to establish a joint air training plan was begun in Canada at the very commencement of the war. The agreement establishing the plan in Canada was reached by the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in this city, on December 17, 1939. The plan has now been in operation for over two years. In that time, Canada has become one of the greatest air training centres in the world.

Objective Exceeded

The plan has already far exceeded its original objective. Thousands of pilots and airmen trained in its schools are engaged in combat with the enemy. They are serving in every theatre of war. The plan has been so designed and developed that its output can be readily and speedily increased.

The aim of the British Commonwealth air training plan was stated, at the outset, to be the achievement, for the nations of the British Commonwealth, by co-operative effort, of air forces whose co-ordinated strength would be overwhelming. Since the plan was inaugurated, the scope and, to some extent, the character of the war has changed. To-day the whole world is involved in a universal, indivisable conflict. The success of the united nations will depend, in large part, upon the development of unified planning and of organization of all their activities directed towards the common aim of winning the war.

In many fields, the means of achieving common unified action in the prosecution of the war have already been demised. There is a unified action for the strategic direction of the war, for common planning, for the allocation of finished munitions and of raw materials. This common organization is evidence of a growing realization that there is but one war, in which

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 42934

the fate of all alike is at stake.

Takes Initiative

It is not unnatural that, in the wider co-ordination of air training, Canada should take the initiative. In this field, we have already met and successfully overcome many of the problems of rapid expansion under pressure of time.

The aim of the air training conference is, however, not merely the discussion of problems. It is proposed to explore all possible avenues of co-operation and co-ordination in the field of air training, with a view to planning the best and speediest use of all existing facilities. It is our hope that the conference will make a definite contribution to the air strength of the united nations.

In the joint announcement by President Roosevelt and myself, the broad purpose of the conference was set forth in these terms:

"Plans for the conference developed out of the recognition of the desirability of more closely coordinating the British Commonwealth Air Training plan with the greatly extended air training program undertaken by the United States and others of the united nations.

Further United Efforts

"The purpose of the meeting lies along the lines of further united military efforts. The meeting in Ottawa would extend the air programs to take in the training of personnel to operate the military aircraft to the end that the most effective use will be made of all resources of personnel.

"Great progress has already been made in pooling the aeroplane production of the united nations."

The holding at Ottawa of the present conference is a recognition of the imperative need of co-ordinated air strength as an element, perhaps vital element, in victory. But it is more than that. It also marks a recognition of the central position which North America has come to occupy geographically and strategically in a world-encircling war in the air. In relation to the great areas of combat, Canada and the United States are coming to have interior lines of communication. This continent is at the very centre of a war which is all around us. In aerial warfare on a global scale, we, of the North American continent, have a distinct advantage in that we are able, in the disposition of our forces, in relation either to the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, freely to cross the continent itself.

"Pride of All"

It is imperative to keep in mind that air training is directed to actual combat in the air. The ultimate purpose all have in view is the attainment of overpowering and decisive air strength. The magnificent contributions already made to that end by the United Kingdom and United States are the pride of all who love valour and who cherish freedom.

Canada's contribution is not to be measured by the extent of our population. In numbers we are a small nation. Planning and experience during two years of war have combined with geography to make Canada, in terms of the development of air strength, a world power. These advantages of planning, experience and geography, the Canadian people are proud to have an opportunity to share.

It is in this spirit that I invite the delegations from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth, from our great neighbour, the United States; from Belgium, from China, from Czechoslovakia, from Greece, from the Netherlands, from Norway, from Poland and from Jugoslavia, to share in the deliberations of this conference dedicated to the common cause of world freedom.

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69		National Security - The Issue in Plebiscite, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 42424 - D 42575	
70		National Security and National Survival, Second Appeal, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	24 April 1942	D 42576 - D 42925	
70		Plebiscite Results. Speeches outside Parliament	27 April 1942	D 42926 - D 42931	
70		Speeches opening Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 42932 - D 42934	
70		Ottawa Air Training Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	20 May 1942	D 42935 - D 42955	

Government Dinner - Air Training Conference
May 20, 1942

D 42935

1) Personal pleasure of meeting delegates

no burdening with making or listening to speeches

a chance to see the Capital

Ottawa -- Washington of the North

2) Congratulations on speeches of yesterday

rise of power of the air

3) Historic significance of Conference to Canada

4) Historic significance of Conference in relation to New World Order

a) armed resistance of free nations

b) Allied Conferences in London -- June and September 1941

c) Atlantic Declaration: purposes and principles

d) Declaration of the United Nations at Washington to use resources and fight till victory

e) Ottawa Conference -- half of United Nations perfecting means of enemy conquest through effecting supremacy of the air

D 42936

5) Three eras in effecting man's supremacy over the world:

land
water
air

6) Conference: prophetic of victory and also prophetic of new world order

prophetic of victory in what has been done in two and a half years and expansion certain to follow

prophetic of new world order in that power so strong that would be able to keep all fretful realms in awe

Ottawa Air Training Conference
Government Dinner. May 20, 1942

Historic significance of Ottawa Conference

1) emergence in armed resistance of free nations against aggression

   a) at top of list, seen in the armed resistance of China against aggressor in the Orient

   b) armed resistance of nations of Europe headed by Poland, followed by that of other nations of Europe represented at this table -- the last of which was Russia

   c) armed resistance of the free nations in the Orient and of the U.S. of A.

2) meetings of Allied Governments in London in June and September of 1941

   that is forming the nucleus --

   constituting a formal alliance somewhat nebulous as all things are at their beginning

   concerned with economic problems

3) The Joint Declaration known as the Atlantic Charter -- August 14, 1941 -- setting forth common program of purposes and principles

D 42937

4) Joint Delcaration at Washington of the United Nations to employ their full resources, military and economic, against the Tri-Partite Pact and to co-operate with other Governments to continue the war against the common enemy

5) The present Conference of Air Training for the practical purpose of perfecting training and co-ordinating effort

D 42938

United National Air Training Conference
Government Dinner for Delegates
May 20, 1942

D 42939

I. Present conference the most representative gathering of the United Nations in Canada since the outbreak of war.

2. Hope that the proceedings of the conference will give substance and a new reality to the phrase "United Nations".

3. Significant that we should here be concerned with a vital development of the wair <u>in the air</u>.

The air arm is specially associated with the national life and spirit of Canada.

A nation of broad spaces bridged by air transport in times of peace;

A nation turning its resources of men and machines into the largest air training scheme in history, at a time of war.

D 42940

War in the Air
emphasizes a third great epoch
in the history of the world.

I. Ascendancy at sea

the age of maritime discovery,
the building of great war-time
empires.

2. Mastery on land

attempted for generations
through the known world;

as western civilization was
carried ever farther afield,
arms of conflict were
broadened too;

motives broadened from economic
power to political domination.

3. Supremacy in the air

A development of this century,
and given most formidable
shape in this present war;

the air weapon more powerful
than army combination of
land forces ever yet
assembled or devised;

the outlook for humanity may
well be determined by control
of air resources.

D 42941

Canada not without experience in the war in the air.

The heroic record of Canada's airmen in the Great War a leading star and an inspiration for present war.

Feats of heroism by airmen of many nations in the present war fast becoming a part of the heritage of all the United Nations:

Polish - in the skies over Britain and over Libya;

Dutch - In the Netherlands Indies;

Chinese - in training in U.S.A. to take their place in defending their homeland;

American - throughout the Far East;

The Royal Air Force:
Australian
New Zealand
South Africa
Canadian - in the Battle of Britain,
in the renewed aerial offensive against enemy territory in Europe,
in Africa,
in India,
in the Far East.

D42942

This gathering in Ottawa has a serious purpose;

but, amid the concerns of official business, glad there has been this opportunity for a friendly meeting together;

friendship and good fellowship in a common task of importance in carrying out of urgent tasks.

Have already expressed a welcome to all the delegations now assembled in Ottawa - many meeting again as old friends -

would like to renew that welcome in a personal way and

express best wishes to all present.

D 42943

Air Training Conference
Government Dinner
Country Club
May 20, 1942

Pleasure of meeting personally.

It is a pleasure to my colleagues and myself, as I know it is also to His Excellency, to have the opportunity of meeting personally with the delegates to the Air Training Conference, their advisers, and others who are present this evening.

I should like to say at once that this evening's gathering is for the purpose of enabling us all to become better acquainted, affording to members of the conference a little change and relaxation in theimidst of their onerous and exacting duties, and to afford as much as possible in the way of complete freedom. By this I mean that no one is to be burdened either with having to make a speech or listening to a speech.

Renewal of welcome to delegates.

I should like, however, to renew in a more immediate and personal way, the welcome to Canada and to Ottawa which was extended in a more or less formal way yesterday and, in particular, to those who have come from other countries, and to all who have come to the conference itself.

D 42944

We know that your time is taken up with the work of the conference, but we hope that odd moments such as the present will afford you, in the course of your stay, to renew old associations and to make new acquaintances and friendships, and at the same time to get a few glimpses of our own capital city, which at this season of the year is particularly attractive.

I might say to Capt. Balfour and Mr. Lovett that while we have sought to base our political institutions upon those of the United Kingdom, and our parliamentary practice and procedure upon those of Westminster, it was long ago decided in the planning and developing of the Capital that we should seek to make Ottawa "the Washington of the north". In this way we think we have succeeded in having the best of two worlds.

Appreciation of their addresses.

At yesterday's meeting, I thanked the delegates from the several countries for the addresses which they made at the opening meeting of the conference. I should like, tonight, to extend to one and all very warm congratulations upon the excellence of those addresses.

D 42945

Read together they constitute a chapter of history, which in relation to facts and achievements surpass anything which has hitherto been imagined in the realm of world romance.

Achievements prophetic of ultimate victory.

I doubt if it would be possible to conceive of anything more prophetic of ultimate victory than the picture of the emergence of the new power which has done more to help to eliminate time and space as obstacles to united effort, and to bring about a unified effort on the part of all the forces that are combatting aggression and seeking the preservation, restoration, and expansion of freedom.

The story of the rise and fall of nations and of empires has in the past been told mainly in terms of land and sea power. Neither have lost their place today, but a third power - the power of the air - has arisen to supplement and to unite the strength of the other two and to increase their effectiveness manyfold.

The present Air Training Conference has enabled us to envisage the rise and the growth of that power as little else possibly could. It has given us a picture

D 42946

of the emergence of the air forces of the nations, of their heroic defence of the respective dominions to which they belong, of the significance and growth of their combined effort and its extension until, literally, it has come to encompass the globe.

Three epochs in surveying man's supremacy over the world.

Surveying the story of man's supremacy over the world which has had its immediate association with the onward march and conquest of civilization, there would appear to be three great epochs. The first has its immediate association with the people's supremacy on land; the second its immediate association to the people's supremacy at sea; the third - on which we have now entered - the people's supremacy in the air. The Conference affords us a vision of how this latter supremacy is to be achieved by the United Nations.

Relation of Conference to United Nations.

Another thought is suggested by the presence of the nations represented here. It is related to the world new order that would be brought into existence as the outcome of the present war.

D 42947

As nation after nation was over run in Europe, their leaders sought the maintenance of their political and national existence by the transfer of their governments to Great Britain. There these several nations, temporarily in exile, formed the nucleus of a group of nations united in their determination to see the freedom of their homelands restored and freedom itself given new birth throughout the world.

At Washington, on the first day of this year, a wider significance was given to this union of exiled nations. Along with the greater and lesser powers, who still possess their freedom and are fighting for its preservation, they became a part of the larger company - that of the United Nations, twenty-six in number, brought together as one in a solemn pact to fight as one until victory for freedom is achieved.

Today we have assembled in this Capital of Canada representatives of more than one-half of the nations thus united; assembled not in conference to frame some new constitution for the world, but but in the perfecting of the practical means by

D42948

which the constitution of that new and larger brotherhood may ultimately be attained. In other words, this Conference is not merely prophetic of victory, it is prophetic of the new order that is to govern the world. This order will be one universal law for the preservation of peace, and order maintained by supremacy of power in the air.

For release on Tuesday, May 1942
Not to be released before 10.30 a.m.

D 42949

Ottawa Air Training Conference

Opening Speech by the Prime Minister

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Canadian Government, I desire to extend a very hearty welcome to Canada to those who have come from other countries to attend the Ottawa Air Training Conference. To all who are here as members of the Conference itself, I extend the warmest of welcomes. It is a pleasure to recognize in the personnel of the delegations so many who have been foremost in the establishment and development of air training. Their associations have been so constant and intimate during the years of the war that they will need no introduction to one another. Many of you meet here as old friends; very many are familiar figures in this capital.

The Conference is assembling at a time which, in the course of the war, may prove to be the most telling of all. On every continent and on all oceans the opposed forces are in conflict. Over continents and oceans alike, the forces in the air hold their sway, combining their strength with the strength of the armies and navies of the United Nations to ensure the ultimate triumph of freedom. In the perfecting of co-ordinated effort among the combined forces of the United Nations lies the key to victory. Taking account of the stage hostilities have now reached, as well as of the purpose of its deliberations, the Ottawa Air Training

D 42950

Conference is of first importance to all the nations that on the first day of the present year united in a pact to fight together till victory is achieved.

I should like, at the outset, to say a word as to the origin of the Conference. The proposal to hold the Conference grew out of the preliminary consideration which the Canadian Government had been giving to the terms upon which the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan should be extended when the existing agreement expires on March 31, 1943. We felt that it would be an advantage to the common cause to have the widest possible use made of the experience gained in Canada, in co-operative air training, by the nations of the British Commonwealth. It was also felt that the fuller the knowledge on the part of those engaged in air training, both in the United States and Canada, of existing conditions in our respective countries and of probable future developments the better it would be for our joint efforts. The other British nations participating in the Plan shared the view of the Canadian Government. Accordingly, during my visit to Washington in April, I discussed the proposal with Mr. Roosevelt. As to the advantages of a Conference, the President expressed himself as being in wholehearted agreement. Mr. Roosevelt made important suggestions as to the scope of the Conference and its agenda. The announcement that, at Canada's invitation, an Air Training Conference

D42951

would be held at Ottawa was made immediately thereafter from the White House by the President and myself.

It was originally contemplated that the Conference would be confined to those of the United Nations with Air Training Programmes actually under way on the North American continent. It was realized that the North American training problems to be discussed might not be of immediate concern to the other United Nations. It was felt, however, that it would be to the general advantage to invite to the Conference representatives from all the United Nations who are actively participating in combat in the air. Today, only one month after the Conference was announced, the delegates of fourteen nations are assembled here to begin its deliberations.

It is a matter of regret to the Canadian Government, as I am sure it is to all present, that circumstances have made it impossible for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to be represented. The magnificent effort and achievement of the Soviet Air Force in actual combat would have ensured for its representatives the warmest of welcomes.

D 42952

It will, I am certain, not be regarded as invidious if I extend a word of special welcome to the Chinese delegation. We are proud to be associated with China in the struggle for freedom which that country waged alone for so long, and has continued so heroically. None know better than our Chinese allies how vital to ultimate triumph is supremacy in the air.

It was the same appreciation of the need for superiority in the air that brought about the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The negotiation of an agreement to establish a joint air training plan was begun in Canada at the very commencement of the war. The agreement establishing the Plan in Canada was reached by the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in this city, on December 17, 1939. The Plan has now been in operation for over two years. In that time, Canada has become one of the greatest air training centres in the world. The Plan has already far exceeded its original objective. Thousands of pilots and airmen trained in its schools are engaged in combat with the enemy. They are serving in every theatre of war. The Plan has been so designed and developed that its output can be readily and speedily increased.

BELFAST BOND

D 42953

The aim of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was stated, at the outset, to be the achievement, for the nations of the British Commonwealth, by co-operative effort, of air forces whose co-ordinated strength would be overwhelming. Since the Plan was inaugurated, the scope and, to some extent, the character of the war has changed. To-day the whole world is involved in a universal, indivisible conflict. The success of the United Nations will depend, in large part, upon the development of unified planning and of organization of all their activities directed towards the common aim of winning the war.

In many fields, the means of achieving common unified action in the prosecution of the war have already been devised. There is a unified organization for the strategic direction of the war, for common planning, for the allocation of finished munitions and of raw materials. This common organization is evidence of a growing realization that there is but one war, in which the fate of all alike is at stake.

It is not unnatural that, in the wider co-ordination of air training, Canada should take the initiative. In this field, we have already met and successfully overcome many of the problems of rapid expansion under pressure of time.

The aim of the Air Training Conference is, however, not merely the discussion of problems. It is proposed to explore all possible avenues of co-operation and co-ordination

D 42954

in the field of air training, with a view to planning the best and speediest use of all existing facilities. It is our hope that the Conference will make a definite contribution to the air strength of the United Nations.

In the joint announcement by President Roosevelt and myself, the broad purpose of the Conference was set forth in these terms:

"Plans for the Conference developed out of the recognition of the desirability of more closely co-ordinating the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan with the greatly extended Air Training Programme undertaken by the United States and others of the United Nations.

"The purpose of the meeting lies along the lines of further united military efforts. The meeting in Ottawa would extend the Air Programmes to take in the training of personnel to operate the military aircraft to the end that the most effective use will be made of all resources of personnel.

"Great progress has already been made in pooling the aeroplane production of the United Nations."

The holding at Ottawa of the present Conference is a recognition of the imperative need of co-ordinated air strength as an element, perhaps the vital element, in victory. But it is more than that. It also marks a recognition of the central position which North America has come to occupy geographically and strategically in a world-encircling war in the air. In relation to the great areas of combat, Canada

D 42955

and the United States are coming to have interior lines of communication. This continent is at the very centre of a war which is all around us. In aerial warfare on a global scale, we, of the North American continent have a distinct advantage in that we are able, in the disposition of our forces, in relation either to the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, freely to cross the continent itself.

It is imperative to keep in mind that air training is directed to actual combat in the air. The ultimate purpose all have in view is the attainment of overpowering and decisive air strength. The magnificent contributions already made to that end by the United Kingdom and the United States are the pride of all who love valour and who cherish freedom.

Canada's contribution is not to be measured by the extent of our population. In numbers we are a small nation. Planning and experience during two years of war have combined with geography to make Canada, in terms of the development of air strength, a world power. These advantages of planning, experience and geography, the Canadian people are proud to have an opportunity to share.

It is in this spirit that I invite the delegations from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth, from our great neighbour the United States, from Belgium, from China, from Czechoslovakia, from Greece, from the Netherlands, from Norway, from Poland and from Yugoslavia, to share in the deliberations of this Conference dedicated to the common cause of world freedom.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Tribute to Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 42956 - D 42967	
70		Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 42968 - D 43125	
70		75th Anniversary of Confederation. Speeches outside Parliament	1 July 1942	D 43126 - D 43140	
70		Welcome to King of Greece, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1942	D 43141 - ~~D 43152~~ D 43156	
70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

File

D 42956

Speech by The Prime Minister

Civic Demonstration on Parliament Hill
in honour of
Pilot Officer Morin
Pilot Officer Robillard

June 5, 1942.

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of the members of the government, to join with His Worship the Mayor and the civic authorities of our Capital city in extending congratulations to Pilot Officer Morin, and Pilot Officer Robillard, in whose honour tonight's demonstration is being held on Parliament Hill.

To all citizens of Ottawa it is a source of pride that these two young men, Ottawa born and Ottawa bred, should, by their exceptional achievements, have brought so much in the way of distinction to themselves,and reflected so much credit upon the Royal Canadian Air Force to which they belong.

The record of the adventures and accomplishments of these two young Canadians of French descent makes them worthy successors of the great and brave company of explorers and pioneers to whose daring and resource we owe the discovery of our own country and its early development rom a state of savagery to that of a highly civilized land.

It is well that all the citizens of Canada and, in particular, the youth of our country, should know why it is

D 42957

that these young men are worthy of so great an honour at the hands of their fellow citizens. Let me tell you the story in a few words:

Pilot Officer Morin received his wings in January 1941 and proceeded to England; he took part in no fewer than 32 operational flights over enemy territory, ranging from Bremen and Hamburg as far as Berlin. He took part in flights for the bombing of the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau at Brest. On all occasions, he manifested the utmost resolution and daring. For his great courage, his exceptional skill, and his remarkable achievements, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

Pilot Officer Robillard, when he first applied to enter the Royal Canadian Air Force, was refused on the grounds that he was 14 pounds under weight. After months of special dietary treatment, he succeeded in satisfying the medical examiners. He left for England in March 1941 and on June 1st accounted for his first enemy plane. Among his exploits I shall mention but one. In a battle over France, his Squadron Leader was shot down and forced to descend by parachute; nine German planes raked the Squadron Leader with their fire, while he was still descending helpless through the air. Robillard dived into their midst, shot down two enemy planes, and drove off the

D 42958

other seven. As a result of this encounter, his plane was so damaged that he himself was also forced to come down. This happened near Lille. Over a period of six weeks, Robillard resourcefully made his way through occupied France, unoccupied France, and Spain, until he reached British soil at Gibraltar. For this signal heroism he, also, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

These are records which speak for themselves. They speak to us tonight of the glorious record - past, present and future - of the Royal Canadian Air Force, which will constitute, through time, one of the most romantic and heroic pages of Canadian history. They speak in us in a still wider way of the spirit of Canada itself.

There is, I believe, no more illuminating and inspiring history than the history of Canada. The presence of our two young French Canadian heroes remind us tonight that our history began with the long procession of discoverers, explorers, pioneers and settlers, sailors and soldiers, missionaries and traders, who came to the New World from Old France. Their courage and daring, heroic purpose and steadfast endurance, their record of achievement constitute the opening chapter of our marvelous story.

D 42959

The resourcefulness of the pioneer, the co-operativeness of the liberty loving individual, the daring of the hero, these are all qualities that are written large in the record of Canadian history from its earliest times down to the present day.

Our young friends, whom we are delighted to honour tonight, stand as a link between the achievements of this romantic past,to which I have referred, and the mightier achievements of the glorious future that is to be.

They are a powerful witness to the bravery, the chivalry, the determination, and the strength of the Canadian people. We dalight to honour them. We delight to honour the splendid force whose highest traditions they have so magnificently upheld. In honouring them as we do, we do honour to our own country, and, above all, to those noble sons and daughters of Canada who already have given their lives for their fellowmen, or who, today, in our defense services, are placing their lives at their country's service gloriously defending its liberties at home and abroad, helping, as well, to defend and to preserve freedom itself in all quarters of the globe.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUN 6 1942

Subject

D 42960

Robillard Had to 'Fight' Way Into R.C.A.F.

Prime Minister King told 10,000 persons on Parliament Hill Friday evening that Pilot Officer Larry Robillard practically had to fight his way into the R.C.A.F.

When Robillard first applied for enlistment, the Prime Minister said, he was rejected on the grounds he was 14 pounds underweight.

Determined to become a flyer despite the odds against him, Robillard by special dietary treatment for several months succeeded in putting on the necessary weight and satisfying medical officers he was proper timber for aircrew.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUN 6 1942

D 42961

Subject

Thousands Acclaim Morin And Robillard

Ottawa turned out by the thousands Friday evening to give public recognition to two of its native sons, who by their bravery in air combat carry the Distinguished Flying Medal.

Massed on Parliament Hill, 10,000 persons threw their hats in the air and gave three lusty cheers for Pilot Officer Larry Robillard and Pilot Officer Paul Emile Morin. The spontaneous demonstration was led by Mayor Lewis after Prime Minister King voiced the congratulations of the Dominion Government. It followed brief addresses by the modest young air heroes.

The ceremony on Parliament Hill was preceded by a monster parade in which 3,000 members of the armed forces, including women of the army and air forces, and auxiliaries took part.

Riding in the parade in an open flag-decked car with Mayor Lewis, Pilot Officers Robillard and Morin were acclaimed by thousands who lined the streets to pay tribute to the heroes. The parade which halted all uptown traffic started from the Drill Hall and followed Lisgar, Bank, Sparks and Metcalfe streets to reach the Hill.

Scene Colorful.

The scene there was a colorful one with the blue of the air force, the khaki of the army, and the scarlet of the R.C.M.P. blending with the various colors worn by other marching units to form a mosaic pattern.

The platform on which Government, civic and air force leaders were seated was placed at the head of the steps leading to the Peace Tower. Below, the armed forces stood in a square with the general public grouped about them.

The reception was civic in nature with Mayor Lewis presiding and he voiced the sentiments of all present when he declared: "The names of Robillard and Morin will take a prominent and distinguished place on the list of Ottawa's roster of brave men. Their deeds of valor are known wherever the names of the Royal Canadian Air Force is known."

Speaking of the thousands of men and women from Ottawa now fighting for their country he said: "We think of them always with pride and a prayer for their preservation and a hope that we who are here in comfort and safety will be worthy of them." He added a plea to civilians unable "to go active" to enlist in the home services.

Following Mr. Lewis, the Prime Minister recounted the exploits which made the two airmen famous. Morin received his wings in January of 1941 and proceeded to England, took part in no fewer than 32 operational flights over enemy territory, bombed the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau at Brest.

"On all occasions he manifested the utmost resolution and daring. For his great courage, his exceptional skill and his remarkable achievements, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal", Mr. King said.

Robillard left for England in March, 1941, and the Prime Minister said he had only to recount one of his exploits to show his undoubted courage.

Saved Leader.

"In a battle over France, his squadron leader was shot down and forced to descend by parachute; nine German 'planes raked him with their fire while he was still descending helpless through the air. Robillard dived into their midst, shot down two enemy 'planes and drove off the other seven. As a result of this encounter his 'plane was so damaged he was forced to come down near Lille. Over a period of six weeks, he resourcefully made his way through occupied and unoccupied France and Spain until he reached British soil at Gibraltar. For this signal heroism he, also, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal", Mr. King asserted.

Mr. King said that the record of the adventures and accomplishments of the two airmen of French descent "made them worthy successors of the great and brave company of explorers and pioneers to whose daring and resource we owe the discovery of our own country and its early development from a state of savagery to that of a highly civilized land".

The achievements of Robillard and Morin, the Prime Minister said, spoke of the glorious record, past, present and future of the R.C.A.F. "which will constitute, through time, one of the most romantic, heroic and inspiring pages of Canadian history".

"Our young friends, whom we are delighted to honor, stand as a link between the achievements of this glorious romantic past, to which I have referred, and the glorious future that is to be. They are a powerful witness to the mightier achievements of the bravery, the chivalry, the determination and the strength of the Canadian people", Mr. King said.

Due All Fighters.

Robillard was the first of the two airmen to speak and he was greeted with a burst of applause. "This homage I feel should be tendered to every Canadian who is fighting in defence of sacred freedom, of Christian ideals", he modestly said.

He counted it not only a duty but a privilege to serve his country. He called his adventure in France "good fortune" because it afforded him an opportunity of learning at first-hand that all Frenchmen, except for "a few miserable Quislings" were hoping for an Allied triumph. "My visit was very informal because I arrived by parachute", he said as the crowd roared.

"Frenchmen know that England's victory will mean for them liberation from Nazi domination. British air raids on munitions factories in the occupied areas are acclaimed."

Opening his address, Morin said he wished to share the honor with "my comrades who are still over there so as to restore to the greater number that which I now realize does not justly belong to only a few".

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 42962

To show the will of the English people under fire, Morin recalled a humorous story he had heard while there. They had not even lost their humor despite the terrific ordeal they had to endure. "How can we let such people down", he exclaimed. "We must not fail them! We must keep on blasting Nazi territory, for in so doing we are unravelling a knot in the bonds of slavery in which Hitler holds our fellow free men of France and other liberty-loving countries."

The closing address was made by Air Commodore Albert de Niverville, officer commanding No. 3 Air Training Command. "The men we honor today are typical of the thousands of Canadians fighting over there."

Air Commodore de Niverville declared that the superiority of the Canadian airmen as a whole could be credited not only to their own courage, but to the training they received in the R.C.A.F.

Chats With Mr. King.

Morin sat and chatted with the Prime Minister during the ceremony while Robillard, whose head often turned upwards at the sound of aircraft, was seated beside Mr. Lewis.

When it was all over the two heroes were mobbed by autograph hunters and it was only with difficulty that the officials were able to clear a path for them to their car. From Parliament Hill they rode in procession to La Salle Academy where further honors was paid them at the school where they received their education.

Among those riding in the special cars were the families of the two airmen, including the parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Robillard, 15 Elm street, and Mr. and Mrs. R. Morin, 328 St. Patrick street.

The order of the parade follows: Ottawa city police escort, R.C.M.P. (mounted), Hull Regimental Band and unit, first half of army unit, army pipe band, second half of army unit, including women's army corps, R.C.A.F. silver band, R.C.A.F. (all personnel) including women's division. sea cadets and band, air cadets followed by R.C.A.F. trumpet band, Red Cross unit, British fire fighters, Hull Regiment bugle band, Ottawa fire brigade, Boy Scouts of Canada, R.C.M.P. motor cycle detachment, R.C.M.P. band,

Motor vehicles, Mayor and Pilot Officers Robillard and Morin, A.O.C. No. 3 training command, Robillard family, Morin family, city controllers, LaSalle Academy band and cadets, Frontiersmen (mounted), R.C.A.F. ambulance.

Welcomed at Academy.

At the LaSalle Academy, a capacity audience awaited the two flyers and gave them a rousing welcome. They were met at the door by Brother Rembert, director of the academy, and by former teachers.

After a short address by Henri Tasse, president of the LaSalle Academy Alumni Association, Pilot Officers Paul Emile Morin, D.F.M., and Lawrence W. Robillard, D.F.M., recounted their exploits while they were overseas. Following their addresses they were awarded life memberships in the Alumni Association of their Alma Mater.

Massed on the stage was the R.C.A.F. band which played a number of selections. The program ended with thanks by Ivanhoe Seguin.

Present at the gathering were Mayor Lewis, Mayor Brunet, of Hull, Controller Bourque, Controller Pickering, Air Commodore Albert de Niverville, Hon. Robert Laurier, Minister of Mines in the Ontario Government, members of the clergy, and a host of relatives of the guests of honor.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date June 6/42

Subject

D 42963

M. Mackenzie King

Je suis heureux de joindre ma voix à celle de Son Honneur le maire de notre Capitale et d'offrir, au nom de mes collègues du Cabinet, mes félicitations aux officiers pilotes Morin et Robillard à l'occasion de cette manifestation en leur honneur sur la colline du Parlement.

Tous les citoyens sont fiers de ces deux jeunes gens, nés et élevés à Ottawa, qui ont su servir avec tant de distinction et faire rejaillir tant de gloire sur le Corps d'aviation royal canadien dont ils sont membres.

Les aventures et les hauts faits de ces deux jeunes Canadiens d'origine française en font les dignes successeurs de cette vaillante et nombreuse phalange d'explorateurs et de pionniers qui par leur courage et leur initiative nous ont valu la découverte de notre propre pays et sa première évolution de l'état sauvage vers la haute civilisation qu'il connaît aujourd'hui.

Il convient que tous les citoyens du Canada, et surtout la jeunesse de notre pays, sachent pourquoi ces jeunes gens sont dignes de tant d'honneur rendu par leurs concitoyens. Permettez-moi de vous l'exposer brièvement:

L'officier pilote Morin reçut ses ailes en janvier 1941 et s'embarqua pour l'Angleterre. Il a participé à non moins de trente-deux opérations aériennes au-dessus du territoire ennemi, de Brême et Hambourg jusqu'à Berlin. Il a pris part à des raids sur Brest contre le **Scharnhorst** et le **Gneisenau.** Chaque fois, il a fait preuve d'une détermination et d'une bravoure indomptables. En reconnaissance de son grand courage, de son habileté exceptionnelle et de ses exploits remarquables, il a été décoré de la Distinguished Flying Medal (médaille pour service distingué dans l'aviation).

L'officier pilote Robillard se vit tout d'abord refuser l'admission au Corps d'aviation royal canadien parce qu'il était de quatorze livres au-dessous du poids règlementaire. Après des mois d'un régime alimentaire approprié, il a réussi à satisfaire aux exigences du conseil médical. Il s'est embarqué pour l'Angleterre en mars 1941 et le 1er juin de la même année il abattait son premier avion ennemi. Qu'il me suffise de rappeler un seul de ses exploits. Dans un combat dans le ciel de France, son chef d'escadrille vit son avion abattu et lui-même forcé de descendre en parachute. Neuf avions ennemis ouvrirent le feu sur lui, cible impuissante balancée dans les airs. Robillard fonça dans la mêlée, abattant deux avions ennemis et réussissant à mettre les sept autres en fuite. Mais son avion était tellement endommagé, qu'il dut atterrir près de Lille. Au bout de six semaines il avait réussi à force d'ingéniosité, à traverser la France occupée, puis la France non occupée, et l'Espagne pour atteindre enfin le territoire britannique à Gibraltar.

Pour cet exploit héroïque, lui aussi fut décoré de la D.F.M.

Ce sont là des faits qui parlent bien haut. Ils nous rappellent ce soir le passé glorieux et nous révèlent l'avenir du Corps d'aviation royal canadien; ils constitueront à travers les âges l'une des pages les plus romantiques, les plus héroïques et les plus encourageantes de l'histoire du Canada tout entier.

Dans les annales du monde, il n'est pas d'histoire plus belle et plus vivifiante que l'histoire du Canada.

La présence de nos deux jeunes héros canadiens-français, nous rappelle ce soir que cette histoire a débuté par la longue théorie de découvreurs, d'explorateurs, de pionniers et de colons, de missionnaires et de négociants qui sont venus de France dans le Nouveau-Monde. Leur courage et leur hardiesse, leurs desseins héroïques et leur endurance, ainsi que le résultat de leur oeuvre constitue le premier chapitre de cette merveilleuse histoire.

L'ingéniosité des pionniers, l'esprit de collaboration d'hommes épris de liberté, la vaillance des héros: telles sont les qualités qui brillent en lettres géantes dans toute l'histoire canadienne, depuis l'époque de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours.

Ces jeunes gens, nos amis, que nous sommes heureux de fêter ce soir, constituent le lien entre les réalisations de ce passé romanesque dont j'ai parlé et les oeuvres encore plus grandes d'un avenir qui sera glorieux.

Ils sont les témoins vivants de la bravoure, de la magnanimité, de la détermination et de la force du peuple canadien. Nous sommes fiers de rendre hommage à ces jeunes gens ainsi qu'au corps magnifique dont ils ont su maintenir si haut les nobles traditions. En leur rendant cet hommage, nous rendons également hommage à notre propre pays et particulièrement à ces nobles fils et filles du Canada qui ont fait, pour la Patrie, le sacrifice suprême qui, à l'heure actuelle, dans toutes nos forces combattantes; mettent leur vie au service de leur pays, pour la défense de ses libertés ici comme à l'étranger, et contribuent, dans toutes les parties du monde, à la défense et au maintien de la liberté elle-même.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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Date JUN 1941

Subject

D 42964

10,000 Acclaim Two Air Heroes In Huge Parade

Pilot - Officers Robillard And Morin Receive Both State and Civic Recognition for Gallant Deeds.

Two intrepid Ottawa pilot officers, Larry Robillard and Paul Emile Morin, whose exploits with the R.C.A.F. overseas won them the Distinguished Flying Medal, were cheeringly acclaimed by 10,000 civilians and members of the armed forces on Parliament Hill last night when they received both government and civic recognition for their gallant deeds.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King joined in the civic reception and on behalf of the members of the government, extended congratulations, while Mayor Stanley Lewis voiced the Capital City's sentiment of "intense pride" to the French-Canadian airmen.

Government officials, high ranking air force officers and civic officials were in the large Union-Jacked speakers' enclosure on the steps leading to the Peace Tower.

Cheered Along Route.

A large parade which included detachments from both the men and women's divisions of the army and navy, in addition to representative gatherings of the various auxiliaries of the three fighting forces preceded the monster demonstration, and Pilot Officers Robillard and Morin were driven through the city streets to the cheering of thousands of civilians who lined the route to Parliament Hill.

"The record of the adventures and the accomplishments of these two young Canadians of French descent makes them worthy successors of the great and brave company of explorers and pioneers to whose daring and resource we owe the discovery of our own country, and its early development from a state of savagery to that of a highly civilized land," said the Prime Minister.

Ottawa Born and Bred.

"To all citizens of Ottawa, it is a source of pride that these two young men, Ottawa born and Ottawa bred, should, by their exceptional achievements, have brought us much in the way of distinction to themselves, and reflect so much credit upon the Royal Canadian Air Force."

After reviewing briefly the achievements of the two fliers, Prime Minister King said: "These are records which speak for themselves. They speak to us tonight of the glorious record past, present and future of the Royal Canadian Air Force, which will constitute, through time, one of the most romantic, heroic and inspiring pages of Canadian history. They speak to us, as well, of the spirit of Canada itself.

"Our young friends, whom we are delighted to honor tonight, stand as a link between the achievements of the romantic past and the mightier achievements of the glorious future that is to be. . . . In honoring them as we do, we do honor to our own country, and above all to those noble sons and daughters of Canada who have given their lives for their fellow-men or who today in our defence services, are placing their lives at their country's service gloriously defending its liberties at home and abroad, helping, as well to defence and to preserve freedom itself in all quarters of the globe."

Mayor Lewis acted as chairman of the reception, which was followed by a large rally at LaSalle Academy where the fliers again spoke.

The Glorious Company.

"Day in and day out we give solemn thanks for you and all the glorious company of young men who stand a living bulwark between our Canadian homeland and the enemy," said Mayor Stanley Lewis.

"Today, on this historical Hill, Ottawa citizens come to bear witness that we have one certain and undivided devotion in Canada —our love of courage wherever we find it.

"All over Canada wherever the message 'killed in battle' or 'wounded' or 'missing' has been received, it has been accepted with courage. At times one cannot help but think the simple courage this requires is the mother of all courage of every kind.

"We who stand here now remember with humbleness and gratitude the courage of those men of all the services who have died or been wounded doing battle for us.

"We salute the men and women who are carrying on at this moment in whatever service they may have enlisted doing their duty with courage and fortitude—often needing all they have of both these qualities. We think of them always with pride and a prayer for their preservation and a hope that we who are here in comfort and safety will be worthy of them.

"These living and these dead teach us 'it is not all of life to live, nor all of death to die.'

"Some of these men who abide in the last resting place of heroes are Ottawa men, and many of the men and women who serve Canada and freedom at home and abroad are Ottawa citizens. They have won many honors and we glory in their achievements.

Must Press On to Goal

"It might not be out of place here to urge that we should not rest on their laurels. We should not require them only to dedicate their lives to the winning of this war when there is a call for us also to take our places in support of them. We older men are wanted in our home services. Surely we will not hesitate when the privilege and responsibility is so obvious.

"It is true we did not help our two heroes win their Distinguished Flying Medals but we are determined to share in the glory they have won by proclaiming to the world their Ottawa citizenship.

"Ottawa's roster of brave men is long and splendid. The names of Robillard and Morin will take a prominent and distinguished place on that list. Their deeds of valor are known wherever the name of the Royal Canadian Air Force is known.

"I give you a joyful welcome to your native city and the ardent homage of its people," he concluded.

Share It With Comrades.

Both airmen were moved by the homage paid by their city and government, but expressed the hope that they should be allowed to share it with their comrades "over there" so as to restore to the great number, that which they realized "does not justly belong only to a few."

"I am indeed fully aware of the fact of being only one amongst thousands of war pilots endeavoring to do their duty in all consciousness as good laborers should do in justice to themselves and to the cause they have the honor of serving," said Pilot Officer Morin.

"England is taking war in its stride," he said. "It is indeed her finest hour. In the midst of their tribulations Britons still manage to smile and to see the humorous side of things. . . . We must keep on blasting Nazi territory for in so doing we are unravelling a knot in the bonds of slavery in which Hitler holds our fellow-free men of France and other liberty-loving countries."

"I can tell you from my own experience that the vast majority of Frenchmen—yes, I can say all Frenchmen, except perhaps for a few miserable quislings, are hoping for an Allied triumph. Indeed, France is praying for British success. Frenchmen know that England's victory will mean for them liberation from Nazi domination."

The final speaker in the ceremony, Air Commodore Albert de Niverville, air officer commanding No. 3 Air Training Command, remarked on the exploits of the two men and said how fitting it was that the ceremony should be held in Ottawa. "Because they are Ottawans, we can lay claim to them," he said.

Held to Foster Unity.

He pointed out that the two fliers were the first French-Canadian airmen to receive decorations in this war and that they have done much to cement the unity which binds English-speaking and French-speaking Canada. "The men we honor today are typical of the thousands of Canadians who are fighting overseas."

It was felt especially fitting for Air Commodore de Niverville to conclude the ceremony because both young fliers are attached to No. 3 Training Command, of which he is the officer commanding. The three men are also graduates of the LaSalle Academy, where a rally in honor of the young airmen was held immediately after the proceedings on Parliament Hill.

Following the speeches Mayor Lewis led the gathering in "three

cheers and a tiger" for the airmen.

Among the invited guests to the platform, in addition to members of the Board of Control and City aldermen, were Hon. Robert Laurier and Mrs. Laurier; George McIlraith, M.P.; Albert Pinard, M.P.; Wing Commander W. J. McBrien, officer commanding Uplands Training Depot; Group Captain Hurley, officer commanding Rockcliffe Training Depot; Air Vice-Marshal Johnston; Air Commodore Vernon Heakes, representative of the Canadian government on the International Joint Defence Board; Mayor Raymond Brunet of Hull; Mr. Justice Taschereau of the Supreme Court, and many other high ranking officials of the Dominion government.

Parents of both the fliers were introduced to the Prime Minister prior to the ceremony. They were Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Robillard of 15 Elm street, and Mr. and Mrs. Raoul Morin of 328 St. Patrick street.

Huge Throng Gathers.

A huge throng of people, lining almost every inch of the parade route from Cartier Square, west on Lisgar street to Bank, north on Bank to Sparks, east on Sparks to Metcalfe, and north on Metcalfe to Parliament Hill, showed appreciation of the two young fliers. Crowds were large along Lisgar and Sparks streets and on the green-swathed hill of Parliament where at least 10,000 civilians and members of the armed services were gathered.

The parade went off without a hitch and there were no noticeable delays at any time. Throughout the crowd there were comments that "this is the best parade since the King and Queen were here." It was certainly the most colorful. For under a perfectly clear sky, the scarlet coats of the R.C.M.P. and the blues, browns and greys of the army, navy, air force and their auxiliary services gave forth a veritable riot of color. Though all units in the parade received their share of the applause, it was the long-awaited sight of the "red-coats" on their prancing steeds which most tickled the fancy of the crowd. The music of the five bands, the steady tramping of feet, and the sporadic honking of motor horns, coupled with the cheers of the crowd never disturbed one of the horses and the unit carried out its duties with smartness and precision.

The biggest cheer of the day came as the lengthy parade, led by an escort of the Ottawa city police, entered the main gate at Parliament Hill. A huge throng was gathered there, and when they sighted the two smiling and modest airmen, who were seated at the back of an open car with Mayor Lewis, the noise was deafening. Members of the boys' families, driving directly behind, also received an ovation, as did, of course, every single unit in the entourage. By the outburst it seemed as if all Ottawa was gathered there to pay tribute to its two native sons.

The speakers' stand, flanked on all sides with Union Jacks, was directly under the main tower, affording the mass of people on the lawns a splendid view.

A mob scene, which would have made a Hollywood premiere look small in comparison, took place about the car of honor as the two pilots stepped into it after the ceremony. Ninety per cent of the milling crowd were school children who, amid slaps on the back, cheers, and hand-clapping, demanded autographs from the besieged airmen. Few of them went home disappointed.

Traffic Well Handled.

The whole scene as the parade reassembled and left the hill was similar to water bursting over a dam. Hundreds of people who had been standing silently during the impressive ceremony all decided to leave at once and constables and members of the R.C.M.P. had difficulty in keeping them off the route. It was remarkable the way traffic was handled, and the greater part of the responsibility for this work was in the hands of Inspector John Barlow of the Ottawa city police.

The order of march from Cartier Square to Parliament Hill and from the Hill to LaSalle Academy was as follows:

Ottawa city police escort in charge of Sgt. James Callaghan; Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Inspector R. M. Wood; the Hull Regiment detachment of 50 men in command of Major M. Lavoie, and the brass band led by Bandmaster Louis Derocher.

Then followed approximately 650 officers and men from the No. 2 Basic Training Center at

Lansdowne Park, commanded by Lieut.-Col. W. G. Wurtele, M.C., A.D.C., and an army pipe band from the center. Heading the Royal Canadian Air Force personnel was the Central Band of the force in charge of Sgt.-Major Mark Thompson and Sgt.-Major Martin Boundy, and the smartly stepping men in air force blue was followed by the Ottawa Sea Cadets under Lieut. S. G. Ogilvie with Lieut. C. E. Seaman as second-in-command, accompanied by their bugle band in charge of Bandmaster George King.

Canada's newest service, the Air Cadets, were immediately behind the Sea Cadets, in three squadrons, the 51st Ottawa Optimists in charge of Flying Officer E. Druce; the 54th Ottawa Maccabees, under Flying Officer M. Loeb, and the 86th Ottawa Boys' Club, commanded by Flying Officer John Madden. The trumpet band of the R.C.A.F. followed the Air Cadets, and then came the Red Cross unit composed of the administration section under Miss M Northwood, acting company commander, and a platoon from the transport section commanded by Mrs. Norman Rudolph.

A detachment of (Civilian) Canadian Fire Fighters for Service in the United Kingdom, was under the command of Gordon Huff, and it was followed by the Hull Regiment bugle band led by Regimental Quartermaster-Sergeant H. Paquette. Approximately 80 members of the Ottawa fire brigade were in charge of District Fire Chief Fred Cooksey.

Former Boy Scouts.

Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard were former Boy Scouts and 15 French-Canadian troops, composed of some 300 boys, were present to pay tribute to their air heroes led by District Secretary Emile Callow.

An R.C.M.P. motorcycle detachment preceded the Royal Canadian Mounted Police band which was under the baton of Inspector J. T. Brown. Then followed the motor vehicles carrying Mayor Lewis and Pilot Officers Robillard and Morin; Group Captain J. L. de Niverville, air officer commanding No. 3 command, to which the pilot officers are attached; the Robillard and Morin families, and city controllers.

H. Meunier was officer commanding the LaSalle Academy cadets which followed accompanied by their band. Bugle-Major C. A. Day was in charge of the academy buglers with E. Pelier in charge of the drummers.

A new addition to military parades in this district were the members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps and airwomen of the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division), who were included in their respective army and air force groups.

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Among those present were: His Worship Mayor Stanley Lewis, Mayor Raymond Brunet of Hull; Very Rev. Philippe Cornellier, rector of Ottawa University; Hon. Robert Laurier, Hon. Paul Leduc, Albert Pinard, M.P., Alphonse Fournier, K.C., M.P., Aurelien Belanger, M.L.A., Controller E. A. Bourque, Air Commodore Albert de Niverville, and Fulgence Charpentier, president of St. Jean Baptiste Society.

Lansdowne Park, commanded by Lieut.-Col. W. G. Wurtele, M.C., A.D.C., and an army pipe band from the center. Heading the Royal Canadian Air Force personnel was the Central Band of the force in charge of Sgt.-Major Mark Thompson and Sgt.-Major Martin Boundy, and the smartly stepping men in air force blue was followed by the Ottawa Sea Cadets under Lieut. S. G. Ogilvie with Lieut. C. E. Seaman as second-in-command, accompanied by their bugle band in charge of Bandmaster George King.

Canada's newest service, the Air Cadets, were immediately behind the Sea Cadets, in three squadrons, the 51st Ottawa Optimists in charge of Flying Officer E. Druce; the 54th Ottawa Maccabees, under Flying Officer M. Loeb, and the 86th Ottawa Boys' Club, commanded by Flying Officer John Madden. The trumpet band of the R.C.A.F. followed the Air Cadets, and then came the Red Cross unit composed of the administration section under Miss M Northwood, acting company commander, and a platoon from the transport section commanded by Mrs. Norman Rudolph.

A detachment of (Civilian) Canadian Fire Fighters for Service in the United Kingdom, was under the command of Gordon Huff, and it was followed by the Hull Regiment bugle band led by Regimental Quartermaster-Sergeant H. Paquette. Approximately 80 members of the Ottawa fire brigade were in charge of District Fire Chief Fred Cooksey.

Former Boy Scouts.

Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard were former Boy Scouts and 15 French-Canadian troops, composed of some 300 boys, were present to pay tribute to their air heroes led by District Secretary Emile Callow.

An R.C.M.P. motorcycle detachment preceded the Royal Canadian Mounted Police band which was under the baton of Inspector J. T. Brown. Then followed the motor vehicles carrying Mayor Lewis and Pilot Officers Robillard and Morin; Group Captain J. L. de Niverville, air officer commanding No. 3 command, to which the pilot officers are attached; the Robillard and Morin families, and city controllers.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Tribute to Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 42956 - D 42967	
70		Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 42968 - D 43125	
70		75th Anniversary of Confederation. Speeches outside Parliament	1 July 1942	D 43126 - D 43140	
70		Welcome to King of Greece, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1942	D 43141 - ~~D 43152~~ D 43156	
70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

BY

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

OVERSEAS SERVICE IN THE CANADIAN ARMY

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1942*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDMENT RESPECTING OVERSEAS SERVICE

On Monday, May 11, I moved for leave to introduce the bill which is now before the house. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of section 3 hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the governor in council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Section 3 of the Act reads:

3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

The meaning of the existing law

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require

*The divisions and headings of the text have been inserted for the convenience of readers, and for purposes of ready reference. They do not appear in the official report.

persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the number who are loudest in their utterances.

"Conscription" already in force in Canada

This demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that, for all Canada, conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940, and that, under the special powers conferred upon the governor in council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words "conscription", has been in operation since October, 1940, and compulsory service, for the duration of the war, since February, 1941.

Under the original plan, some 80,000 young men received thirty days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months training to be followed by service for the duration, more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who, subsequently, volunteered for the navy and the air force, or for service in the army anywhere in the world.

There are two methods by which most ends are attained by government. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is the power of government to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada? The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the governor in council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been deemed necessary or expedient to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government to-day.

Limitation not on power but on extent of application

There was, it is true, at the time the act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the governor in council. That limitation still exists. It is set forth in section 3, which provides that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the governor in council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed, the section begins with the words "the powers conferred by the next preceding section", and thereby constitutes an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation.

The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

Enabling legislation

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last.

In *Hansard* at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:

> In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we haye two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
>
> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.
>
> . . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.
>
> I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act, as it stands, is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation.
>
> The extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, and has been from the outset, a matter of government policy. Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

Relationship of plebiscite to amendment

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the house. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the speech from the throne:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection

D 42972

and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibiliy to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said that Canada's effort was not an all-out effort, and could not be an all-out effort because the possibility of conscripting men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to resort to compulsion, because volunteers in the required numbers have been available.

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this seeming restriction was not a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, on that score, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose without breach of faith, any extension of the application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of our war effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was equally a necessary first step before the government could seek from parliament freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will, however, not exist until parliament has removed section 3 of the mobilization act.

Relationship of plebiscite to conscription

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and in particular, as to whether a "yes" or "no" vote was a vote for or against conscription. On this point, I should, first of all, remind hon. members of what was said in the course of the plebiscite campaign. Both in this house and throughout the country, it was made perfectly clear by myself as leader of the government, by the leader of the official opposition, and by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the house what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The question on the ballot is, however, the best answer as to whether or not the plebiscite was a vote for or against conscription.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?

Clearly the plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. It did not commit the government to conscription for services overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to decide, for or against conscription for service overseas, either conditionally or unconditionally.

D 42973

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or on its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Plebiscite not a mandate

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas? As I have just said, one of the purposes of the plebiscite was to give to the government freedom thereafter to recommend to parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decision and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

Resignation of Minister of Public Works

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27. On Friday, May 8, I informed the house of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin) tendered his resignation. I felt that the reasons given by the minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore sought to have him reconsider his resignation. But the minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the minister's resignation.

In the minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the minister was one of the representatives in the cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the minister's letter.

The minister said:

> I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate —but what is still farther from the truth—a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the minister in his protest. I can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

I have already said this afternoon that a "yes" or "no" in the plebiscite was not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a "yes" or "no" for conscription for service overseas. I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the speech from the throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. In interpreting, through the press and in this house, the results of the plebiscite, I also repeated what I had previously said.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

Let me also read what I said on April 24 in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote. This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nationwide:

When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcasts delivered by the leader of the opposition on April 20. I quote:

This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-electon pledge. . . . You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite. . . . The only question involved is whether the government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future.

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21. I quote:

The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by parliament when and if the government presents it for discussion.

From these quotations, it will be seen that the leader of the opposition and the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation expressed precisely the same view as myself of the issue in the plebiscite.

Misinterpreting the plebiscite

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that

in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes further than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription, did not mean what they said; that they were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate.

Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this house, who knowing the importance of national unity at a time of war did their best to remove the prejudices which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need in the interests of national security as well as of national unity for an affirmative vote, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the members of this house from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Amendment accords with purpose of plebiscite

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes, I believe, should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24. I quote:

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted, the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay, and finally defeated, by the common action of all the united nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—every one of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting "yes" on Monday next.

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home to us all within the past few days, with surprising suddenness. For more than a fortnight past, the forces of the United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack by Japanese forces upon Canada and the United States.

May I say that only in to-day's papers and over the radio this morning we were informed that one of the United States ships just off the coast had been torpedoed. Some men were brought ashore alive, but unfortunately one of the number died before his raft could reach the shore. That is on the Pacific ocean—a ship torpedoed by a Japanese submarine.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world."

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional

D 42976

man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointed to as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

Why not proceed by stages?

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding. I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could not the removal of the legal restriction have been effected by two or more steps, instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words "Canada and the territorial waters thereof", where the latter words appear in section 3 of the mobilization act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the panhandle or any place in the vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

Procedure by stages not in accord with purpose of plebiscite

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the speech from the throne? Would it have removed from clause 3 of the mobilization act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it have given the government freedom of action? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon a total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either

D 42977

before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

This brings me to a further reason why I feel the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that events will so prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said:

> Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

For the same reason, we now ask the same from parliament.

I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says:

> As far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

Were the element of surprise not an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and were it not a fact that no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, there would be, at the present time, no practical need for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. It is always well, however, to be prepared as far in advance as may be possible for any contingency.

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite, were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of section 3 deleted.

Responsibility to Parliament

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the governor in council already possesses. Under that act, as interpreted by judicial decision and by the legal advisers of the government, the governor in council has authority, notwithstanding section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if, to-day, in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded the dispatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power to order their dispatch.

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the executive has of its responsibility to parliament.

To defeat the enemy overseas, and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself, is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that this power is derived from the present parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

No change of government policy

There is nothing in the proposed amendment which could imply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as set forth in parliament and as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy as to being given complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise was clearly stated in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament in the following words:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

D 42978

The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former minister of public works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

Policy regarding overseas service announced before plebiscite

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth clearly and unequivocally, on February 10, by my colleague the Minister of National Defence, in discussing the 1942-43 army programme. The minister of defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the minister added these words:

I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work.

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all, may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them.

And these are my words:

For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be in a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. . . .

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits; also, that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 programme. The government, however, wished to be free, without any breach of faith, to resort to conscription for overseas service should that become necessary to our national security and to the effectiveness of our war effort.

If the bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June, 1940, to give to it the powers it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the governor in council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

Debate on conscription for overseas service welcomed

The amendment before the house necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. As I pointed out on January 26 in the debate on the address, and again on February 25, in the debate on the plebiscite bill, parliament is the place for that discussion.

D 42979

With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said, on February 25:

When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament, and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

Extension of application of compulsory service in western hemisphere

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

Method of exercising extending powers

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in section 5 of the act, which reads:

5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and a copy thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if parliament is not in session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the *Canada Gazette* and copies thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the governor in council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances.

Clause 5 was inserted in the mobilization act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear

D 42978

The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former minister of public works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

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This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

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If the bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June, 1940, to give to it the powers it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the governor in council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

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D 42979

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Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament, and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

Extension of application of compulsory service in western hemisphere

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

Method of exercising extending powers

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in section 5 of the act, which reads:

5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and a copy thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if parliament is not in session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the *Canada Gazette* and copies thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the governor in council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances.

Clause 5 was inserted in the mobilization act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 42980

that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

On February 25 I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors of which account would be taken by the government in reaching a decision. These were known to the people of Canada at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said, as reported on page 918 of *Hansard* of February 25, 1942:

Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time. . . .

And later:

The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered," I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself.

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

NATIONAL UNITY AND THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

The danger of extreme views

In most controversies, there are those who take extreme views. They want everything their own way, and if not allowed to have their own way, they begin to threaten and abuse those who venture to hold an opinion contrary to their own. They become impatient even of a consideration of a question upon its merits, or the effect their attitude may have upon the well-being of others.

In national affairs, this sort of attitude is bad enough at any time. In times of war, however, where the preservation of national unity is of first importance to the war effort of the nation, and where the issue is the most controversial in a country's history, the insistence, by any considerable portion of the population, upon an extreme position is almost certain to be fraught with the gravest possible dangers to the state.

Surveying the field of public controversy on the issue of conscription for service overseas, as it has been reflected in the press, and as doubtless it will find expression in this House of Commons, there would appear to be three general views, two of them diametrically opposed. The first is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated at once, that nothing less will suffice; the second is that conscription for service overseas should not be inaugurated under any circumstances. In other words, there are some who want conscription for overseas service, and this at once even if it is not necessary; and some who say they won't support conscription for overseas service at any time no matter how necessary it might be to help to save our own country. Each of these is a very extreme view and attitude. Neither extreme, I believe, should be permitted to prevail.

There is, fortunately, a third view—a view which I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British commonwealth of nations, and of the other united nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

D 42981

Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription. It is not for me to tell any hon. member how he should proceed in presenting the issue to his constituents. I do believe, however, that the issue of conscription for overseas service would soon vanish from the realm of political controversy if those who prefer conscription for service overseas would say to their constituents: "There are thousands of patriotic Canadians who, for reasons that are readily understood, are opposed to conscription for service overseas and that we should be prepared, at this time, to take those reasons into account"; and if those who are opposed to conscription for overseas service would say to their constituents: "I prefer the voluntary system and I will do my utmost to make it work, and I appeal to you to do the same; but, if conscription is ever needed for Canada's sake and for Canada's future, I will not oppose its application."

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

In the whole history of the world, no two peoples have ever lived so long in such close association with so little friction as those of French and British descent in Canada. In a century of political union we have built a nation which stretches across half a continent. We have conquered the wilderness. We have achieved great material progress. We all have become deeply attached to one common homeland. We have accomplished miracles in order to help defend our homeland against a ruthless enemy. No one will ever make me believe that in the hour of testing, the achievement of a century is to be imperilled by permitting any issue to arise which might threaten our national unity, and that in the hour of its greatest danger and in the time of gravest crisis for all mankind.

I am sure I need not ask hon. members of this house of all shades of politics and from all parts of Canada to weigh and consider with the utmost wisdom and prudence all that is involved of Canada's present and future in the national aspect of the problem which is now before us. It may well prove to be the most critical of any the parliament of Canada has ever faced.

The right attitude

Lest words of mine might appear to be biased or exaggerated, I should like to quote from an editorial which appeared in the Montreal *Standard* of May 30, and which is entitled "Crisis in Canada." It is but one of a number of editorials which have recently appeared in publications throughout Canada, which sense with clearness the real danger to Canada, should the right attitude not be assumed at this time by all whose responsibility it is to guide our country's present course and help to shape its future destiny. It presents an appeal which I believe will meet with a ready response in this House of Commons, and which I also believe expresses the true spirit of Canada. The editorial reads as follows:

The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.

It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.

Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.

English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that

Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.

French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.

If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

Duty of members of Parliament

And this brings me, if I may be permitted to do so, to say just a word upon the duty which hon. members owe alike to their constituencies and to Canada as a whole. I know there are some who feel that as a majority in the constituencies they represent voted "Yes" or "No" on the plebiscite, they are under an obligation to take a particular stand in the present debate. I hope I made it sufficiently clear just exactly what it was on which the electors were asked to express and did express their opinion. It is not only the right but it is a duty of hon. members to interpret the view of their constituents, but it is equally a duty in so doing to see that a construction is not placed upon their views which was never, and could never have been intended. There is above all else a duty which every member owes to his constituency and to the country, once he is returned to parliament and that is to exercise all that is possible of reason and judgment in reaching a decision upon questions of supreme national interest and concern.

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

Addressing the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774, Edmund Burke, in circumstances not dissimilar to those with which hon. members in our own parliament are faced at the present time, made the following declaration, the wisdom of which has been generally accepted by all democratic assemblies from that day to our own.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

In our own country, it might need be three thousand miles.

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws or this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect.

That opinion never carried more weight in any assembly than should be attached to it by this House of Commons as we enter upon the present debate.

CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

Controversy will impair war effort

I turn now from a consideration of the amendment, as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended, it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

Meaning of a total war effort

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly, so far only as the mobilization of man-power is concerned, some of the requirements that must be met in order to achieve a total war effort. Until the whole man-power picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for 1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance, to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources.

By a total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of manpower

The mobilization of human resources, of man-power and woman-power, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

1. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food, not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other united nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these man-power needs must be satisfied from one man-power pool. It is important always to remember that the total man-power is limited. If too many men are taken from one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All man-power demands must be kept in balance.

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of

man-power which it was hoped Canada would contribute, the Minister of National Defence replied, quoting words of my own, that Canada was determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". The minister added these significant words: "By an all-out contribution, I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective." That, may I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

It should also be remembered that the demand for man-power is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, et cetera, many of which on a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of man-power.

The manpower needs of the army in perspective

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of man-power mobilization.

On February 10, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated man-power requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943, a period of fifteen months, were 90,000 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of man-power means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of man-power for a total war effort.

National selective service

In order to assist in shifting the man-power and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example, been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October, 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for man-power for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

Compulsion not an end in itself

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the governor in council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the house in my statement on national selective service:

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

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

Conscription for service overseas and a total effort

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian

D 42986

services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to man-power?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February 4. It is equally relevant to-day:

> One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.
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> Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

Conscription on its merits

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of man-power for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment? There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events to-day are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

D 42987

The glory of voluntary effort

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air forces, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian corps of fire-fighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

A war of survival

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September, 1939, most people believed was going to be "just another European war," it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in to-day. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

Canada in danger

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is

D 42988

by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

I doubt if any of us begin to realize how grave the responsibility has become of determining the disposition of the country's armed forces, as a consequence of the changed conditions resulting from the entry of Japan into the war. Immediate danger no longer threatens Canada only from the east. It threatens equally from the west. Let that danger assume formidable proportions, and I ask what will be said of a government, or for that matter, of a parliament, or of a press, that continues to look only across the Atlantic to one enemy against which this country has to be protected, and fails to recognize that the strategy of the combined enemy forces may well involve an attack at any moment from across the Pacific.

In deciding upon the disposition of the armed forces, the government has to consider from day to day, just what proportion of its forces our country is justified in sending overseas, and what proportion it is necessary to keep at home. That question has had to be considered from the outbreak of war but, until Japan entered the war, it did not begin to have the importance it has now come to have.

It is perfectly clear that the enemy will have to be destroyed overseas if this continent is not to be the field of the final conflict, or possibly even an immediate field of conflict, with Canada the scene of the first invasion. It is equally true that in the event of an attack, come when it may, and from whichever direction it may, unless we have forces adequately equipped, and trained in sufficient numbers to prevent the enemy from getting a foothold upon our soil, our entire national existence will be imperilled. While we must continue to do all we possible can to assist in accomplishing the defeat of the enemy away from our shores, we must also be in constant readiness to meet and hold him at bay should he attempt an attack upon our shores. What guarantee have we that the enemy having begun to destroy shipping off the coasts of the maritime provinces, in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in the river itself, and having attempted to gain a base for operations against the Pacific coast, we may not witness at any moment bombing of our harbours and cities alike on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and attempts to destroy railway terminals and facilities, munition plants, aerodromes and other military targets in any part of the country.

Need for a free hand

With those possibilities before our very eyes, and let me tell this house as I have told the country time and again, they are possibilities which are by no means remote, can we afford to allow any question of conscription to become the occasion of a political battle in parliament, or of political warfare throughout the country; can we allow the country itself to become distracted by and divided over such an issue. **Surely the only reasonable course to take in dealing with this question is to leave to the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, to decide what disposition it may be best to make between the forces to be sent abroad and those that are to be kept at home, and what means it may be necessary to take to keep up the strength of the armed forces which are already overseas.**

The people of Canada have clearly indicated their desire that freedom to decide on these matters should be given to the government, subject only to its responsibility to parliament. It is that freedom which, by the amendment, the government asks should now be given to it by parliament.

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June 9th 1942

Draft speech by Prime Minister
June 3, 1942

Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act

42389

~~First Section~~
Part 1

Re Amendment

On Monday, May 11th, I moved for leave to introduce the Bill which is now before the House. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the Bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal Section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of Section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from Section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of Section 3 hereof" in the first line of the Section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

> "2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the Governor in Council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Section 3 of the Act reads:

> "3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof."

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By Section 2, special powers are conferred upon the Governor in Council. By another Section of the Act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The Governor in Council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty - is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, includes corporations, all ~~three~~ their services, and all their property for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the Act was passed, and even up to today, there

D 42991

are many who say, others who think, and yet other who believe, or who ~~profess to think or believe, or who would have it appear~~ that conscription does not exist in Canada. ~~I have~~ these people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that in any part of the country men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the ~~young~~ men of other parts give their services voluntarily. That above all "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free" while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say, ~~or think, or believe, or who profess to think or believe~~, or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the numbers who are ~~most vociferous~~ loudest in their utterances. [This ~~continuous~~ demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that for all Canada conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940 and that under the special powers ~~the powers of "compulsion" or "conscription"~~ conferred upon the Governor in Council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words, "conscription", has been in operation since October, 1940, and compulsory service,

D 42992

for the duration of the war, since February 1941.

Under the original plan some 80,000 young men received 30 days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months' training to be followed by service for the duration, more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who subsequently volunteered for the navy and the air force, or for service in the army anywhere in the world.

D 42993

There are two methods ~~whereby given ends may be~~ accomplished. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty - is the power to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. ~~That power the Governor in Council has been exercising, is now exercising and will continue to exercise during the present war.~~ How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada. The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21st, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the Governor in Council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been ~~found~~ necessary to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government today.

There was, it is true, at the time the Act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the Governor in Council. That limitation still exists. It is set forth in Section 3, which provides

that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the Governor in Council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed the section begins with the words "The powers conferred by the next preceding section," and thereby constitutes an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor in Council, on June 21st, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation. The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the Governor in Council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers.

D 42995

In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the Governor in Council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The Act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the Act does contemplate as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the Governor in Council by the Act, it is left to the Governor in Council under its provisions to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the Governor in Council under the Act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government, and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war , than by quoting what I said in this House on February 25th last.

In the unrevised Hansard at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:

> "In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
>
> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly, and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me, "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount

of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.

.....I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. ..... And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary."

I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act as it stands is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation. While, by virtue of the amendment, an existing limitation as to the possible extent of the exercise of the powers conferred upon the Governor in Council will be removed, the actual extent to which those powers will be exercised will continue to be determined by the Governor in Council from "time to time" as may be deemed "necessary or expedient", for the defence of Canada and the efficient prosecution of the war.

In other words, the extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, is and has been from the outset a matter of government policy. Government policy has always must be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances.

D 42998

This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

Relation of Plebiscite and the Amendment.

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the House. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, Why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the Speech from the Throne:

(I) Reason false impression necessitating freedom of discussion in Parliament.

"My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.

(2) Government should have free hand, necessitating freedom of decision by Government.

The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

(3) Release from commitment.

My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service."

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, ~~that~~ a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss, and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said, ~~and continues to be said,~~ that Canada's effort ~~was~~ has not an all-out effort, and ~~could~~ could not be an all-out effort because ~~it excluded~~ the possibility of ~~sending~~ conscripted men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to ~~use conscripted men~~ resort to compulsion,

D 43000

because volunteers in the required numbers ~~were~~ were not forthcoming available. ~~It was also contended that because commitments had been made not to resort to conscription, for service overseas, an all-out effort could never be achieved.~~

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that, in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this ~~apparent~~ seeming restriction was not ~~in reality~~ actually a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step ~~to placing~~ before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, or relief, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of Parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose, without breach of faith, any extension of the

D 43001

application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in Parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of ~~Canada's~~ our war effort.

~~A second object of the plebiscite was to obtain~~ a release from ~~a~~ the moral obligation, ~~which prevented~~ left to me & conscription for overseas the government ~~from~~ seeking from parliament, ~~complete~~ freedom, ~~subject only to its responsibility to Parliament~~, to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will not exist until parliament has removed Section 3 of the ~~National Resources~~ Mobilization Act.

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and, in particular, as to whether a Yes or No vote was a vote for or against conscription. ~~On this point, I should, first of all, remind~~ On this point, I should, first of all remind the House that the Government stated quite clearly, before the plebiscite was taken, that a Yes vote did not necessarily mean conscription, and that a No vote did not necessarily mean no conscription. The Government stated that it would be free to do what it thought necessary in the light of circumstances as they might arise

the House of what was said in the plebiscite campaign. In the campaign, the matter was made as plain as it could possibly be made by the leader of the government, the leader of the official Opposition, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, It was made perfectly clear by all that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the House what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote on the plebiscite as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The plebiscite did not commit the government to conscription for service overseas. The plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss and decide the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss and decide, either conditionally or unconditionally, for or against conscription for service overseas.

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign. ~~The electorate were not called upon to vote for or against conscription any more than they were called upon to vote for or against the government. Neither the fate of the administration nor the policy of the administration was at issue in the plebiscite.~~

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as <u>a mandate</u> for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely <u>an expression of opinion</u>. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion

the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas. ~~As I previously said, the immediate purpose of the plebiscite was to prevent further belittling of the nature and extent of Canada's war effort; also, it had the further purpose of giving~~ As I have just said, I have a third purpose, of course, namely, to give the government freedom thereafter to recommend to parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were also thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner possible, without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decion and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

Amend Amendment and Sale

Why Amendment at once

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27th. On Friday, May 8th, I informed the House of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the Bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works ~~(and of Transport)~~, (the Honourable P. J. A. Cardin,) tendered his resignation. I ~~believed~~ felt that the reasons given by the Minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore I sought to have him re-consider his resignation. But the Minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the Minister's resignation.

In the Minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of ~~many~~ some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the Minister was one of the representatives in the Cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the

case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the Minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the Minister's letter.

The Minister said: "I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas."

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the Minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military

D 43007

service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that ~~from the moment~~ since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made, ~~in certain quarters,~~ to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate - but, ~~which~~ that is still farther from the truth - a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas. ~~This being~~ It is urged regardless altogether of whether or not such a step is either necessary or desirable, and equally regardless of its consequence upon the effectiveness of ~~our~~ the war effort.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the Minister in his protest. I, can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

I have already said ~~this afternoon~~ that a "yes" ~~and~~ or "no" in the ~~vote on the~~ plebiscite were not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a "yes" or "no" for conscription, ~~since conscription was not the issue in the plebiscite~~ for service overseas,

D43008

I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the Speech from the Throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. I also repeated what I had previously said in interpreting, through the press and in this House, the results of the plebiscite.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does today, because of the release from all such commitments as a result of the plebiscite.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7th, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

> "The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is

D 43009

is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits."

Let me also read what I said on April 24th, ~~in bringing the campaign to a close,~~ in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote. This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nation-wide:

"When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

"It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing

D 43010

with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. ~~Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.~~"

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the Leader of the Opposition on Arpil 20th. I quote:

"This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas.

D 43011

It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-election pledge. ..... You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite..... The only question involved is whether the Government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future."

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21st. I quote:

"The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of Parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister, in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by Parliament when and if the Government presents it for discussion."

From these quotations it will be seen that the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the C.C.F. expressed precisely the same view as myself on the issue in the plebiscite.

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war." ~~These last words I quote from the concluding portion of my final broadcast. They represent~~

the position which was taken throughout the whole of the plebiscite campaign. Every honourable member of this Parliament knows that they represent what was sought and what, so far as a vote in the affirmative could contribute to that end, was obtained by the plebiscite.

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes farther than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription did not mean what they said and were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate. Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this House, who knowing the great importance of national unity at a time of war did their utmost to remove the prejudices which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need for an affirmative vote in the interests of national security as well as national unity, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the Members of this House from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24th. I quote:

"Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

"Today, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common

D 43015

action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

"Today, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen - everyone of you - to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next."

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home, within the past few days, with surprising suddenness to us all. ~~At this very hour, and for over~~ more than a fortnight past, the forces of the

United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack upon Canada and the United States, by Japanese forces.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakeably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world".

In the eyes of ~~many~~ some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as Clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of Clause 3 would make the difference of an additional man going overseas, so long as, in the Statutes of Canada, ~~that~~ many restriction remains, it will continue to be ~~pointed to as evidence of the government's inability to permit "an utmost effort".~~ cited as the bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointedto as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force

D43017

against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total war effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see today, they may come to understand tomorrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you." Why should those who spoke otherwise, ~~who were loyal to their leader and to the government they were elected to support~~, be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of

compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote."?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of Parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding.

I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could ~~that~~ the removal of the legal restriction not have been ~~done~~ effected by two or more steps instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words

"Canada and the territorial waters thereof," where the latter words appear in Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26th, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the pan handle or any place in the vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the [redacted] purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the Speech from the Throne? Would it have removed from Clause 3 of the Mobilization Act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing

one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon ~~a~~ total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to ~~such a course~~ proceeding by election. To amend the Act, in any particular, means a debate in both Houses of Parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third ~~step~~ amendment become necessary, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground ~~again~~. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in Parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people or before the people of other countries. Nor would it gain respect for Parliament.

This brings me to a ~~third~~ further reason why I feel ~~that events will prove that~~ the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that the events will prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said: "Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may

D 43021

reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand".

We now ask the same from Parliament.

Except for the fact that the element of surprise has been an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and here is such a fact no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, and that it is always better to be prepared for any contingency as far in advance as may be possible, there is no practical need at the present time for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says "as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas."

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite,

were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of Clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of section three deleted. Those reasons, as I have explained, were to remove the false impression created by the presence of section 3, and to obtain for the government, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, a free hand in the prosecution of the war.

RE: RESPONSIBILITY TO PARLIAMENT

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the Governor in Council already possesses. Under that Act, as interpreted by judicial decision, and by the opinion of the legal advisers of the Government, the Governor in Council has authority, notwithstanding section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded today, the despatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power. ~~It need not, if it wished to act otherwise, come to Parliament at all.~~

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the Executive has of its responsibility to parliament. ~~Should the Executive decide to ignore parliament and by order in council to authorize the despatch overseas of men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act, it has the legal power to do so at this very hour.~~

The governor-in-council already possesses legal power under the War Measures Act, but the sense of its responsibility to Parliament has caused the government to

Re: POLICY OF GOVERNMENT

D 43024

To defeat the enemy overseas and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that ~~the~~ this power is derived from the present parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

There is nothing in the proposed amendment ~~which either expresses or [redacted] implies~~ which cannot be construed simply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy was clearly stated in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of parliament in the following words:

> "My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.

"The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection, ~~too,~~ ~~with respect to the methods of raising men for military service,~~ and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise."

In words "in this connection" in the ~~last~~ paragraph I have just read, refer to ~~Canada~~ in the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph

government. No new policy has been adopted.

The question of the adoption of conscription for service overseas was not, as was said at the time, and as emphasized repeatedly since, the issue in the plebiscite.

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth, clearly, and unequivocally, on February 10th by my colleague the Minister of National Defence in discussing the ~~at the time the~~ 1942-43 army programme, ~~was presented to Parliament~~. The Minister of Defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to re-inforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the Minister added these words: "I have faith in the success of the voluntary method, if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work."

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire

particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this House, on February 25th, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained, in plain and unequivocal language, ~~what the position of~~ the government was ~~regarding~~ the adoption of conscription for overseas service. Here are my words:

"The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all may I make it clear that it is not <u>because of any situation that exists at the moment</u>. The Minister of National Defence has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time <u>as rapidly as we can train them.</u> For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can

say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence ....."

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits, also that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 program. The government, however, wished to be free to ~~propose~~ the adoption of ~~conscription should that method of enlisting men for overseas service become~~ necessary ~~in the interests of the Canadian people~~, and the effectiveness of ~~Canada's~~ war effort.

By removing the restriction of the National Resources Mobilization Act at the present time, the government is ~~therefore~~ not, as a matter of policy, adopting conscription for overseas service. What we are doing is removing the statutory impediment to the use of all the armed forces of Canada wherever their services may come to be required for the defence of our country and the ~~restoration~~ of its security before the war is ended. In other words, we are taking an additional precaution to see that there will be no lack of reinforcements to support our men in any emergency which might arise.

~~I think I have made it perfectly clear~~ that if the bill is amended as proposed, unless circumstances should arise which would render imperative ~~the use of compulsion for overseas service,~~ as for example, the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas, it is not the intention of the government to resort to ~~compulsion as a means of enlisting men for military~~ service overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June 1940, to give to it the power it believes it should possess, ~~wholly~~ independent of

D 43030

any powers the Governor in Council may possess under the War Measures Act, the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

The amendment before the House necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. Parliament is the place for that discussion. Speaking in this House in the debate on the Address - the reference will be found at page 55 of Unrevised Hansard of January 26 of the present year, I said:

> "If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this House of Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.
>
> Quite apart from the controversy which has arisen, there are the strongest of reasons why the government should, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, subject only to its responsibility to parliament."

D 43031

Elsewhere in the same debate, I said:

"I have not any fear, personally, that parliament will not take the right course with respect to any phase of the war effort, once it is debated on its merits. I have faith in the judgment of the House of Commons to do what is the wisest and the right thing, having respect to the merits of the case."

With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said:

> "When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits."

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament; and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

The government has reached the decision that the National Resources Mobilization Act should be amended by the striking out of section 3 in order that the government may have the power, to the extent that it is necessary to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas if and when it is found that there are not in the

~~numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method~~ as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned,

~~If the powers proposed to be conferred upon the governor in council are to be given~~ for which purposes it is proposed they should be conferred at all, ~~I am certain that hon. members will agree that it is well, I think, that~~ it is well I think they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ~~it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a moment~~ time of crisis. As between debating the issue ~~of the powers to be given the government,~~ now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage, ~~I think,~~ is wholly in favour of the earliest moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits. ~~This procedure, I think, is in complete accord with that which I previously said in parliament would be followed, and what was said by speakers in the plebiscite campaign, namely that no action would be taken with respect to service overseas until the government had made its own decision, presented it to parliament, and had it discussed upon its merits.~~

The government also desires the immediate amendment of the Mobilization Act by ~~striking out Section 3~~ not in order

D 43033

to exercise compulsion with regard to the overseas forces but in order that it may proceed immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to islands and other territories adjacent to Canadian waters, and to the United States. If apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present exercises, under the National Resources Mobilization Act. Any action taken will be taken by order of the govern-

in-council, not under a regulation of the Department of Defence.

In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet, not the decision only of the Minister of Defence.

The decision of the governor-in-council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations were communicated to parliament under the Act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in Section 5 of the Act, which reads:

> "5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in Parliament forthwith if Parliament is in Session and a copy thereof sent to every Member of the House of Commons and of the Senate, and if Parliament is not in Session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the Canada Gazette and copies thereof sent to every Member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the Governor in Council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances."

Clause 5 was inserted in the Mobilization Act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the Act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers

given the governor-in-council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes increasingly critical.

Even before the people were asked to answer the question set forth in the plebiscite, I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors by which the government would be controlled in reaching a decision. These were known to the people at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the Opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said:

(See Unrevised Hansard, of Feb. 25, 1942 - page 918):

> "Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time..."

and later

> "The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered", I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself."

D 43035

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

Begin page 5

Prime Minister's Revise
June 7th

Introduction to Conscription

D 43037

Part II

I turn now from a consideration of the Amendment as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and Parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and Parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended,

it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly ~~what should be brought together in order to give a picture of Canada's~~ total war effort, so far as the mobilization of manpower is concerned. Until the whole manpower picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

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

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of human resources, of manpower and womanpower, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

1. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other United Nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these manpower needs must be satisfied from one manpower pool. It is important always to remember that the total manpower is limited. If too many men are taken for one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All manpower demands must be kept in balance.

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

It should also be remembered that the demand for manpower is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As ~~fast~~ steady more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, etc., many of which on

D 43041

a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of manpower.

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army, with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the ~~overseas~~ army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of manpower mobilization.

On February 10th, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated manpower requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1st, 1942 to March 31st, 1943, a period of 15 months, were 90 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 80,000 had ~~been raised~~ enlisted by the end of May, that is in a period of only ~~four~~ five months, These figures show clearly that the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately at the present time.

(Get later figures - to end of May)

In the same period of 15 months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army overseas. ~~There~~ however, there is no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of manpower means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that, up to the beginning of the present year, some 422,000 men had already enlisted for service anywhere in the world, in the three armed forces, and that enlistments are continuing at

a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the ~~goal of~~ total mobilization of man power for a total war effort.

In order to assist in shifting the manpower and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago, a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example, been no need of compulsion to secure

all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. Sufficient volunteers have been and are forthcoming to man the new formations established ffom time to time, and to provide the necessary reinforcements. There has been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25th, to mobilize the 7th and 8th division has considerably increased the demand for manpower for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort?

~~My own answer to that question is that there is but one valid reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war.~~

D43045

~~That reason~~ is set out in formal langugage in Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the Governor in Council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada do its full share to defeat the enemy, ~~and win the war~~,

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war.

Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the House in my statement on National Selective Service, "in those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the

D 43046

individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort."

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? ~~There is only~~ one way, in which so far as I can see, ~~that~~ it might add to our war effort ~~and that is~~ marked as by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total manpower for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, We need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territory for the defence of our home base, and for our joint defence of this continent in co-operation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing by German submarines in recent weeks of ~~two~~ ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year ~~war~~ of many vessels off the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian Islands by Japanese ships and planes ~~of the Japanese~~ and German submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory ~~as well as for service overseas~~. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian services ~~must~~ can not be left without manpower, The total manpower of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to manpower?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting

D 43048

Unrevised Hansard
February 4th, 1942, page 337

Mr. Ilsley:

These are the people whom I have had the honour—and I mean the honour—of representing in this house since 1926, and whose view-point, which is my own view-point, I reflect in the cabinet. I want to make this perfectly clear so that my remarks upon the plebiscite may be more thoroughly and completely understood. These people believe and I believe that this government, without too much regard for remotely distant consequences, should adopt the most efficient and effective methods now of carrying on the war. I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources. I am in favour of pursuing a policy which will make for the fullest possible measure of success for that programme.

One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.

Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future. No one can tell what methods, what degree of compulsion may be required in the months and years to come, but this government, in my judgment, having in mind its commitments at the last election, would not be true to its trust if it allowed the situation to drift in directions not now possible to foresee without appealing now to the people, when we know that the appeal can be made without sacrifice of military advantage, to release the government from its commitments so that the government will be completely free to lead this nation wherever it is necessary for this nation to go and by whatever methods it is necessary to adopt to bring about the successful and earliest possible termination of the war.

D 43048

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 43049

for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling. ~~This It is one which I share.~~

There might be, there certainly would be justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service to bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada

(Here again any figures as to the proportion of volunteers made up to the number of persons in February would be equally relevant today (Note on XX) 12 Jan

bring in
re glory
over seas

is already ~~in~~ a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied ~~young man~~ undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not, ~~to raise the men required for a total war effort~~. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary ~~enlistment~~ enrolment in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only

an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of manpower for all phases of our total war effort.

There is no intention whatever of permitting able-bodied men to escape from some form of war work because they are not willing to offer their services freely. The government has the full legal power to conscript men's services and it will not hesitate to use that power were its use is necessary.

But what conceivable object would be served by selecting conscripts instead of volunteers for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order that compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment for overseas service might be employed? Does anyone seriously believe Canada's army overseas would be a better army if that policy were adopted?

There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. The answer is that the Canadian army overseas has been sent abroad to help to win the war. It can never be a very large army because of our small population and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military

secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Behind that first question is a second question which agitates many minds. Why, they say, should the volunteers be sent into danger while the men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada?

There is no longer any difficulty in answering that question either. From the beginning of the war I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events today are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become quite as urgent as the first. If there were no danger, there would be no need for any army in Canada.

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service somewhere. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy and consequent weakening of our total effort by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

66

D 43053

(Insert here paragraph re glory of Canadian overseas contribution)

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas if it can continue to be maintained and re-inforced by volunteers.

It is my own hope that it will always be possible to secure all the men required for the army overseas by voluntary enlistment because I believe it will be better for the army, better for the total war effort, and better for Canada.

There are those, I know, who think the government should solve the manpower problem by examining every individual

June 12, 1942

D 43054

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT.

Part I — The Amendment

On Monday, May 11th, I moved for leave to introduce the Bill which is now before the House. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the Bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal Section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of Section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from Section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of Section 3 hereof" in the first line of the Section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

> "2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the Governor in Council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Section 3 of the Act reads:

> "3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof."

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the Governor in Council. By another section of the Act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The Governor in Council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosection of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty - is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the Act was passed, and even up to today, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in Canada.

These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that,in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free", while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the number who are loudest in their utterances.

This demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that, for all Canada, conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940, and that,under the special powers conferred upon the Governor in Council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words "conscription", has been in operation since October 1940, and compulsory service, for the duration of the war, since February 1941.

Under the original plan, some 80,000 young men received 30 days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months' training to be followed by service for the duration,

D 43057

more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who, subsequently, volunteered for the Navy and the Air Force, or for service in the Army anywhere in the world.

There are two methods by which most ends are attained by government. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty - is the power of government to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada. The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21st, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the Governor in Council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been deemed necessary or expedient to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government today.

There was, it is true, at the time the Act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the Governor in Council. That limitation still

exists. It is set forth in Section 3, which provides that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the Governor in Council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed, the section begins with the words "the powers conferred by the next preceding section", and thereby constitutes an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor in Council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation. The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the Governor in Council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

D43059

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the Governor in Council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The Act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the Act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the Governor in Council by the Act, under its provisions, it is left to the Governor in Council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the Governor in Council under the Act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this House on February 25th last.

In the unrevised Hansard at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:-

"In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.

"Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.

....."I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. .....And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary."

D43061

I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act, as it stands, is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation.

The extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, and has been from the outset, a matter of government policy. Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the House. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, Why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the Speech from the Throne:

> "My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> "The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should, in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

"My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service."

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said that Canada's effort was not an all-out effort, and could not be an all-out effort because the possibility of conscripting men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to resort to compulsion, because volunteers in the required numbers have been available.

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that, in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this seeming restriction was not a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, on that score, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of Parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose, without breach of faith, any extension of the application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in Parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of our war effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was equally a necessary first step before the government could seek from Parliament freedom

D 43064

to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will, however, not exist until Parliament has removed Section 3 of the Mobilization Act.

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and, in particular, as to whether a Yes or No vote was a vote for or against conscription. On this point, I should, first of all, remind hon. members of what was said in the course of the plebiscite campaign. Both in this House and throughout the country, it was made perfectly clear by myself as leader of the government, by the leader of the official Opposition, and by the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the House what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The question on the ballot is, however, the best answer as to whether or not the plebiscite was a vote for or against conscription.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> "Are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?"

Clearly the plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. It did not commit the government to conscription for service overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to decide, for or against conscription for service overseas, either conditionally or unconditionally.

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or on its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas. As I have just said, one of the purposes of the plebiscite was to give to the government freedom thereafter to recommend to Parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security

of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decision and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27th. On Friday, May 8th, I informed the House of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the Bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works (the Hon. P.J.A. Cardin) tendered his resignation. I felt that the reasons given by the Minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore sought to have him re-consider his resignation. But the Minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform

His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the Minister's resignation.

In the Minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the Minister was one of the representatives in the Cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the Minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the Minister's letter.

The Minister said: "I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just

a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas."

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the Minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate - but what is still farther from the truth - a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the Minister in his protest. I can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

I have already said this afternoon that a Yes or No in the plebiscite was not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a Yes or No for conscription for service overseas. I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the Speech from the Throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. In interpreting, through the press and in this House, the results of the plebiscite, I also repeated what I had previously said.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does today, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7th, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

"The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its

D 43071

responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits."

Let me also read what I said on April 24th in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote.

This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nationwide:

"When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

"It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are infavour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply Yes or No. If you reply Yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits."

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcasts delivered by the leader of the Opposition on April 20th. I quote:

"This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-election pledge. ..... You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite... ..... The only question involved is whether the Government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future."

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21st. I quote:

"The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of Parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister, in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by Parliament when and if the Government presents it for discussion."

From these quotations, it will be seen that the leader of the Opposition and the leader of the C.C.F. expressed precisely the same view as myself of the issue in the plebiscite.

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any

interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war."

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes farther than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription, did not mean what they said; that they were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate.

Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this House, who knowing the importance of national unity at a time of war did their best to remove the prejudices

D 43074

which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need in the interests of national security as well as of national unity for an affirmative vote, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the members of this House from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes, I believe, should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24th. I quote:

> "Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted, the disaster would never

have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

"Today, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay, and finally defeated, by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

"Today, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen - everyone of you - to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting Yes on Monday next."

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home to us all within the past few days, with surprising suddenness. For more than a fortnight past, the forces of the United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack by Japanese forces upon Canada and the United States.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakeably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world."

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as Clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of Clause 3 would make the difference of an additional man going overseas, so long as, in the Statutes of Canada, any restriction remains, it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointed to as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why,

D 43077

it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see today, they may come to understand tomorrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you." Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of Parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and

the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding.

I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could not the removal of the legal restriction have been effected by two or more steps, instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words "Canada and the territorial waters thereof," where the latter words appear in Section 3 of the Mobilization Act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26th, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the pan handle or any place in the

D 43079

vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the Speech from the Throne? Would it have removed from Clause 3 of the Mobilization Act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it have given the government freedom of action? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon a total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the Act, in any particular, means a debate in both Houses of Parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary

discussion and prolonged debate in Parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people or before the people of other countries. Nor would it gain respect for Parliament.

This brings me to a further reason why I feel the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that events will so prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said: "Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand."

For the same reason, we now ask the same from Parliament.

D 43081

I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says: "as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas."

Were the element of surprise not an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and were it not a fact that no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, there would be, at the present time, no practical need for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. It is always well, however, to be prepared as far in advance as may be possible for any contingency.

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite, were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of Clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not

the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of Section 3 deleted.

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the Governor in Council already possesses. Under that Act, as interpreted by judicial decision and by the legal advisers of the government, the Governor in Council has authority, notwithstanding Section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if, today, in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded the despatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power to order their despatch.

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to Parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the Executive has of its responsibility to Parliament.

To defeat the enemy overseas, and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself, is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that this power is derived from the present Parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

There is nothing in the proposed amendment which could imply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as set forth in Parliament and as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy as to being given complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise was clearly stated in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament in the following words:

"My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.

"The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise."

The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former Minister of Public Works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth clearly and unequivocally, on February 10th, by my colleague the Minister of National Defence, in discussing the 1942-43 army programme. The Minister of Defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to re-inforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the Minister added these words: "I have faith in the success of the voluntary method, if we all do our part. With the background and tradition

which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work."

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this House on February 25th, in the debate on the seconding reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words:

"The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all, may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence has made it

perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them. For our programme this year, and up to March 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be in a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence....."

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits; also, that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 programme. The government, however, wished to be free, without any breach of faith, to resort to conscription for overseas service should that become necessary to our national security and to the effectiveness of our war effort.

If the Bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance

D 43087

of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking Parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June 1940, to give to it the power it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the Governor in Council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

The amendment before the House necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. As I pointed out on January 26th in the debate on the Address, and again on February 25th in the debate on the Plebiscite Bill, Parliament is the place for that discussion.

With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said, on February 25th:

> "When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it duscussed on its merits."

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament; and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the Act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which

it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earliest moment,

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the Western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of /the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place,

D 43090

open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the Act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in Section 5 of the Act, which reads:

> "5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in Parliament forthwith if Parliament is in Session and a copy thereof sent to every Member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if Parliament is not in Session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the Canada Gazette and copies thereof sent to every Member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the Governor in Council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances."

Clause 5 was inserted in the Mobilization Act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the Act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear that action taken under the Act, as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet.

On Feburary the 25th, I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors of which account would be taken by the government in reaching a decision. These were known to the people of Canada at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the Opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said:

(See Unrevised Hansard, of Feb.25,1942 - page 918):

"Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time....."

and later

"The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered", I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself."

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

D 43093

In most controversy, there are those who take extreme views. They want everything their own way, and if not allowed to have their own way, they begin to threaten and abuse those who venture to hold an opinion contrary to their own. They become impatient even of a consideration of a question upon its merits, or the effect their attitude may have upon the well-being of others.

In national affairs, this sort of attitude is bad enough at any time. In times of war, however, where the preservation of national unity is of first importance to the war effort of the nation, and where the issue is the most controversial in a country's history, the insistence, by any considerable portion of the population, upon an extreme position, is almost certain to be fraught with the gravest possible dangers to the State.

Surveying the field of public controversy on the issue of conscription for service overseas, as it has been reflected in the press, and as doubtless it will find expression in this House of Commons, there would appear to be three general views, two of them diametrically opposed. The first is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated at once, that nothing less will suffice; the second, is that conscription for service overseas should not be inaugurated under any circumstances. In other words, there are some who want conscription for overseas service, and this at once even if it is not necessary; and some who say they

won't support conscription for overseas service at any time no matter how necessary it might be to help to save our own country. Each of these is a very extreme view and attitude. Neither extreme, I believe, should be permitted to prevail.

There is, fortunately, a third view - a view which, I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the Dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as <u>not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary</u>. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of the other United Nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done

so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the Dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription. It is not for me to tell any hon. member how he should proceed in presenting the issue to his constituents. I do believe, however, that the issue of conscription for overseas would soon vanish from the realm of political controversy if those who prefer conscription for service overseas would say to their constituents: there are thousands of patriotic Canadians who, for reasons that are readily understood, are opposed to conscription for service overseas and that we should be prepared, at this time, to take those reasons into account; and if those who are opposed to conscription for overseas service would say to their constituents:

I prefer the voluntary system and I will do my utmost to make it work, and I appeal to you to do the same; but if conscription is ever needed for Canada's sake and for Canada's future, I will not oppose its application.

Both might say to their constituents: we are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid.

In the whole history of the world, no two peoples have ever lived so long in such close association with so little friction as those of French and British descent in Canada. In a century of political union we have built a nation which stretches across half a continent. We have conquered the wilderness. We have achieved great material progress. We all have become deeply attached to one common homeland. We have accomplished miracles in order to help defend our homeland against a ruthless enemy. No one will ever make me believe that in the hour of testing, the achievement of a century is to be imperilled by permitting any issue to arise which might threaten our national unity, and that in the hour of its greatest danger and in the time of gravest crisis for all mankind.

I am sure I need not ask hon. members of this House of all shades of politics and from all parts of Canada to weigh and

D43097

consider with the utmost wisdom and prudence all that is involved of Canada's present and future in the national aspect of the problem which is now before us. It may well prove to be the most critical of any the parliament of Canada has ever faced.

Lest words of mine might appear to be biased or exaggerated, I should like to quote from an editorial which appeared in the Montreal Standard of May 30th, and which is entitled "Crisis in Canada". It is but one of a number of editorials which have recently appeared in publications throughout Canada, which sense with clearness the real danger to Canada, should the right attitude not be assumed at this time by all whose responsibility it is to guide our country's present course and help to shape its future destiny. It presents an appeal which I believe will meet with a ready response in this House of Commons, and which I also believe expresses the true spirit of Canada. The editorial reads as follows:

"The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.

"It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.

D 43098

"Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.

"English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, thatnthey hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians,and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions,not truly Canadian,from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.

"French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away

D 43099

"from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.

"If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world."

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D 43100

And this brings me, if I may be permitted to do so, to say just a word upon the duty which honourable members owe alike to their constituencies and to Canada as a whole. I know there are some who feel that as a majority in the constituencies they represent voted "Yes" or "No" on the plebiscite, they are under an obligation to take a particular stand in the present debate. I hope I made it sufficiently clear just exactly what it was on which the electors were asked to express and did express their opinion. It is not only the right but it is a duty for hon. members to interpret the views of their constituents; but it is equally a duty in so doing to see that a construction is not placed upon [redacted] which was never, and could never have been intended. [redacted] There is above all else a duty which every member owes to his constituency and to the country, once he is returned to parliament and that is to exercise all that is possible of reason and judgment in reaching a decision upon questions of supreme national interest and concern, ~~and giving to parliament and his constituents and the convictions of his own conscience reached in the light of all the considerations that may be involved.~~

Here may I ask the House to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been ~~pleased~~ proud to acknowledge as not

less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation, than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

Addressing the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774, Edmund Burke, in circumstances not dissimilar to those with which hon. members in our own parliament are faced at the present time, made the following declaration, the wisdom of which has been generally accepted by all democratic assemblies from that ~~time~~ day to our own.

"Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you; to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which

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he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?"

In our own country, it might need be three thousand miles.

"To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience, -- these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this

land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form an hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect."

That opinion never carried more weight in any assembly than should be attached to it by this House of Commons as we enter upon the present debate.

PART II.

D 43104

CONSCRIPTION

I turn now from a consideration of the Amendment, as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the Administration, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and Parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and Parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended,

it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly, so far only as the mobilization of manpower is concerned, some of the requirements that must be met in order to achieve a total war effort. Until the whole manpower picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The war programme for the period up to March 31st, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26th. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4th, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for 1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of ~~what~~ which the country is capable. The Minister said:

> "I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance, to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources."

By a total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of human resources, of manpower and womanpower, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

I. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food, not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other United Nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these manpower needs must be satisfied from one manpower pool. It is important always to remember that the total manpower is limited. If too many men are taken from one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All manpower demands must be kept in balance.

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

It should also be remembered that the demand for manpower is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, etc., many of which on a wide

scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of manpower.

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere, in relation to the total problem of manpower mobilization.

On February 10th, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated manpower requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1st, 1942 to March 31st, 1943, a period of 15 months, were 90 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

D 43109

In the same period of 15 months, it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of manpower means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that, up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are

continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of manpower for a total war effort.

In order to assist in shifting the manpower and womanpower of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago, a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example,

been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. ~~Sufficient volunteers have been and are forthcoming to man the new formations established from time to time, and to provide the necessary reinforcements.~~ There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25th, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for manpower for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort?

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which

D 43112

empowers the Governor in Council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the House in my statement on National Selective Service, "in those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that

D 43113

compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort."

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total manpower for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian Islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian services cannot be left without manpower, The total manpower of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to manpower?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary

enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February the 4th. It is equally relevant today:

> "One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being - we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity - make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.

"Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future."

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally

D43117

sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of manpower for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment?] [There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military

secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events today are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air force, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian Corps of Firefighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience.

It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since Confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissention in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said, was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light

of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September 1939, most people believed ~~it~~ was going to be "just another European war", it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in today. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is by no means exempt from the possibility, ~~of attack at any moment; of actual~~ and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should ~~change~~ abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division, and the weakening of national unity.

I doubt if any of us begin to realize how grave ~~the~~ the responsibility has become of determining the disposition of the country's armed forces, as a consequence of the changed conditions resulting from the entry of Japan into

the war. Immediate danger no longer threatens Canada only from the East. It threatens equally from the West. Let that danger assume formidable proportions, and, I ask, what will be said of a government, or for that matter, of a parliament, or of a press, that continues to look only across the Atlantic to one enemy against which this country has to be protected, and fails to recognize that the strategy of the combined enemy forces may well involve ~~instead~~, an attack at any moment from across the Pacific.

In deciding upon the disposition of the armed forces, the government has to consider from day to day, just what proportion of its forces our country is justified in sending overseas, and what proportion it is necessary to keep at home. That question has had to be considered from the ~~very beginning~~ outbreak of the war but, until Japan entered the war, it did not begin to have the importance it has now come to have.

It is perfectly clear that the enemy will have to be destroyed overseas if this continent is not to be the field of the final conflict, or possibly even an immediate field of conflict, with Canada the scene of the first invasion. It is equally true that in the event of an attack, come when it may, and from whichever direction it may, unless we have forces adequately equipped and trained, in sufficient numbers to prevent the enemy from getting a foothold upon our soil, our entire national existence will be imperilled. While we must

continue to do all we possibly can to assist in accomplishing the defeat of the enemy away from our shores, we must also be in constant readiness to meet and hold him at bay should he attempt an attack upon our shores. What guarantee have we that the enemy having begun to destroy shipping off the coasts of the maritime provinces, in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in the river itself, and having attempted to gain a base for operations against the Pacific coast, we may not witness at any moment bombing of our harbours and cities, alike on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and attempts to destroy railway terminals and facilities, munition plants, aerodromes and other military targets in any part of the country.

With those possibilities before our very eyes,—and let me tell this House as I have told the country time and again, they are possibilities which are <u>by no means remote</u>,— can we afford to allow any question of conscription to become the occasion of a political battle in parliament, or of political warfare throughout the country; can we allow the country itself to become distracted by and divided over such an issue? Surely the only reasonable course to take in dealing with this question is to leave to the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, to decide what disposition it may be best to make between the forces to be

D43125

sent abroad and those that are to be kept at home, and what means it may be necessary to take to keep up the strength of the armed forces which are already overseas. ~~That is one of the purposes; that will be the effect of the adoption of the proposed amendment~~.

The people of Canada have clearly indicated their desire that freedom to decide on these matters should be given to the government, subject only to its responsibility to parliament. It is that freedom which, by the amendment, the government asks should now be given to it by parliament.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Tribute to Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 42956 - D 42967	
70		Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 42968 - D 43125	
70		75th Anniversary of Confederation. Speeches outside Parliament	1 July 1942	D 43126 - D 43140	
70		Welcome to King of Greece, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1942	D 43141 - ~~D 43152~~ D 43156	
70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

D file 43126

THE 75th ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

This day, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, falls at a time when Canada is employing the nation's energy and resources against an enemy who would destroy our very existence as a free people. At this time, when the citizens of Canada are engaged upon one all-absorbing task, elaborate ceremonies would be out of place even in celebrating so splendid an achievement as Confederation represents. We may, however, rightly pause on this anniversary, gratefully to reflect on the vision and the wisdom which enabled the Fathers of Confederation to bring our nation into being.

Today the very existence of the nation which was established in 1867 is threatened. A few days ago, for the first time since Confederation, Canadian soil was attacked. We are freely and fully associated with the other free peoples of the world in a death struggle with an enemy seeking to remove from the earth the heritage of freedom on which our institutions are founded.

The Fathers of Confederation built this nation on a foundation of human freedom, of self-government, of religious liberty, of racial equality, and of deep and abiding attachment to a common homeland. ~~The security of the nation we have built~~

D 43127

~~depends upon the maintenance and the strengthening of its foundation.~~ These are the sources of the harmony and mutual understanding among our people which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existence, ~~the~~ homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all ~~its~~ resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard, ~~and~~ our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian Navy and planes of the Canadian Air Force; in all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of ~~the~~ weapons and munitions; from fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

D 43128

It is particularly fitting that the celebration of our seventy-fifth national anniversary should coincide with Army Week in Canada. Our national pride has deepened with the knowledge of Canada's army guarding the heart of the Empire, protecting the world's greatest citadel of freedom, and prepared for action in any place, at any time. We have all been profoundly stirred by the exploits of Canadian airmen in every theatre of war; Cologne, Essen, Emden, now Bremen, are a witness to their magnificent daring, and to their important role. We know how great and how vital has been the work of our navy; we have been told that Canadian machines and munitions, Canadian food and Canadian money were essential to keep Britain fighting in the dark days of 1940 and 1941. But our ~~magnificent~~ Canadian army, because it has seen little fighting, has not thus far received its fair share of credit. This week, throughout all Canada, the Canadian people are being given a special opportunity to restore the balance by showing their appreciation of the Canadians in battle dress.

Let us pause to recall the record. The first contingent of the Canadian army landed in Britain on December 17, 1939. But for the collapse of France, the first division would have come to grips with the enemy in the summer of 1940. All through that dark summer they stood waiting for the expected invasion. They were joined during that time by the second division, and at Christmas of 1940 the Canadian Corps was formed. In 1941, a third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, and thousands upon thousands of specialized troops and reinforcements were added to their numbers.

D 43129

This year more units and reinforcements have crossed the sea, and others will follow. The Canadian Corps in Britain has become a highly trained, hard hitting, mobile Canadian army.

Mr. Churchill has told us what the Canadian army has meant to him and to the people of Britain. Let me repeat what he said last September:

"There they stand, and there they have stood through the whole of the critical period of the last fifteen months at the very point where they would be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against an invader. No greater service can be rendered to this country, no more important military duty can be performed by any troops in all the Allies."

There has been no glamour; there have been no great headlines. We, in Canada, have not realized as fully as the people of Britain how greatly our army has contributed and continues to contribute to the security of the bridge-head which separates the tyrant of Europe from the western hemisphere, and which is also our own defence.

~~Still less, perhaps,~~ have ~~we~~ given the credit which is their due to the men in battle-dress who have stood in ceaseless vigil at the lonely outposts of our own country. When the balance-sheet of war is struck, we ~~would~~ do well never to forget the long dreary months of dull, but vital routine which the Army has performed with little notice, and no complaint, on our coasts, and in vulnerable areas in Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador, and on the islands of the Atlantic.

43130 D

The Canadian army is not an instrument built only to resist attack. It was planned, it has been organized and is trained as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force. The day is coming--it may be close at hand--when it will have an honoured place in the van of attack. No Canadian doubts that when that day comes our army will do its full part, and a glorious part, in helping to defeat and to destroy the military might of an enemy whose design and ambition is to conquer the whole free world.

Canada's army is strong, it is united by a common purpose. It is the duty of all Canadian citizens to be no less strong, no less united by a common purpose. On this seventy-fifth anniversary of Confederation the need is greater than ever before in our history, to let nothing divide us as a people, to compose our differences, and to throw all our energies into the [redacted] task of saving our country, and the freedom of the world. If we would be worthy of our past, and the sacrifices of the past, if we would be worthy of the many brave sons of Canada who in the present war have given their all [redacted], and of the half million young Canadians who have [redacted] offered, if need be, to die for their country, ~~wherever in the world the battle must be fought~~, it is our supreme duty, while striving for victory, to preserve for them and for future generations a free and a united Canada.

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

D 43131

This day, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, falls at a time when Canada is employing the nation's energy and resources against an enemy who would destroy our very existence as a free people. At this time, when the citizens of Canada are engaged upon one all-absorbing task, elaborate ceremonies would be out of place even in celebrating so splendid an achievement as Confederation represents. We may, however, rightly pause on this anniversary, gratefully to reflect on the vision and the wisdom which enabled the Fathers of Confederation to bring our nation into being.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 43132

These are the sources of the harmony and mutual understanding among our people, which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make, of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existance, to homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all her resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard. Our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian Navy and planes of the Canadian Air Force. In all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of weapons and munitions. From fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

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I doubt, too, if we have given the credit which is their due to the men in battle-dress who have stood in ceaseless vigil at the lonely outposts of our own country. When the balance-sheet of war is struck, we shall do well never to forget the long dreary months of dull, but vital routine which the Army has performed with little notice, and no complaint, on our coasts,

and in vulnerable areas in Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador, and on the islands of the Atlantic.

The Canadian army is not an instrument built only to resist attack. It was planned, it has been organized and is trained as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force. The day is coming--it may be close at hand--when it will have an honoured place in the van of attack. No Canadian doubts that when that day comes, our army will do its full part--and a glorious part--in helping to defeat and to destroy the military might of an enemy whose design and ambition is to conquer the whole free world.

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Hansard

D 43136

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D 43137

These are the sources of the harmony and mutual understanding among our people which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existance, to homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all her resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard. Our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian Navy and planes of the Canadian Air Force. In all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of weapons and munitions. From fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

D 43138

It is particularly fitting that the celebration of our seventy-fifth national anniversary should coincide with Army Week in Canada. Our national pride has deepened with the knowledge of Canada's army guarding the heart of the Empire, protecting the world's greatest citadel of freedom, and prepared for action in any place, at any time. We have all been profoundly stirred by the exploits of Canadian airmen in every theatre of war: Ceylon, Cologne, Essen, Emden, now Bremen, are a witness to their magnificent daring, and to their important role. We know how great and how vital has been the work of our navy. We have been told that Canadian machines and munitions, Canadian food and Canadian money were essential to keep Britain fighting in the dark days of 1940 and 1941. But our Canadian army, because it has seen little fighting, has not thus far received its fair share of credit. This week, throughout all Canada, the Canadian people are being given a special opportunity to restore the balance by showing their appreciation of the Canadians in battle dress.

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D 43139

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I doubt, too, if we have given the credit which is their due to the men in battle-dress who have stood in ceaseless vigil at the lonely outposts of our own country. When the balance-sheet of war is struck, we shall do well never to forget the long dreary months of dull, but vital routine which the Army has performed with little notice, and no complaint, on our coasts.

D 43140

and in vulnerable areas in Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador, and on the islands of the Atlantic.

The Canadian army is not an instrument built only to resist attack. It was planned, it has been organized and is trained as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force. The day is coming--it may be close at hand--when it will have an honoured place in the van of attack. No Canadian doubts that when that day comes, our army will do its full part--and a glorious part--in helping to defeat and to destroy the military might of an enemy whose design and ambition is to conquer the whole free world.

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July 3, 1942

D 43141

Distinguished visitors to Canada,
President of the United States,

1939, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth;

1941, Grand Duchess of Luxembourg;

1942, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands;

(King Peter of Yugoslavia)

Tonight: King of Greece.

Unique occasion - present in Ottawa at one time:

King of Greece,
Prime Minister of Greece,
Minister of Greece to Canada;

Recollect no previous occasion where we have had in Ottawa the Sovereign and the Prime Minister and the diplomatic representative of one nation;

(express thanks to King of Greece for having sent to Canada so amiable and capable a representative).

D 43142

Look forward to appointing a Minister of Canada to Greece after conclusion of war.

Recall Nazi invasion of Greece and German occupation of Athens - a symbol of world civilization.

Greek Govt. called upon to decide whether to resist or establish themselves elsewhere.

Prime Minister of day broke down - King obliged to take charge of Govt. personally - (already in command of forces) -

King was in himself the Govt. and set an example of courage to the country.

Then called on Mr. Tsuderos (Soo-day-ross) to be Prime Minister.

Escape from Greece to Crete,

Later from Crete to Egypt much of the way on foot.

1942: Greek army in the middle east merchant seamen in allied navies

- greatest tragedy in near starvation of the people - suffering all that is worst at hands of German invaders

D 43143

starvation now added to other terrors of war.

People pf Greece still bravely resisting

In Canada, glad (even at this date) to have had opportunity to assist in one important way:

arrangements made to ship

15,000 tons of wheat to Greece each month

with aid of International Red Cross (using Swedish ships)

Present hostilities in Egypt must give cause for further concern to Greeks who escaped from their homeland to carry on the fight elsewhere.

J.A.G.
3.7.42

Government Dinner
for H. M. The King of Greece
Country Club, July 3, 1942

D 43144

Express great and special pleasure
in welcoming to Capital of Canada
the King of Greece.

Sovereign of a country which
bravely resisted Axis invaders,
which suffered great losses and
expectional privation, and
whose people are still resisting
in heroic fashion in any way
open to them.

Conditions of war have brought many
changes; in this company tonight
perhaps the most striking thought
in everyone's mind will be

D 43145

the linking together of nations of
the new world with the old
in a common quest for peace and
freedom

His Majesty a symbol of what that quest
means
in terms of the ancient civilization
of which present-day Greece is a
tragic but heroic example
in terms of struggle and resistance
maintained to the utmost
not by a single nation alone
but by all of the United Nations
acting together

until Victory has been won

in terms of the upbuilding of a
common humanity in the era of
reconstruction which must follow

D 43146

the vindication of freedom in military triumph for the United Nations.

All of the distinguished visitors from the United Nations who have come to Ottawa have emphasized the ever-growing closeness of the new relationships being forged between Canada and the other United Nations.

In the course of his visit to the United States and Canada, His Majesty has paid tribute to numerous organisations from this continent who have helped in Greece projects for educational progress and humanitarian services.

Throughout these testing years, Canada will stand ready to help.

I have the honour to propose a toast to our Royal Visitor:

I give you the health of His Majesty, King George II of the Hellenes.

D 43147

Government Dinner in Honour of The
King of Greece

July 3, 1942

-

not used

D 43148

Honour of visit to capital of Canada -
entertaining King George II and
the Prime Minister of Greece
(and members of party)

Visits of heads of other states -

1939 King and Queen
Roosevelt
Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
Mr Dupong, Prime Minister
Mr Bech, Foreign Minister
residing in Montreal
Crown Prince Olaf of Norway
Crown Princess Juliana
Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands
King Peter of Yugoslavia

Reference to country, to Govt and people of Greece,
and to the King

brave resistance to Italians and
Germans, and
continuation of fight in Egypt

significance of, in relation to Russia, &

sufferings, numbers killed, atrocities
and massacres, land pillaged,
starvation, losses & privation

Great epic of heroism - preserving national
freedom - defenders of civilisation

[illegible] of King and Prime Minis

D 43149

Occupation of Athens
conquest of Crete by paratroops

- - -

Unique representation of Greece in capital

The King
Prime Minister
Minister of Greece to Canada (Depasta)

- - -

What Canada owes to Greece : many-
: sidedness
: Greek life

from the past: art,
letters,
science,
and foundations of
freedom

Greece stands between us and destruction

- - -

WAR one of world conquest - dark hour of
today -
present hostilities in Egypt
[illegible] for further concern
United Nations will triumph

- - -

CANADA pleased to assist in alleviating
suffering -
Canada looks forward to sharing in
restoration of freedom to Greece

J.A.G.
3.7.42

Government Dinner
for H. M. The King of Greece
Country Club, July 3, 1942

D 43150

Express great and special pleasure
in welcoming to Capital of Canada
the King of Greece.

Sovereign of a country which
bravely resisted Axis invaders,
which suffered great losses and
expectional privation, and
whose people are still resisting
in heroic fashion in any way
open to them.

Conditions of war have brought many
changes; in this company tonight
perhaps the most striking thought
in everyone's mind will be

D43151

the linking together of nations of
the new world with the old
in a common quest for peace and
freedom

His Majesty a symbol of what that quest
means
in terms of the ancient civilization
of which present-day Greece is a
tragic but heroic example
in terms of struggle and resistance
maintained to the utmost
not by a single nation alone
but by all of the United Nations
acting together

until Victory has been won

in terms of the upbuilding of a
common humanity in the era of
reconstruction which must follow

D 43152

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the ever-growing closeness of the new relationships being forged between Canada and the other United Nations.

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D 43153

I have the honour to propose a toast to our Royal Visitor:

I give you the health of His Majesty, King George II of the Hellenes.

VKG

D 43154

GOVERNMENT DINNER
FOR THE KING AND PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE

Welcome to Canada of His Majesty and His Excellency

the Prime Minister

1. as representatives of the government of one of the United Nations
2. as a symbol of the Greek people

In the dark days of 1942 recall the fortitude with which Greece met martyrdom in dark days of 1941.

Magnificent and successful resistance against Italian attack filled free world with admiration.

Courage in facing overwhelming Nazi assault in April 1941;
Support of British, New Zealand and Australian forces in Greece and Crete forging an undying link between Greece and the British Commonwealth.

D43155

Tribute to personal courage of the King in the Cretan campaign;

Brutal oppression of the Greek people only equalled by that suffered by the Poles;

Land of Greece pillaged and people left to die of starvation;

Canada pleased to be able to do something to lighten suffering;

Arrangements recently concluded for monthly gifts of Canadian wheat to be distributed by Swedish Red Cross;

Modern Greece, by daring in arms and courage in suffering, an example of what a people will endure for the sake of its national freedom;

Greece has proved worthy of her ancient past; no more gallant defenders of the civilization to which classical Greece gave birth;

The whole free world fighting to preserve for humanity the Greek ideals of democracy, individual liberty, balance, moderation, "the golden mean"; the very essence of what we mean by the word freedom;

D 43156

The Canadian people, like all others who still enjoy freedom, are proud to share in the struggle for the restoration of freedom to Greece;

All look forward to the dawn of another day when once again the hope will be realized which Byron expressed when he wrote, a century ago:

> The mountains look on Marathon
> And Marathon looks on the sea;
> And musing there an hour alone
> I dreamed that Greece might still be free.

Like Byron himself hundreds of Europe's noblest spirits gave their lives for the freedom of Greece in those days.

To-day, millions throughout the free world are fighting the age-long fight for the freedom which Greece gave to man.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Tribute to Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 42956 - D 42967	
70		Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 42968 - D 43125	
70		75th Anniversary of Confederation. Speeches outside Parliament	1 July 1942	D 43126 - D 43140	
70		Welcome to King of Greece, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1942	D 43141 - ~~D 43152~~ D 43156	
70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

July 4, 1942

D 43157

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness,
Your Majesty,
Your Worship,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the Mayor of Ottawa has just reminded us, the present week has, by Royal Proclamation, been chosen as Army Week. This particular day has been selected as United Nations Day.

As we gather together here, on Parliament Hill, in Army Week, and on United Nations' Day, we see in the open square before us soldiers of Canada and soldiers of the United States, side by side. Flanking the square are the flags of the 28 United Nations and the flag of Free France. The scene is resplendent and symbolic of the forces which today in all parts of the world are fighting to preserve the world's freedom.

We are assembled here to pay a special tribute to the Canadian army. We are gathered also to do honour to the valour and heroism of the fighting men and women of the United Nations, and to call to mind their privations and sacrifices, their fortitude and endurance.

By ~~a happy~~ coincidence, this ceremony occurs on the day when our powerful and friendly neighbour, the United

States of America, is celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. No circumstance could ~~more~~ ^ heretofore effectively demonstrate the common love of freedom which unites our two peoples than that we are able today to speak of this event as one which marks an important stage in the growth of democracy and liberty.

Here on a day which links Army Week in Canada, with Independence Day in the United States, detachments of the American and Canadian armies are to be found side by side in front of our Houses of Parliament, doing honour to the flags of the many nations that today are united in the cause of world freedom. Few expressions could be more eloquent of the determination of the new world to preserve its own freedom, and to help to restore the freedom of other nations.

We are particularly pleased and especially honoured that this afternoon's ceremony should be graced by the presence of the representative of His Majesty the King, by Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, and by His Majesty the King of the Hellenes.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness know how greatly their presence is welcomed on all occasions, and in all parts of Canada.

I should like immediately to say to King George of Greece, on behalf of the government and the people of

Canada, how greatly we welcome His Majesty's presence in Canada at this time. We are pleased indeed to have an opportunity to pay tribute to his own gallantry, and to express the profound admiration and the deep sympathy we all feel for the people of Greece. We shall never forget with what bravery they resisted the invasion of their country, and with what fortitude they are bearing the martyrdom to which they have been subjected by a ruthless and barbaric foe.

May I say to Your Majesty that in the heroic defence of their own soil by the Hellenic people, we, in Canada, were quick to recognize the defence of freedom everywhere. The Canadian people have come to see that it was not alone the soil of Greece, but also the soil of Canada, which was being defended in that resistance, as it has also been defended by the resistance of those other nations in Europe who have done what lay within their power to thwart the enemy. We shall never rest until, by the employment of the full resources of our country, Canada has done her utmost to restore the freedom of those lands which have helped to preserve the freedom of our own. While we recognize that no words of ours can moderate the sufferings of Greece, all Canadians are pleased that at last a way has been found for Canada to lighten those sufferings by gifts of food from our ample stores.

When Lord Athlone arrived in Canada just two years ago, I am sure His Excellency little thought that today, he would have at his side, on Parliament Hill, the King of the Hellenes and that together they would be speaking from this place to the people of Canada.

This, however,

is but one of many events which serve to show how the cause of all freedom-loving nations has been united as one, in the great period of history through which the world is now passing.

This unity of purpose among the united nations has significantly been illustrated for us by the establishment in Ottawa of diplomatic representatives of many of the nations united with Canada in the present struggle. Of the United Nations, The Netherlands, China, Poland, Greece, Norway, and Yugoslavia have ~~been~~ added their Legations to the United States and Belgium already ~~represented~~ here before the outbreak of war. In addition, we shall shortly welcome ministers representing the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

It is not only by official representation that our close relationship with the United Nations has been strengthened. Your Majesty's visit is but one notable example of those personal contacts which have helped to cement our common effort. Recently we welcomed Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. We expect soon to welcome King Peter of Yugoslavia. The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, and Crown Prince Olaf of Norway have honoured us with their visits, and we have been happy to have the Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands as a resident of our Capital.

D 43161

The Prime Ministers of three sister nations of the British Commonwealth, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of many other of the united nations have been numbered among our honoured guests. Today we are specially honoured to have also as a guest of our country, the Prime Minister of Greece. I wish to extend to Mr. Tsouderos a warm word of welcome, and the best wishes of the Canadian people.

The unity of purpose among the united nations is also illustrated by the presence of Canadian fighting men on the battlefields of the world and on all the seven seas.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have now the honour of calling upon His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty the King of the Hellenes to address you. In inviting the Governor General to speak to you, I am calling upon one who all his life has been a soldier. On that account, no less than in his official capacity as the representative in Canada of the King, it is particularly gratifying that, at this, the climax of Army Week in our capital city, Lord Athlone should be paying tribute to the United Nations. That His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, as a soldier and as the head of one of the United Nations should be responding to that tribute will be no less deeply appreciated by all the people of Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen: His Excellency the Governor General.

Session 1942

Mr. Gibson

D 43162

July 7, 1942

D 43163

Five years ago this evening, Chinese and Japanese forces clashed in a skirmish which marked the beginning of a war which has brought as much devastation and death as was witnessed in the first World War. This House will, I believe, wish me on this anniversary to pay some slight tribute to the indomitable spirit of ~~our~~ their Chinese people and their brave leaders. The five years that have elapsed have shown that nothing can daunt ~~the~~ their courage or shake ~~the~~ their resolution ~~of the Chinese people and their brave leaders.~~

On the third of November, 1941, I remarked in this Chamber that "the uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance," and that "the Chinese continue to die in staggering numbers in defence of their humble habitations and the good earth which for countless generations has given to the ancestors they revere and to themselves their scanty sustenance." Another eight months have passed; and the courage and resolution of China are as fresh as ever.

Most of the great industrial centres, and half of the fertile land of China are now occupied by the invader; the principal supply routes have been cut off, the loss of Burma has increased Chinese difficulties in obtaining the weapons and munitions of war; bombings are a part of the expected daily routine in the Chinese capital; death or slavery has been the

D 43164

lot of uncounted millions of the Chinese people.

Out of all this suffering and anguish China has given and is continuing to give to ~~us all~~ the allies, an example which serves to sustain ~~our~~ their hearts in these dark days; it is the example of a nation endowed with an ancient and splendid culture, and devoted to the arts of peace, defending itself tenaciously, skilfully and boldly against a barbarous foe which has no thoughts except those of ruthless aggression. ~~This~~ Such is the spirit of China in this hour.

Chinese resistance is a proof of the moral stamina of democracy. China may be assured that her resistance will not be in vain, and that no matter what the cost, or what the duration of the ordeal, the United Nations will continue ~~with her war until they have accomplished the total defeat of their totalitarian enemies.~~ with her until freedom again reigns over the entire earth.

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D 43165

Speech by the Prime Minister

Closing the Debate on the Second Reading of the Bill to Amend the National Resources Mobilization Act

July 7, 1942

In bringing to a conclusion the debate on the second reading of the bill which is before the House, I do not intend to review in detail the arguments which have been presented from different sides. In all that has been said, I have found no reason to alter any of the statements or opinions I expressed in introducing the bill on May 11th, and in opening the debate on the second reading on June 10th.

I believe the debate itself has more than justified the wisdom of the course the government has adopted in bringing before Parliament for consideration, the methods of raising men for service overseas.

It has been recognized from the outset that the question is highly controversial. Had its controversial character been the only factor of which the government was obliged to take account, the task would have been comparatively simple.

In opening the debate, I stated that changed conditions in the character and scope of the war were sufficient of themselves to make necessary at this time the fullest consideration of the question by Parliament. I carefully refrained from saying anything of other factors which had forced the issue in a manner which has served to emphasize

D43166

rather than to lessen its controversial character. I still propose to refrain from saying about this particular aspect of the controversy beyond drawing the attention of honourable members to how wholly unnecessary and misleading it has been.

In the present war, the issue of conscription for service overseas was first raised, not in parliament by the responsible spokesman of any political party, but outside parliament altogether. The effort to make it a political issue became evident a little over a year ago in the course of my visit to Western Canada.

On each occasion when the issue was pressed to the fore, the method adopted was the same. An attempt was made to identify the single question of the method of raising men for service overseas with "a total effort." It was asserted that the need was an immediate one, and would have to be met immediately.

Conscription for overseas service was certainly not necessary when the agitation was started in Calgary, over a year ago. At that time, those who were responsible for the agitation asserted that conscription for service overseas had become imperative. It certainly was not necessary at the time the new leader of the Conservative party issued his manifesto for National Government and an all-out effort. It certainly was not necessary when, as a part of the same campaign, the Committee of 200 in Toronto sought to identify:

"Total Effort for Total War" with the immediate introduction of conscription for overseas service. It certainly was not necessary at the time the government's intention to hold a plebiscite was announced in parliament. Nevertheless, we were told by hon. gentlemen opposite that, considering how long the plebiscite would take, the government should be censured, and the plebiscite itself condemned. It certainly was not necessary at the time of the by-elections in Welland and in South York, in St. Mary's Montreal, and in Quebec East, though we were told, at the time by its advocates that conscription was the real issue of those campaigns. It is now clear that conscription for overseas service was not necessary at the time the result of the plebiscite was announced.

D 43168

In the present debate, there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men ~~for overseas service,~~ at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada;-in the air force, in the navy, or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissention, it might have been considerably reduced.

I mention these facts first of all to make perfectly clear that the government has meant what it has said when it has stated, as up to the present it consistently has, that conscription for overseas service was not necessary, either on the ground of obtaining the necessary recruits, or to enable the government to meet its objective of a properly balanced total war effort.

I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country.

The government is asking for this freedom solely because it is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, it is in the national interest that the power should be possessed by the administration.

There is nothing to which some of my political opponents have devoted more of their time and attention than in seeking to make the public believe that, as the head of the administration, I have been actuated primarily by considerations of party interests. It is represented that my aim, above all else, has been to maintain the unity of the party which I lead, in order that I may retain office at the head of a party administration. I do not deny that I have, at all times, striven to maintain the unity of the party which has honoured and entrusted me with its leadership. I owe that duty not only to the party but also to the country, more particularly as my following in this House of Commons is the foundation of the administration which was entrusted by the people, in war-time, with the task of government. However, I deny most emphatically that, at any time in the course of my public life, I have ever placed any interest of party above the national interest. Least of all have I had any such thought ~~of the kind~~ in conducting the affairs of the country at this time of war.

It surely cannot be said that, in asking by means of a plebiscite for release from any obligations arising out of past commitments, I was acting from motives of party advantage.

Nor can it be said that in introducing the present bill at the time it was introduced, I was seeking, as some honourable gentlemen opposite and their press continue to say of me, to appease the large following I have in the province of Quebec, and in virtue of which, they like to say, I am able to keep myself in office.

In the last general elections, I did win the support of the province of Quebec to the extent of all but one of its entire representation in this House. Perhaps this might not be an inopportune moment to remind honourable members and the country that apart altogether from the political support obtained from the province of Quebec, I was accorded, in the other provinces of Canada, a considerable majority over and above that of the combined representation in this House of Commons of the Conservative Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit Party. Indeed the supporters of the government from the provinces other than Quebec number all but half of the total membership of this House of Commons. Secure as I have felt in the confidence thus accorded me by the Canadian people as a whole, I have considered that it increased my obligation to endeavour to see that all questions of national importance were determined solely ~~from~~ on the national interest. This, I have felt, was a special obligation of the Prime Minister at a time of war.

D 43171

I have had no more trying experience in my political life than the realization that the course which I believed it was in the national interest for the government to follow at this time was one which would occasion a division in the ranks of my loyal followers. On the other hand, realizing Canada's position as I see it in the present world crisis, I should have felt as false to the interests of every member of my own following as to the country itself, had I not sought from Parliament at this time the powers which the bill asks should be given to the administration.

I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion. The results of the plebiscite showed that as respects the application or non-application of conscription for overseas service, the vast majority of the people of Canada were prepared to trust the judgment of the present government.

I should not like the debate to conclude without expressing, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our appreciation of so great a trust.

It is true that the present bill is a logical sequence of the plebiscite, but its origin is not to be found in the results of that measure. Because the results of the plebiscite have, by some, been represented as a mandate for conscription for service overseas, the significance of the present bill has, as a consequence, been distorted in the eyes of others. Both the plebiscite and the bill have, in fact, a common origin. Each owed its existence to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Each was a necessary step, but only a step in the accomplishment of that policy.

This is the statement of policy as it appears in the Speech: "The government is of the opinion, that at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should..... possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as it may arise." The one and only particular in which the administration was not free to act in accordance with its judgment was with respect to the methods of raising men for military service.

So far as the government's policy as expressed in this bill is concerned, it is not a new policy; it is identical with the government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne, which parliament approved by the adoption of the address. Because of prior commitments regarding the methods of raising men for military service overseas, the necessary freedom could only be secured in two stages.

The one stage was to seek from the people release from a moral obligation arising out of past commitments, and the other stage, to seek from parliament the removal of a limitation expressed in existing legislation. The former - the release from the moral obligation - was sought and obtained by means of the plebiscite; the latter - the removal of the legal restriction - is being sought, and I hope will be obtained, by the present bill. But while the second step - the bill which is now before the House - was a logical sequence of the results of the first step, namely, the plebiscite, it does not owe its origin to that measure, but to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech.

The government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne was due not to any political pressure or popular clamour but to what the government, as a result of the changed conditions of the war, had come to recognize as the only sound policy "at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history".

In all sincerity, may I ask would any other policy be justifiable in the face of conditions as we have seen them develop from month to month, and from year to year since the commencement of the present war, and as we know them today? If after almost 3 years of conflict, the course of the war had been different; if, for example, Germany, after overrunning the most of Europe, had been driven out of some, or even one of the countries she has subjugated; if Germany was now more concerned with her own defence than bent, as she continues to be, upon further conquest; if Japan had remained out of the war, instead of challenging the might of the United States, as well as that of the British Commonwealth and other of the United Nations, there might have been reason to question the need for removal of any limitation upon the complete freedom of the administration to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of situations as they may arise. But when the very opposite is the case, when the war, instead of remaining war upon a single continent has become a war which is world encircling, embracing all continents as well as all oceans, a war in which all of the great powers of the world have either been partially destroyed, or are fighting for their very existence, and in which the survival of civilization itself is at stake, would it not have shown a lack of responsibility had the government not sought from parliament, in plenty of

time, the widest possible powers to cope with any and every situation as it may arise?

A government is responsible not only for what it does, but for what it fails to do. A like responsibility, it seems to me, rests upon the parliament of the country, once its members are appealed to by the government to assist the administration in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, and thereby to preserve the nation's security, and it may be its very existence.

On June 11th, the former Minister of Public Works, objecting to the introduction of the bill at the present time, exclaimed: (Hansard, p. 3562):

> "In the name of heaven, what is the use of having a dead principle in our statute books."

My hon. friend, in asking that question, was thinking only of the application of conscription for service overseas. He entirely overlooked one very important aspect of the bill. The present bill seeks to remove the limitation on compulsory military service outside Canada and its territorial waters. It will not only remove the statutory limitation on compulsory service overseas; it will equally remove the restriction on compulsory service elsewhere in this hemisphere. In so far as service in other parts of North America and the adjacent islands is concerned, the amendment of the Mobilization Act, once it becomes law, will in no

D 43176

sense be "a dead principle in our statute books."

At any moment, its application may become an urgent necessity. ^ A glance at the map recent-events, no less than are enough to disclose that, in a tactical sense, the defence of our east and west coasts is inseparable from the defence of the adjacent territories of the United States. We have recognized from the beginning of the war that the same is true of Newfoundland and Labrador. It will be necessary to extend the scope of compulsory service to these areas to strengthen our own immediate defences. In the event of actual hostilities on any considerable scale in this hemisphere, any restriction on the movement of troops back and forth between Canada and neighbouring territories would be intolerable.

It is true that before the plebiscite was held, I said that the government, in an emergency, would authorize such action by order in council under the War Measures Act, and would later ask Parliament to amend the Mobilization Act. But that surely is an undesirable method to employ if Parliament has the time to give to the government the necessary authority in advance.

Moreover, the government has equal power to follow the same procedure in the case of compulsory service overseas. It is because of its deep sense of its responsibility to Parliament, that the government is seeking, for the one case as for the other, the requisite authority from the present Parliament.

The debate has shown that objection to the present bill is due in the main to one of four reasons. There may be others, but they have not been set forth in a pronounced way in any of the speeches which have been made.

The first two of these reasons for opposition represent the extremes of widely divergent points of view. At the one extreme are those who object that the bill does not go far enough. At the other extreme are those who say that the bill goes too far. Those who hold to the first of these extremes wish to have the principle of conscription applied immediately to service overseas, regardless of whether or not compulsion is needed ot obtain the necessary enlistments, and regardless as well of prejudicial consequences which might arise from an unnecessary application of conscription to overseas service. Those who hold to the opposite extreme are unwilling to have the principle of conscription applied to service overseas not only immediately, but at any time, and this regardless of the consequences whatever they might be.

In referring to those who take this extreme view, I wish to differentiate sharply between hon. members who are in accord with the government's policy of a total war effort, but who honestly and sincerely believe that conscription for overseas service will not increase our total effort, and might even serve to prejudice that effort, and

those
others, happily very few in number, who have indicated clearly by their attitude, not only in the present debate but in the past, that they are prepared to see Canada risk defeat rather than accept conscription for service overseas. In 1937, in 1938 and in 1939, some of these hon. members opposed the preparations for the defence of Canada because they maintained that Canada was in no danger. They are still prepared to overlook the designs of the enemy, and to discount his strength, despite the fact that his design of world conquest is increasingly clear, and despite the continued success of his arms. They are prepared to leave to others to do for Canada, for their homes and their families what they are unwilling to do not only for others, but even for their own country, and for themselves. They refuse to see the need to bring about the destruction of the enemy as speedily as possible, and as far as possible from Canada. They are prepared to risk subjecting the Canadian people to the fate of those countries which, in such numbers, have already experienced the terrors of invasion, and of conquest, by a ruthless and relentless foe.

The members who are thus unwilling to look beyond the shores of Canada have referred repeatedly to Australia which country, at an earlier stage in the war, sent troops overseas, and has since been obliged to recall some men for her own defence. But why did Australia send her troops overseas if it was not that she recognised the need of a collective

D 43179

defence? Why, may I ask, was the United States so ready to send an army and naval forces to Australia in her hour of need? Was it not because the United States realized that unless the enemy were defeated overseas, he would have to be defeated on American soil; and was it not also because Australia had earned the respect and help of other nations by sending her armed forces overseas against the common enemy?

And here let me protest equally against the deliberate misrepresentation of Canada's position which continues to come from many who represent the other extreme. Some hon. members opposite have said, and the press which supports them keeps repeating the statement, that the government is unwilling to send men overseas. They seek to create the impression that, because Canada has had no occasion to resort to conscription for overseas service, that no Canadian troops are being sent overseas. This obviously is being said solely for political purposes, for they know full well that such is not the truth, and that a false impression is thereby being created. But what is the result? False impressions are thereby also being given to other countries. This is most detrimental to Canada, and is most unfair to Canada's magnificent army overseas.

No one can object to the honest advocacy of conscription by those who believe sincerely that it will advance the country's war effort. But surely there are

better ways to advocate conscription than by belittling the Canadian Army, and seeking to create the impression that because the men who are steadily going forward have offered their services voluntarily, Canada is not sending troops overseas.

Both extremes, for opposite reasons, are helping to create the wholly false impression that Canada is not sending or is not willing to send her men to meet and defeat the enemy overseas. Both, for political ends, are prepared to discredit their own country in the eyes of the world.

These two extremes can never be reconciled. The debate must have made it wholly clear even to those who support either extreme, that the adoption of their views would only serve to weaken, and perhaps to destroy, the national unity which all should wish to see maintained. It would be equally destructive of an effective war effort.

Were this House of Commons, on grounds of national necessity, or for any other reason, obliged to yield to either extreme, many hon. members might well find their present position one of considerable embarrassment. Their embarrassment, however, both in the present and in the future, is more likely to arise, indeed, is, I believe, certain to arise, should they fail to lend their support to a policy which avoids extremes, and which, at this time of war, alone gives hope for the preservation of national unity. National unity, it seems to me, can

best be preserved by hon. members giving to the government charged with carrying on Canada's war effort, the support which the government must receive from parliament, if its great responsibilities are to be discharged in a manner which will truly serve the national interest.

If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the words: "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary", I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances taken into account, it is the only sound policy.

We are not dealing with theories, either of government or of war, upon which, without grave risks to themselves and others, men can afford to continue to differ. We are faced with conditions which actually exist, and which have to be met. They must be met with as large a measure of general consent as may be possible, if both Canada and our allies are not to suffer. It is from this point of view that, regardless of any position

D 43182

thus far taken with respect to the present bill, I now ask all hon. members to viewtheir obligations alike to their constituencies and to Canada.

I said that objection to the bill had been raised on four grounds. I have dealt with the first two. Those who oppose on other grounds do not differ fundamentally with the policy of the government with respect to service overseas: ~~not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary~~. But they assert that, if the bill is to receive their support, something more is ~~necessary~~ required. The assurance demanded, in the one case, is that if provision is to be made for the conscription of men for service overseas, then provision must equally be made for what is generally termed "the conscription of wealth"; that the two must go together. That, as I understand it, was the purport of the amendment proposed by the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation group.

First of all, may I say to my hon. friend the leader of the C.C.F. group, and to those who share views similar to his own, that the power to conscript wealth at whatever time, and to whatever extent may be deemed advisable and necessary, is already in the act which the government is asking parliament to amend, not by further limiting its provisions, but by extending their application.

The power to conscript wealth will remain unrestricted.

D 43183

There are no limitations upon this power other than such as may result from the judgment of the government in exercising its discretion. The legislation itself as I have pointed out is enabling legislation, and as respects both the conscription of wealth and conscription of manpower will, if the bill is adopted, remain enabling legislation. The government in both particulars will be free to exercise its discretion as the needs of the war may demand.

I need not, I know, remind hon. members that the ground on which, on its second reading, a bill merits support or rejection, is one of principle. It is not a question of additions to or subtractions from its provisions. These are matters to be dealt with when the bill is in committee. What, so far as principle goes, the government is seeking by the bill is exactly what the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation implies the government should have, namely, complete freedom, subject to its responsibility to parliament, as respects the application of conscription in any direction. To impose conditions of any kind upon the exercise of the government's discretion, other than such as attach to its responsibility to Parliament, is to destroy altogether the all-out freedom of action by the administration which it is the principle of the bill to secure.

If this year's budget does not serve to convince hon. members and the people of Canada generally of the government's

D 43184

readiness to conscript whatever wealth is necessary to distribute the burden of Canada's war effort as equitably as possible, it is difficult to imagine what more in the way of assurances to this end would be regarded as adequate.

I come now to the last of the reasons which have been urged by some for not supporting the bill, and by others for hesitating to give their support until the government's exact intentions are more fully known.

From both sides of the House, objection has been raised to the possibility of resort to conscription for overseas service at some future date without a further reference to parliament. When, however, hon. members speak of coming again to parliament, some appear to have one thing in mind; and others quite another.

All are agreed that the present bill, if enacted, will give to the government the power to make conscription applicable to service outside Canada, whenever and to whatever extent in the judgment of the government it is necessary and advisable. Some contend that should the government decide that conscription for overseas service has become necessary and advisable, the government should, before any action is taken, announce its decision to parliament, and, at that time, by further legislation, define the terms and conditions of such service, or at least permit a second debate on the question of

its immediate application. There are others who do not advocate a second debate on conscription, much less further legislation, but who maintain that a due recognition of the Ministry's responsibility to parliament demands that, as soon as possible after the government's decision has been reached, it should be communicated to parliament, and before effect is given thereto, that opportunity should be given hon. members for an expression of their views.

May I say, as emphatically as I can, that in no case would I wish to countenance a second debate on conscription.

In setting forth the reasons why the government had not proceeded by stages, in removing the limitation in the Mobilization Act with respect to service outside Canada, I made the statement that such a course would not have met the purposes of the plebiscite as outlined in the Speech from the Throne, one of which was to ensure to the government complete freedom of action, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

I gave, however, another and very important reason. I said that to amend the act in any particular would necessitate a debate in both Houses of Parliament - a debate moreover which would inevitably be a debate on the question of conscription; that this would mean going all over the same ground again. Speaking on this aspect of the matter on June 10th, I said:

"Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly

being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people, or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament."

Whatever may have been said or thought of the truth of this statement at the time it was made, after all that has since been said in the course of the present debate, for and against conscription for service overseas, it will, I think, be agreed that on this question little more, if anything of value, could possibly be added. It must now be wholly apparent that this House of Commons itself, not to speak of the country, would be impatient of any attempt to traverse the same ground anew; and that public opinion would strongly resent any such procedure.

It is well, therefore, that it should once again be clearly stated that while this bill does not, regardless of circumstances, commit the government to conscription for overseas service, parliament, by enacting this bill, is placing it within the discretion of the government to impose conscription for service overseas, if, in its judgment, the needs of the situation as they may arise should so demand.

This is one of the reasons why the government has been ready to allow to hon. members on the second reading of the bill, the fullest latitude to discuss, from all possible angles, and on all possible grounds, the question of the

application of conscription to service overseas, and has not sought, in any way, to curtail the debate. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a like opportunity could be afforded at any other time.

If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the Administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in

open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the United Nations.

It has, I think, been made abundantly clear that, so far, at least, as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to Parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the Cabinet in reaching a decision.

In speaking in this House on the purpose of the plebiscite, ~~on February 25th~~, I said: (See unrevised Hansard,

D 43189

Feb. 25, 1942 - page 913):

"What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable, and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist, and as they are known to the government at the time."

And later:

"The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered."

I added:

"May I say that when I say 'all circumstances considered', I have in mind the conditions as they exist in respect to the war in different theatres, and the conditions as they may exist in Canada itself."

It is perhaps well that I should remind hon. members that these statements were made as early in the present year as February 25th. They were repeatedly referred to in the course of the campaign on the plebiscite in explanation of its objectives, and of how the government proposed to exercise its power, if given a free hand. It cannot therefore be said that the government's policy, as

it finds expression in the present bill, was not fully known both to parliament and the public, before and during the time the plebiscite was held.

As to the right thing being done by the government at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country, and also in parliament, on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that differences will still exist concerning the wisdom of the decision.

A second debate on conscription is one thing. A vote of confidence in a government before it undertakes to enforce a particular course of action ~~concerning the wisdom of which widely divergent views have been expressed in parliament and throughout~~

D 43191

~~the country~~ is quite another and wholly different thing.

If an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt, at any time, as to the adequacy of its support by parliament, and least of all in a time of peril. The assurance of the confidence of parliament is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons. ~~Parliament may have every confidence in a government charged with the administration of policies upon which all, or nearly all, its members are agreed. Confidence in a Ministry for the task assigned may be quite otherwise when it comes to the enforcement of particular measures.~~

In the Speech from the Throne, it was stated that the government was of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the importance to be attached to the words "subject only to its responsibility to parliament" as they appear in the Speech from the Throne, there may well be differences of view. The responsibility of the Ministry to parliament would be the same whether these words were there or not. Their presence

D 43192

in the Speech would seem, however, to endow them with special significance.

How important may be the significance to be attached to them, each hon. member will necessarily decide for himself. For myself, and in this I speak only for myself, holding the views I do, and the views I have always held concerning the responsibility of the Executive to Parliament, I do not believe that this House of Commons would feel it had been shown the degree of confidence it had a right to expect from the Ministry, if, in a matter of so great concern to the whole of Canada, the government were to act before so important a decision had been made known to the House.

While it is true that if the present bill becomes law, the administration will possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment, I can imagine what would be said by some hon. members opposite, and indeed by many hon. members on this side of the House as well, if, with Parliament in session, and before acquainting hon. members with the decision of the government, I were to sign an order-in-council putting into effect conscription for service overseas, and immediately thereafter were to come to this House and inform hon. members of the action the government had already taken.

If the need should arise for sending overseas men as reinforcements called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, the procedure should be as open and above board as it can possibly be made. Unless it is understood that

D 43193

parliament will be informed in advance, all kinds of suspicion will be aroused and all sorts of rumours will be in circulation from day to day.

The right of the public to be informed of the decision of the government before it is enforced was set forth clearly in the address I made in opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7th. Speaking on this very matter in a nation-wide broadcast, I said:

> "The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past."

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

I intend, at the same time, to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, honourable members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

In following this course, I hope it will be agreed that I am fulfilling the spirit of an earlier undertaking given to parliament on February 25th, that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits." The debate on the merits of conscription has, of necessity, come on the present bill. What really is important hereafter is that the government's decision should immediately be presented to parliament, and that the government should be prepared to stand or fall on its decision.

It may be said that such a course will involve a delay; and that what is needed is action. It will quite rightly be said that if action had not become imperative, the government would not have reached a decision. Such an objection might justifiably be raised if a second debate were to be permitted on the question of conscription. It is not, however, an objection to the course proposed. If the government decides

that it is necessary to apply conscription for overseas service, there need be no delay in enforcing that decision. And unless it became apparent that the Ministry had ceased to enjoy the confidence of this House of Commons, there would be no delay.

Even if Parliament is not actually sitting, it can be brought together in a few days. Under our war-time practice of adjourning rather than proroguing the session, there would be no opening formalities. There would be no need of further legislation, merely an expression of confidence in some form. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a situation in which the lapse of a week will affect sending reinforcements overseas, since arrangements to that end could proceed concurrently with the re-assembling of parliament. As the former Minister of Public Works himself suggested on June 11th, (Hansard p. 3562): "In seven days, conscripts are not going to be sent overseas..... Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription." ~~In case of extreme urgency~~, debate of course may have to be curtailed. Following precedents established at Westminster, I would feel that if any, at most a very short time should be allotted for discussion, ~~and that the rule of the House limiting discussion should, if necessary, be applied to that end.~~

No matter how drastically discussion might have to be restricted, every member by his vote would have the opportunity to express his confidence or lack of confidence in the

D 43196

government. There need, in fact, be no debate.

It will be recalled that a similar procedure was followed in connection with the declaration of war. Parliament met within seven days. The government intimated that the vote on the Address would be accepted as approval or otherwise of its policy. The debate lasted two days. Immediately after the vote, steps were taken to proclaim the existence of a state of war. As one hon. member has said: "No time was lost; no time was wasted; and yet the supremacy of parliament was maintained."

Within the past week, a resolution of non-confidence in the government was debated in the British House of Commons. It arose as a result of criticism directed against Mr. Churchill on account of his continuing to hold the office of Minister of Defence, in addition to that of Prime Minister. The debate was definitely limited in time. In less than two days, hon. members found ample opportunity for an expression of their views.

As to the means by which this House, with respect to the government's decision, could be given the opportunity to express its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration, hon. members are well aware that it is possible at any time for any hon. member to move a vote of want of confidence on a motion to go into Committee of Supply. Should the government deem it advisable to proceed by that method to ascertain the opinion of the House, the government would so arrange. If, at the time, there were no estimates before the House, the government could bring in a special supplementary estimate, and immediately move to have the House go into Committee of Supply. Any hon. member who wished to do so, could then move a vote of want of confidence.

There is another, and a more direct method of procedure. That is the method which was followed in the Parliament at Westminster in January last, after Mr. Churchill's return from his earlier visit to the United States and Canada. On January 27th, Mr. Churchill expressed to the House of Commons his desire to be sustained by a vote of confidence.

The following day, Mr. Attlee moved:

"That the proceedings on the motion relating to confidence in His Majesty's Government be exempted, at this day's sitting from the provisions of the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)".

D 43198

This was agreed to.

Mr. Attlee then moved:

"That this House has confidence in His Majesty's Government and will aid it to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Debate took place on the 28th and 29th of January. At the end of the latter sitting, the House divided: Ayes 464 and Noes 1.

Hon. members will, I believe, be interested in Mr. Churchill's own appreciation of the importance and significance of the vote he was asking from the House of Commons. On January 27th, he said:

> "From time to time in the life of any government, there come occasions which must be clarified. .....
>
> "Since my return to this country, I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the Administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the House is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything

D 43199

freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives."

I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the Cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

This is not a new attitude on my part. It is one that I have repeatedly expressed, and to which I intend at all times to adhere. I so expressed my attitude in this very matter

D 43200

to the Canadian people, on April 24th. In my final broadcast in the plebiscite campaign, I said:

> "This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater today than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer."

I might point out, that in January last, when Mr. Churchill sought a vote of confidence in his administration, none of his critics had even suggested that he should resign, and that someone else should take his place. He felt, however, that criticism of himself and of certain aspects of his administration had reached the point where he required the assurance that he was sustained by the support of those from whom in parliament his power was derived. I believe that the leader of a government charged with great responsibilities in a democratic country feels, at all times, the need of such an assurance, and at no time more than on the eve of embarking upon added responsibilities.

Mr. Churchill, I think, had this very much in mind when, answering his critics in the House of Commons at Westminster on

D 43201

Thursday last he said: "Everything that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government....." and later, referring to himself as the Prime Minister, he added: "and then to undermine him in his own heart and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation."

But there is another reason why Mr. Churchill has felt, from time to time, the need of being sustained by a vote of confidence of fellow-members in the House of Commons. Parliamentary responsibility is twofold. Members as well as Ministers have their responsibilities. Mr. Churchill felt that the people of the United Kingdom had a right to know where their representatives stood, and what support they were prepared to give to the administration in its grave task of carrying on the war. He felt the people of the United Kingdom were equally entitled to know what support was being withheld from the administration, and why it was being withheld. The same I believe to be true, at this time of war, of the parliament and people of Canada.

As I conclude, may I repeat what I said to the people of Canada in appealing, on April the 7th, for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite:

> "To those who, beyond the events of today, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger today. We are no longer in

D 43202

a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country - and assuredly not Canada - can consider itself secure."

I did not use those words lightly. I appeal to every hon. member to ponder their significance in the light of what has since occurred and of the situation as we know it today. Who can doubt that our security, that the security of this hemisphere depends upon holding the German and Japanese forces in check in the old world until, from the new, sufficient strength can be gathered to overcome their terrific power.

D 43203

The machines and weapons of modern war have annihilated space; they have all but destroyed time. Remoteness and distance provide no protection. In this war "overseas" has in reality lost its meaning. The conflict is one, single and indivisible, whether it is fought on the sands of Egypt, on the steppes of Russia, in the depths of China, on the islands of the Pacific, in the Arctic wastes, or in the skies over Britain and Germany and the conquered countries of Europe. There can be no security for us, for our homes, and families, until the forces of the enemy are defeated and crushed.

The government and people of Canada have a heavy responsibility to the half million young Canadians who have offered their all for our safety. We owe them all that we can give. Wherever they are fighting, they are fighting for Canada, for their own country, for its safety and for its future. That future is in our keeping, and we, in this parliament, owe it to our gallant young men, when the war is won, to hand on to them a free and united Canada.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Tribute to Pilot Officers Morin and Robillard, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 42956 - D 42967	
70		Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 42968 - D 43125	
70		75th Anniversary of Confederation. Speeches outside Parliament	1 July 1942	D 43126 - D 43140	
70		Welcome to King of Greece, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1942	D 43141 - ~~D 43152~~ D 43156	
70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

J.A.G.

D 43201

Government Dinner
for
King Peter of Yugoslavia
Country Club, July 10th 1942

WELCOME to the King and to the Ministers of the Government of Yugoslavia;

for some months my colleagues and myself had been looking forward to welcoming to Ottawa those Ministers of the Yugoslavian Government who were temporarily resident in Montreal -

- no great distance away, but if I remark that sometimes the only opportunities I have to talk to my own Ministers is around the Council table, it will be understood how difficult such meetings are to arrange

This present visit now greatly enhanced by the presence of their King, our guest;

one of the romances of a bitter war that here in the capital of Canada we should have the opportunity of sitting down with the King and his Ministers;

a symbol of the interdependence of the freedom-loving nations

a visible proof of the parts of a united whole coming to know each other in a friendly and understanding fashion,

D 43205

a promise of the new world order now growing into shape and substance as day follows day;

To many of us Yugoslavia must have seemed a Kingdom remote;

this visit means it cannot now seem remote;

noticed with pride today the flag of Yugoslavia flying above the Legation, within sight of my own house;

would like to take this occasion to say a special word of welcome to Dr. Cankar (Tsan-kar) Minister of Yugoslavia to Canada

- has been at official gatherings before, but this is a special occasion for him as for us all;

a distinct compliment to Canada that a man of such great culture and wide experience should have been sent to Canada as first diplomatic representative from his country

- professor of aesthetics and literature;
- then in the public service;
- lately Minister to Argentine

(friendship with Norman Armour another demonstration of ties binding the United Nations).

D 43206

resistance from the first to armed invasion from abroad

King Peter

- a resistance so a monarch for whose oppressed country we have admiration and sympathy

assumed the throne while still 17 years of age,

but a short time before his Kingdom was invaded;

few men of any age have ever become King faced with outward peril and internal responsibilities of greater magnitude;

after the invasion of his country, while travelling by air the plane carrying the King and some of the Ministers was attacked by enemy aircraft, and one Minister was killed;

for upwards of a year the King has been living in Britain

(invitation from James Roosevelt, son of the President)

Yugoslavia a kingdom of rugged people, to match the character of its landscape

resistance from the first to armed invasion from abroad

- a resistance so gallant and sustained that guerilla warfare has now carried the fight back into the enemy's territory.

D 43207

Significance of these struggles must not be obscured in the march of events-

what may have looked like defeat may prove to have been a victory of great price;

a stopping of a brutal march forward toward world conquest by barbaric enemies.

Enemy occupation did not put a stop to Yugoslavian resistance -

the exploits of General Mikhailovic and his mountain bands one of the epics of this generation

a shining example of tenacity and ingenuity and courage which will inspire all the defenders of freedom and spread its influence all over Europe.

Resistance in Yugoslavia helped many nations defending freedom elsewhere -

repeat what I said in the presence of H.M.King George of Greece last week

that the people of Yugoslavia, like the people of Greece, were defendin not only their own land,

but helping in the defence of Canada as well;

D 43208

Lives of brave Yugoslavians have been given as a ransom for many

that freedom might prevail throughout the world;

the seeming tragic losses may become a precious gain for all mankind.

A personal word to King Peter

to extend congratulations upon the announcement of his engagement

to Princess Elizabeth of Greece

Hope this added happiness in his life may be crowned by the prospect that both may see the resurrection of a Yugoslavia, free, strong and united, standing in a world-wide brotherhood of free peoples.

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70		Army Week, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	~~D 43153~~ D 43157 - D 43164	
70		National Resources, Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1942	D 43165 - D 43203	
70		Dinner of King Peter of Yugoslavia. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1942	D 43204 - D 43208	
70		Welcome to Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, Country Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 43209 - D 43234	

J.A.G./Z
12-8-42.

D 43209

Government Dinner
in honour of
H.M. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands
Country Club - August 12, 1942.

Welcome to Queen Wilhelmina -

unusual pleasure to welcome the reigning sovereign of a courageous people.

Most of her life a Queen.

(succeeded her father in 1890).

First in the affection of her subjects throughout the world for over half a century.

High in the sense of friendship which the people of Canada, and especially of Ottawa, feel because of presence in our midst of

H.R.H. Princess Julianna

and her daughers.

Queen Wilhelmina representative of a people

in peace time prosperous and prominent in the commerce of the world;

administering a large empire in the Netherlands Indies (East and West);

D 43210

in war time fighting on many fronts -

remember especially the gallantry in action of the Royal Netherlands Navy in the East Indies.

Uncomplaining resistance against unprovoked aggression has been a characteristic of the people of the Netherlands (and of the Royal House of Orange - Nassau) for centuries.

No amount of cruelty and repression have altered the stalwart spirit of the people, reclaiming their land from the sea and making it rich and prosperous.

Today the Netherlands Government in exile are maintaining a constant solicitude for subjects of the Netherlands throughout the world.

The motto of the Royal House:

"Je Maintiendrai" (I will maintain)

takes on a special significance in these times of stress.

Hope that Queen Wilhelmina's visit to Canada may provide rest and change, and perhaps fresh courage for a momentous task.

(Joining our efforts with those of all the United Nations until victory has been won.)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 43211

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Prime Minister will probably desire to use at most only a part of the quotations which run from page 7 to page 10. It may be worth recalling to the Prime Minister that the people of the Netherlands resent the use of the word Dutch.

W.J.

E.K.B.

August 6, 1942.

D 43212

NOTES FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S USE AT THE DINNER TO BE GIVEN IN HONOUR OF THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS

1. Welcome to the Queen

Canadians warmly and cordially welcome Queen Wilhelmina.

Affection for the House of Orange has been stimulated by the presence in Ottawa of Princess Juliana and her daughters, the Princess Beatrix and the Princess Irene. Canada is not only exceedingly happy to have these members of the House of Orange in her capital; Canada appreciates the compliment paid to us by the decision to establish residence here.

To Queen Wilhelmina I should like to be permitted to say that after the visit of our own King and Queen nothing has contributed so much to our Canadian appreciation of the virtue and charm of royalty and royal life as the presence in our midst of these members of her family.

D 43213

No doubt one of the happy factors in the life of the Princess Juliana in Ottawa is her relationship to the Governor-General and the Princess Alice (Queen Wilhelmina's maternal aunt was the mother of Princess Alice: they are, accordingly, first cousins).

In these days Your Majesty's mind must go back to distant 1907 when the Earl of Athlone presented the Grand Cross of the Bath to your late husband as a recognition of his heroism in rescuing passengers and crew of the Great Eastern Railway Company's ship Berlin, sinking off the coast of the Netherlands.

11. Between the people of the Netherlands and the people of British nations there are special affinities.

A. Both are seafaring nations. This is natural when one remembers that both Britain and Holland are not quite parts of Europe. Britain is an island, protected by the great

D 43214

moat of the Channel over which no invader has come in over eight hundred years. Holland has been called the balcony of Europe, a balcony hanging over the sea.

B. Both are colonizing nations. The Dutch empire is the richest island empire in the world. With Holland as with Britain a small motherland is the heart of a vast overseas organization.

C. Both are intensely religious nations, two great cradles, Switzerland being the third, of the Protestant religion.

D. Both are liberty-loving nations. Among the many prophets of liberty some of the most eminent are of Netherland origin: Erasmus, Grotius, etc.

E. Both are peace-loving nations, their energies devoted above all to the peaceful pursuits of commerce and agriculture and transport and the arts. But when faced with

D 43215

aggression both are valiant and resourceful. Their motto is the motto of the House of Orange: I will maintain (Je maintiendrai). Both say at all the crises of their history what your great ~~king~~ prince William the Silent said when faced with a powerful aggressor: You mean to destroy us, and we do not mean to be destroyed. That is the quiet courage of peace-loving peoples, terrible to their enemies when they take up arms.

111. Canadian sympathy with the people of Holland and indignation at what they are required to undergo by their oppressors.

Interference with religion and education in order to attempt Nazification of the people, especially the children.

Mass deportation to eastern Europe, notably to already depopulated Poland - two crimes perpetrated at once.

Barbarian system of hostages.

D 43216

Punishment, often brutal, of the elite.

Similar sympathy and indignation at what has been occurring in the other Holland, the great islands of the Netherlands East Indies.

Little news penetrates from the darkness of Japanese domination; but what little comes awakens alarm and foreboding. These "honorary Aryans", as the Germans call their gangster allies, are worthy of Hitlerism's praise: they outdo the Germans at their own evil game.

As reports of the government of the Netherland East Indies make plan, the "evil gnomes" of Japan, as an Australian poet called them long ago, have coveted the wealth of the great islands of the South Pacific for generations: what is now occurring is the climax of long meditated and long prepared treachery.

D 43217

IV. But the Netherlands are still in the battle, very much in it.

We have cause to know it. The flag of the Netherlands flies at Stratford over a training school which is a model of its kind.

Netherland submarines are active, notably in the Mediterranean; and surface ships of the Netherland navy after giving a brilliant account of themselves in the Java Sea, continue in diminished numbers but with heightened spirit, to serve the common cause, faithful to the principle Your Majesty set forth on Thursday last at the commissioning of the ship Queen Wilhelmina in the Netherlands Navy:

"Resistance unto the end, resistance in every practical shape and form."

The government of the Netherlands and Your Majesty should and do receive the tribute of the warm praise and gratitude of all your allies.

D 43218

V. I was profoundly impressed when I read a short time ago the account of what a preacher at Leyden had said in a sermon last October.

He began by speaking of the epic resistance to Spanish invasion that the burghers of Leyden had made centuries ago.

And he said: "Why all this suffering and praying and fighting, with an apparently uncertain result ahead? Because no side-issues were at stake; it was rather the highest point which may be at issue in the life of a people; the liberty of being allowed to live in accordance with the Word of God. The point at issue was not a fight for this or that ruler, for this or that form of government, but rather the preservation of the liberties and rights of our people, to be allowed to live according to the Commandment of God and their own conscience. Behind the Spanish domination there was the constraint, the tyranny, the absolutism, which

D 43219

absolutely want to subject all the manifestations of life not to the Commandment of God, but to the coercion of the State. That was, in their great struggle for freedom, the point at issue with our people."

"The fight against this has been decreed by God, the fight against this is worthy of every sacrifice and will never be allowed to be given up. And this was most clearly apprehended by all those who lived with their Bible open, who experienced in those years the liberating discovery: the opening of the Scriptures, the rediscovery of the living Word of God."

And applying his ideas to the present ordeal of his people he continued:

"Once more our people is a people in distress. Again, we live in the midst of overwhelming and terrible dangers. Once more our people finds itself involved in a decisive

D 43220

crisis of its history, as it seldom encountered before. And again, this above all will be the main point at issue with our people, whether also in future the Church will be permitted to preach the Gospel in liberty and whether the Government will be a righteous Government, servant of God, attached to Him."

"Christ's wish was that a free people should live here, ready to His service. He did not desire a people living in servility in these Low Countries....And on the strength of His Goodness we pray to Him, that for the sake of Christ, also in the future He will deliver us from all tyranny and allow us to live as a people ready to His service....Nor should we forget that, then, He endowed us with a righteous government. At a time, when there was so immense a tyranny, a prayer rose: O God! Shield us from a chaos without rights, grant us by Thy patience a just government,

D43221

which will take care of the liberty of the Church....Nor should we forget that He delivered our Church. The relief of Leyden and the liberation of these countries in general would ultimately be of no value whatsoever, if not a true and full freedom to serve God in accordance with His Word would have been granted to us."

Here is the spirit that must animate us all, the people not only of the Netherlands but of all the United Nations till victory perches on our banners, and darkness has been swept away from the face of the whole earth.

To the great purpose of our common victory all the energies and abilities of the Canadian people are dedicated. There will be no turning back; there will be no wavering; we will press on to the very end, knowing that he that endureth to the end shall be saved.

SC, Brown. —

D 43222

VI. Conclusion

And when the end comes, when victory is ours, I pray that Your Majesty will take a high place at the conference table.

As of all the now reigning sovereigns the one who has been longest on the throne, and can thus place at the world's disposal a presently unrivalled store of experience and practical wisdom.

As a great example of devotion to duty and of courage; stopping at no danger when the cause of the Netherlands and of the United Nations can be served; flying across the ocean in its service; consecrating to freedom and justice all the resources of your mind and soul.

WLMK/Z

43223

Government Dinner
in honour of
Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina
of the Netherlands
August 12, 1942

The Toasts.

Order of nature -
sunshine and shadow:
lot of human family;
joy and sorrow.

Epoch of Divine dispensation.

Honour entertaining Sovereign

longest reign;
know meaning of apparation.

Queen's determination

to thank - brought her to
this side;

Queenly act - recorded in
history.

Her Majesty carry away

understanding of heart of Canadian
people.

Similarities of two Empires:

Dutch and British.

Sea, colony, freedom,
religious conviction,
peace-loving, hate evil,
cleave good.

D 43224

More Personal

Childhood days -

one sovereign -

greatly beloved Queen.

Two words - (same for both)

Homeland and Motherland

our homeland.

We know, understand and feel.

Our debt to Netherlands.

Agressor's march.

Resolve of peoples of free continents

relieve oppression.

Her Majesty returning to Government

and continent with lighter heart.

Visit has served to strengthen resolution.

D[illegible]3225

Your Majesty
Your Excellency
Your Royal Highness
Ladies and Gentlemen:

His Excellency the Governor General has just proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, which toast we have had the privilege to honour. Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands has honoured us by proposing the health of our King. These are the only toasts to be proposed at this evening's dinner.

Before, however, we leave this table, I should like, if I might be permitted so to do, to supplement the words and sentiments expressed by His Excellency, by a few additional words of warmest welcome, appreciation and thanks to Her Majesty The Queen, who is honouring all Canada by the visit which she is paying our country at this time; and also to extend the most cordial of welcomes to Dr. van Kleffens the Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands and other members of Her Majesty's party whom we have the honour to have with us this evening.

It is a part of the order of nautre that sunshine and shadow follow each other, if not in regular at least in inevitable and endless succession. It is a part of the lot of the human family on earth that its joys and sorrows seldome

D 43226

come singly but both are subtly intertwined. Of no time in the history of the world has this intermingling of joy and pain, of momentary hope and momentary despair, of gladness and of madness and of sorrow been greater than it is throughout the world today. We are passing through one of the epochs of some Divine dispensation which none of us has yet comebegin to comprehend, but which, however dark its forebodings at the moment, we believe none the less will usher in some new era of light and liberty for mankind.

I venture to express these thoughts for I know they are uppermost in the minds of all present this evening. We greatly rejoice that our country has the honour of entertaining as its Royal guest the one who, longer than any other reigning sovereign has worn the Crown and held the sceptre of power. We would not, however, be true to our own feelings if we did not say to Queen Wilhelmina that we realize what it must mean to her and to her people to be separated one from the other at this tragic hour in the world's history - she in exile, her people crushed beneath the heel of a relentless and barbaric foe.

I am sure we all rejoice that Her Majesty's determination to thank other countries for their expressions of sympathy toward her own, and to gain for her people the help so greatly needed in the present and the future, caused her

D 43226

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 43227

to risk the many vicissitudes of a flight by air across the Atlantic at a time of war, and that the world has thereby been given an example of one of the most queenly acts in recorded history. But we rejoice also in the thought that in her visit to the New World Her Majesty will have found, at this time of trial, her greatest hope and assurance of the redress of the wrongs in the Old.

And here, if I may enlarge upon this thought for a moment may I say that I trust Her Majesty may carry away from her brief visits to our country, but even more from the associations it will always have with the presence here during the past two years, of H.R.H. Princess Julianna and the little Princesses Beatrix and Irene, something of the understanding hear of the Canadian people. There is every reason why it should be understanding. There is no end to the similarities of the two great empires to which we respectively belong - the Dutch Empire and the British Empire. Both owe their existence to the intimate association their peoples have had with the sea, with their exploring and venturesome spirit and colonizing capacities. Each have been a people strong in their belief in freedom and stout in its defence. Each have been a people with deep and abiding religious convictions, fearing the decrees of God in the affairs of State as they have learned to love His attributes in all the higher relationships of life. They

D 43228

are each a peace-loving people, given to the arts of peace and fond of the simple and beautiful and tender things of life. Far from perfect in their hearts, they hate what is evil and seek to cleave to that which is good. There are thesestrongest bonds of understanding as well sympathy between us.

But there is something more, and if Her Majesty will allow me to be a little more personal than perhaps I ought to be, I would like to speak of another bond which, to some of us who have come to be what is spoken of as the older generation, is a very real one indeed. It is a bond which does not exist for all, and maybe it is disappearing in the changing order of things, but it is nevertheless a very real factor in many of our lives, and will continue to be an influence in the lives of generations yet unborn. We all in our childhood days knew only one sovereign. She too was our greatly beloved Queen. Her memory is one of the sacred possessions of our lives. She too came to the Throne as a young girl and her early life had become inseparable from that of her people.

There are two words, the sound of which is very sweet to the ear and which touch a deep cord in the heart of men and women of all countries, but which have a special significance for those countries whose sons and daughters are scattered to all quarters of the globe. The one word

D 43229

is "homeland" and the other "motherland". We in Canada are coming increasingly to feel that this is our homeland; the younger generation especially, and it is well that it should be so. But from the lips of parents and grandparents of many of us who are here assembled tonight, we have heard the expression "homeland" spoken of the British Isles - England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with all the notes of abiding affection. That may change as I have said, and our own immediate home may come to mean more and more to us and those who will follow on.

But the other word "motherland" has an even more enduring significance. While we in Canada have sprung from two races and have our respective motherlands, because of our political institutions and long association with Britain, the motherland will more and more signify, to future generations, the British Isles. I am not at all sure that the long reign of Queen Victoria did not pay an all-important part in helping to endear that term to the sons of the British Isles wherever their lot may have come to be.

Well so it is with the people of the Netherlands and with their Queen of today, and with their peoples in the midst of distress in all quarters of the globe. And that is why I say: we understand; we feel; we know.

D 43229

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 43230

But there is something else we know and which every step of the onward march of the aggressor has helped to imprint upon our very souls, and that is that the nations who have stood in his path, who have resisted to the utmost of their strength and who are continuing to resist and to fight, on land and sea and in the air, are the ones that have secured for us such freedom as we still enjoy. But for their heroic resistance nothing could have saved any portion of this globe from the world conquest which was designed and plotted years ago by the tyrants that are combined against the free peoples today. We owe a debt to the people of the Netherlands alike in Europe in the West and East Indies. It is one we are proud to acknowledge today. It is one which, as a people, we shall strive to the uttermost to repay in the years to come. In that, the peoples of this free continent are as one. Never were the bonds of sympathy and the ties that come through suffering stronger than they are today between British and Dutch people. Never were they stronger between the free men of this free world - the peoples of Canada and the United States. The high resolve of both these countries is, as is that of all the United Nations, that we may live to see the day, not merely when this war shall be brought to an end, but when that end may be a restoration of the full rights and liberties

D 43231

to the peoples of the lands that today are oppressed.

And so Your Majesty, I express the hope on behalf of all the people of this country, indeed all the people of this continent whom you have so graciously honoured by your visit at this time, that in returning to take your place at the seat of government of your Ministers, in that home of freedom which is our motherland, you will return with a lighter heart than that which you bore across to this side; knowing that your visit to the continent of America has served as nothing else in this wide world could have served, to strengthen the resolution in the hearts of men and women on this side, to leave nothing undone which they can possibly do, until the suffering of your people and the pain in your own heart has been as greatly relieved as it is possible for human endeavour to aid in the accomplishment of that great end.

D 43232

Canada has been greatly honoured this week by an official visit of Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands. Her Majesty's presence in our capital city has been a crowning link in our country's happy relations with the royal family of the Netherlands. For the past two years we have been proud to have as residents of Ottawa, Her Royal Highness the Princess Juliana and her little daughters, the Princesses Beatrix and Irene. All have come to hold a warm place in the affections of the Canadian people. We have also been pleased to renew at this time a friendship formed on previous occasions with the Foreign Minister, Dr. Van Kleffens, and to welcome General Van Oyen and other distinguished members of Her Majesty's party.

Her Majesty's visit has brought vividly to the minds of Canadians the many similarities existing between the peoples of the Dutch Empire and the British Empire. Both owe their existence to the intimate association their peoples have had with the sea, with their exploring and venturesome spirit and colonizing capacities. Each has been a people strong in belief in freedom and stout in its defence. Each has been a people with deep and abiding religious convictions, fearing the decrees of God in the affairs of State as they have learned to love his attributes in all the higher relationships of life. They

D 43233

are each a peace-loving people, given to the arts of peace and fond of the simple and beautiful and tender things of life. Though far from perfect, in their hearts they hate that which is evil and seek to cleave to that which is good. These are strong bonds of understanding as well as sympathy.

There are two words, the sound of which is very sweet to the ear and which touch a deep chord in the heart of men and women of all countries, but which have a special significance for those countries whose sons and daughters are scattered to all quarters of the globe. The one word is"homeland" and the other "motherland". In Canada many of us have heard from the lips of parents and grandparents the expression "homeland" spoken of the British Isles - England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with all the notes of abiding affection.

So it is with the people of Netherlands descent in all quarters of the world. That is why we know; we feel; we understand what war has meant to the Queen and her people.

But there is something else we know and which every step of the onward march of the aggressor has helped to imprint upon our very souls, and that is that the nations who have stood in his path, who have resisted to the utmost of their strength and who are continuing to resist and to fight, on land and sea and in the air, are the ones that have secured for us such freedom as we still enjoy. But for their heroic resistance nothing could have saved

D 43234

any portion of this globe from the world conquest which was designed and plotted years ago by the tyrants that are combined against the free peoples today. We owe a debt to the people of the Netherlands alike in Europe in the West and East Indies. It is one we are proud to acknowledge today. It is one which, as a people, we shall strive to the uttermost to repay in the years to come. In that, the peoples of this free continent are as one. Never were the bonds of sympathy and the ties that come through suffering stronger than they are today between British and Dutch people. Never were they stronger between the free men of this free world - the peoples of Canada and the United States. The high resolve of both these countries is, as is that of all the United Nations, that we may live to see the day, not merely when this war shall be brought to an end, but when that end may be a restoration of the full rights and liberties to the peoples of the lands that today are oppressed.

Speaking at the dinner given by the Government of Canada in honour of the Queen I said to Her Majesty last Night:

"I express the hope on behalf of all the people of this country, indeed all the people of this continent whom you have so graciously honoured by your visit at this time, that in returning to take your place at the seat of government of your Ministers, in that home of freedom which is our motherland, you will return with a lighter heart than that which you bore across to this die. You may be assured that your visit to the continent of America has served as nothing else could have served, to strengthen the resolution in the hearts of men and women on this side, to leave nothing undone which they can possibly do, until the suffering of your people and the pain in your own heart has been as greatly relieved as it is possible for human endeavour to aid in the accomplishment of that great end."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Manpower and Total War Effort, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1942	D 43235 - D 43353	
70		"Three Years of War", Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1942	D 43354 - D 43437	
70		Welcome to Clement Attlee, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Sept. 1942	D 43438 - D 43466	
70		"Comrades in Arms", (United Services Feature Broadcast), Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Oct. 1942	D 43467 - D 43477	
70		Broadcast to Australia, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Oct. 1942	D 43478 - D 43496	
71		Labour and the War, American Federation of Labour, Convention, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	9 Oct. 1942	D 43497 - D 43738	
71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

XIII-9

D 43235

CANADA AND THE WAR

MANPOWER AND A TOTAL WAR EFFORT

National Selective Service

BROADCAST BY

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

AUGUST 19, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information, Ottawa, under the authority of Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

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

D 43236

CANADA AND THE WAR

MANPOWER AND A TOTAL WAR EFFORT

National Selective Service

BROADCAST BY

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

AUGUST 19, 1942

I am speaking to you on a memorable day. You have learned that, after long months of training, Canadian soldiers from Britain have been in action against the enemy. We know how eager the army overseas has been to share the actual combat with their comrades in the navy and the air force. We were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

The news of any action should not be allowed to destroy our sense of perspective of this world-wide conflict. We have reached one of the gravest hours in history. This is true whatever appearances there may be to the contrary at any given moment.

The Germans are still advancing into the richest areas of southern Russia. Their advance threatens to cut Soviet communications with the forces of the United Nations in Persia, or Iran as it has come to be known, and with their forces in the Middle East. The Nazi advance threatens Persia, and beyond Persia, India.

60150—2

D 43237

From the Far East, the Japanese advance westward has reached the frontiers of India. The Japanese forces in Burma are being strengthened for a drive into India itself.

The Magnitude of the Danger

It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan are engaged in the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare. Their design is to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India.

India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathize with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind. The weakening of Indian powers of resistance can only help the Axis; it cannot help India.

It is not only on land that the outlook is dark. On all the seven seas, the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. The Axis powers are making a stupendous effort to cut off vital supplies at the source, and to isolate North America from the Old World. Japanese landings in Alaska, and attacks already made on both coasts of our own country have brought the danger to our very doors.

Need for the Utmost Exertions

The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. The danger is not only plainer than ever, it is greater than ever. We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation. It should not be the occasion for despair, but rather for grim determination. It is clearer than ever that the freedom of the world, and with it the freedom of our own continent and our own country, can only be saved by the utmost exertions of all the United Nations.

The picture fortunately is not wholly dark. Russia and China have been gravely weakened, but their peoples fight on with unparalleled heroism. Despite her losses, Russia has immense resources of manpower and materials and a huge territory untouched by the enemy. In Egypt the enemy has been halted, and held at the very moment when all there seemed to be lost. The Mediterranean has not been closed. Britain remains a fortress of world freedom. From the British base, offensive action has steadily increased. The nations of the British Commonwealth continue to combine their forces and to fight as one. With every week that passes, Canadian and American forces at sea, on land and in the air, are adding to the strength of the United Nations in all the theatres of war. In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power. The immense strength of the United States is making itself felt on all the continents in the world. Complete agreement exists among the Allied powers on the present and future plans of campaign.

D 43238

The great strength of the United Nations affords us the needed courage to turn our hopes into the reality of successful action. The magnitude of the danger must increase our determination. More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Canada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution.

The Aim of Manpower Policy

The aim and the means employed by the government to direct the services of all men and women into the most needed channels are described as its manpower policy. The government's manpower policy has already touched the lives of millions of Canadians, but there still remain considerable numbers who are capable of rendering much greater service than any they have thus far performed.

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us. A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving. While much has been achieved, we have now come to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aim must be employed. The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favour and without regard for race, or creed, or class. It must be recognized that the security of each individual is bound up in the security of the nation as a whole. Every person must regard his services as essential to the combined effort. Moreover all should realize that the lives of our fighting men at sea, on land and in the air depend on men for the reinforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil on the farm, in the mine, in the forest, in the mill and the factory, and on the merchant ships. Our growing consciousness of the danger will, I believe, increase the readiness of all to accept the added direction of their efforts.

The Need for the Services of All

I have told you that the services of all are required. This includes the services of women as well as of men; the services alike of young and old; the services, as I have said, of all except the very young, the very old and the disabled. The power represented by these combined services, we speak of as "total manpower". As you see, it includes, as well "womanpower" and the power of youth.

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men

D 43239

and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in a vital civilian activity. Selection enforced where need be by positive action on the part of the State is the method employed to ensure this end. The phrase used to describe this process is "national selective service".

I do not need to tell you that, to the total war effort which is our goal, it is not only the services of all that are essential, but what is of equal if not of greater importance, the efficient use of those services.

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. This, in military language, is spoken of as "mobilizing" manpower. Secondly, it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner.

The services of men and women are imperatively needed for the armed forces. All, however, cannot be employed in the armed forces. For example, it would not be possible to have a total effort if so many men were training for the navy that none were left to build ships. We could not have a total effort if so many men were taken into the army that enough were not left to make tanks and guns and shells. One could go on and give hundreds of similar examples, but others will suggest themselves to your own minds. Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort.

A Balanced Programme

Parliament, as you are aware, has given the government immense powers to control and direct the total services of men and women to meet the needs of war. I propose to tell you how some of these powers have been used. I wish also to speak of a number of new measures it is intended to employ.

I think the manpower policy might be clearer to you were I to answer a number of questions which many of you have already been asking.

The first question I shall answer is: What tasks are men and women needed for in wartime? Men—and women, too,—must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

D 43240

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

In wartime, as in time of peace, the people of Canada must continue to be fed, clothed and sheltered; the young must be educated; the sick and the elderly must be cared for; police and fire protection must be provided; transportation must be maintained—a large undertaking in a widespread country. Everyone can think of other work which cannot be neglected. All civilian tasks should, of course, be cut down to the limit. But even when cut to the limit, to fulfill them requires a very large number of men and women.

It is, also, of first importance, that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. If too many persons are allotted to one task, some other task will suffer. There are few more difficult problems than accurately to decide how many men and women should be allotted to the several tasks. To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here.

Administration of Manpower Policy

I come next to the question: Who administers the wartime manpower policy?

The main responsibility for administering wartime manpower policy rests with the Director of National Selective Service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the Minister of Labour. For local administration, Employment offices of the Unemployment Insurance Commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery. This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the National Selective Service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision. The National War Services Boards

D 43241

will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of Selective Service officers.

The Use of Compulsion in Selective Service

A word now as to whether national selective service need be or should be wholly compulsory.

The purpose of National Selective Service, is, as I have said, to control and direct the services of men and women in the manner which will best serve the national interest at a time of war. The control and direction need not be wholly compulsory. In itself compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve. The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecessary compulsion is a waste of time, labour and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape". In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum: in times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service, in other words, conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked.

The Basis of Selective Service

Without accurate and up-to-date information about our manpower resources, there cannot be total mobilization. It is impossible to control and direct the activities of men and women without knowing how many are available, and what their capacities are. To attempt such a task would be comparable to the attempt of a tailor to make a suit without knowing how much cloth he had. How then, you will ask, is accurate manpower information secured, and how is it kept up to date?

The national registration which was made in 1940 provided basic information which has been of great practical value. A more scientific record of Canada's industrial population has been provided by the records of the Unemployment Insurance Commission. These two sets of records have been combined in a central registry in the Department of Labour. Because of the constant shifts in population in wartime, the task of keeping the records up to date is immense. The records must be so kept if manpower is to be directed efficiently or fairly. This task is now being performed by the Department of Labour.

D 43242

Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time, will be made as required. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken shortly. Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1st. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information.

Increasing Total Manpower

The effective use of manpower has two sides. One is concerned with making the services of more persons available for war service; the other with directing men and women into the most suitable forms of service.

How, it will be asked, is the total available manpower for war purposes increased?

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year, the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production. Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

Concern has been expressed as to the effect of the employment of women on the welfare of the family. That concern is fully shared by the government. It must, however, not be forgotten that a total war effort is needed to protect everything we hold dear, including the family and family life; and that the employment of women is essential to a total war effort. We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children of working mothers are being established, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces. Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

Cutting Down Non-essential Activities

The total manpower available for war work is also increased by shifting men and women from unessential civilian tasks to more essential activities.

Up to now the shifting of manpower to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been

D 43243

the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs.

Under the conditions of total war, some industries are properly regarded as wholly non-essential. Many industries in this category have already been shifted to war production, or closed down to conserve materials. In other fields of civilian activity, a certain amount of production is essential for the maintenance of the health and efficiency of the community, upon which the entire war effort depends. Up to a point, the production of such industries is no less essential to a total war effort than the production of war industry itself. Beyond the point of meeting necessary minimum requirements, however, further production is non-essential.

The government, accordingly, has decided that non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose. Additional manpower for war service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation. In restricting civilian activity, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board will act in closest collaboration with the Director of National Selective Service, whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the manpower released from non-essential civilian activities.

Means Taken to Increase Efficiency

By better organization and by the development of skill, fewer men and women are required for the same task. The efficiency of the manpower and womanpower of Canada has been greatly increased by labour training in technical schools and in industrial establishments. Labour training will be continued on a growing scale.

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards, and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian manpower.

The Direction of Manpower

Turning now to the direction of the services of men and women, you will probably ask: How are persons being directed into the appropriate form of war service?

D 43244

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army. Compulsion for military *training* began in 1940; and for military *service* in Canada in 1941. From the outset, all the men were called up who could be trained and equipped. Training facilities and equipment have been made increasingly available. In consequence, in recent months the number of men called up has been increased several times over.

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service. The entry of men into a wide variety of occupations was drastically restricted. As a result, men seeking employment were automatically directed into service more immediately concerned with the war. To conserve essential manpower on the farms, employment in agriculture was stabilized.

A plan was set up to divert engineers and other technicians into direct war service. When this plan was announced, it was indicated that similar direction might later be given to the service of skilled workmen. The first step in directing the services of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the Employment Offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment is now necessary.

The Control of Employment

Under the measures of control to be adopted shortly, apart from a few common-sense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employee, and no employee will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving reasonable notice in writing. This notice will be called a "Notice of Separation". A copy of this notice will have to be furnished to the nearest employment office. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office. Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

Control will be established over "help wanted" and "situations wanted" advertisements.

After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than normal full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time, suitable work of which there is special need, or in other words, what is spoken of as work of "high labour priority".

Any employed person who is induced by a National Selective Service officer to accept a new position in which he can contribute more effectively to the prosecution of the war, will be entitled, upon the termination of such essential work, to a similar right to reinstatement in his previous position to that accorded to men in the armed forces.

D 43245

An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decision or direction of a National Selective Service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some. But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

Appeal for Co-operation and Support

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the Director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada. I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favour national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself.

With such time as I have had at my disposal, I have tried to bring home to you the magnitude of the danger and the gravity of the need for the utmost effort on the part of all. It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth." At this time of the world's greatest need, I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest. It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help save defeat and to tilt the balance toward ultimate victory. Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind.

D 43246

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
on manpower and a total war effort,
Wednesday, August 19th, 1942

D 43247

I am speaking to you on a memorable day. You have learned that, after long months of training, Canadian soldiers from Britain have been in action against the enemy. We know how eager the army overseas has been to share the actual combat with their comrades in the navy and the air force. We were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

The news of any action should not be allowed to destroy our sense of perspective of this world-wide conflict. We have reached one of the gravest hours in history. This is true whatever appearances there may be to the contrary at any given moment.

The Germans are still advancing into the richest areas of southern Russia. Their advance threatens to cut Soviet communications with the forces of the United Nations in Persia, or Iran as it has come to be known, and with their forces in the Middle East. The Nazi advance threatens Persia, and beyond Persia, India.

From the Far East, the Japanese advance westward has reached the frontiers of India. The Japanese forces in Burma are being strengthened for a drive into India itself.

It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan are engaged in the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare. Their design is to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India.

India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathize with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind. The weakening of Indian powers of resistance can only help the Axis; it cannot help India.

D 43248

It is not only on land that the outlook is dark. On all the seven seas, the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. The Axis powers are making a stupendous effort to cut off vital supplies at the source, and to isolate North America from the Old World. Japanese landings in Alaska, and attacks already made on both coasts of our own country have brought the danger to our very doors.

The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. The danger is not only plainer than ever, it is greater than ever. We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation. It should not be the occasion for despair, but rather for grim determination. It is clearer than ever that the freedom of the world, and with it the freedom of our own continent and our own country, can only be saved by the utmost exertions of all the United Nations.

The picture fortunately is not wholly dark. Russia and China have been gravely weakened, but their peoples fight on with unparalleled heroism. Despite her losses, Russia has immense resources of manpower and materials and a huge territory untouched by the enemy. In Egypt the enemy has been halted, and held at the very moment when all there

D 43249

seemed to be lost. The Mediterranean has not been closed. Britain remains a fortress of world freedom. From the British base, offensive action has steadily increased. The nations of the British Commonwealth continue to combine their forces and to fight as one. With every week that passes, Canadian and American forces at sea, on land and in the air, are adding to the strength of the United Nations in all the theatres of war. In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power. The immense strength of the United States is making itself felt on all the continents in the world. Complete agreement exists among the Allied powers on the present and future plans of campaign.

The great strength of the United Nations affords us the needed courage to turn our hopes into the reality of successful action. The magnitude of the danger must increase our determination. More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Canada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution.

D 43250

methods. The aim and the means employed by the government to direct the services of all men and women into the most needed channels are described as its manpower policy. The government's manpower policy has already touched the lives of millions of Canadians, but there still remain considerable numbers who are capable of rendering much greater service than any they have thus far performed.

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us. A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving. While much has been achieved, we have now come to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aim must be employed. The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favour and without regard for race, or creed, or class. It must be recognized that the security of each individual is bound up in the security of the nation as a whole. Every person must regard his services as essential to the combined effort. Moreover all should realize that the lives of our fighting men at sea, on land and in the air depend on men for the re-inforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil on the farm, in the mine, in the forest, in the mill and the factory, and on the merchant ships. Our growing consciousness of the danger will, I believe, increase the readiness of all to accept the added direction of their efforts.

Purpose of Broadcast

I have told you that the services of all are required. This includes the services of women as well as of men; the services alike of young and old; the services, as I have said, of all except the very young, the very old and the disabled. The power represented by these combined services, we speak of as "total manpower". As you see, it includes, as well "womanpower" and the power of youth.

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in a vital civilian activity. Selection enforced where need be by positive action on the part of the State is the method employed to ensure this end. The words used to describe this process are national selective service.

I do not need to tell you that, to the total war effort which is our goal, it is not only the services of all that are essential, but what is of equal if not of greater importance, the efficient use of those services.

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health

D 43252

and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. This, in military language, is spoken of as "mobilizing" manpower. Secondly, it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner.

The services of men and women are imperatively needed for the armed forces. All, however, cannot be employed in the armed forces. For example, it would not be possible to have a total effort if so many men were training for the navy that none were left to build ships. One could not have a total effort if so many men were taken into the army that enough were not left to make tanks and guns and shells. One could go on and give hundreds of similar examples, but others will suggest themselves to your own minds. Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort.

The Scope of the Problem

Parliament, as you are aware, has given the government immense powers to control and direct the total services of men and women to meet the needs of war. I propose to tell you how some of these powers have been used. I wish also to speak of a number of new measures it is intended to employ.

I think the manpower policy might be clearer to you were I to answer a number of questions which many of you have already been asking.

The first question I shall answer is: What tasks are men and women needed for in wartime? Men-- and women, too, -- must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

In wartime, as in time of peace, the people of Canada must continue to be fed, clothed and sheltered; the young must be educated; the sick and the elderly must be cared for; police and fire protection must be provided; transportation must be maintained -- a large undertaking in a widespread country. Everyone can think of other work which cannot be neglected. All civilian tasks should, of course, be cut down to the limit. But even when cut to the limit, to fulfill them requires a very large number of men and women.

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It is, also, of first importance, that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. If too many persons are allotted to one task, some other task will suffer. There are few more difficult problems than accurately to decide how many men and women should be allotted to the several tasks. To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here.

Administration of Manpower Policy

I come next to the question: Who administers the wartime manpower policy?

The main responsibility for administering wartime manpower policy rests with the Director of National Selective Service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the Minister of Labour. For local administration, Employment offices of the Unemployment Insurance Commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery.This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

D 43255

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the National Selective Service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision. The National War Services Boards will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of Selective Service officers.

<u>The Use of Compulsion in Selective Service</u>

A word now as to whether national selective service need be or should be wholly compulsory.

D 43256

The purpose of National Selective Service, is, as I have said, to control and direct the services of men and women in the manner which will best serve the national interest at a time of war. The control and direction need not be wholly compulsory. In itself compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve. The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecessary compulsion is a waste of time, labour and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape". In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum: in times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service, in other words, conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked.

D 43257

The Basis of Selective Service

Without accurate and up-to-date information about our manpower resources, there cannot be total mobilization. It is impossible to control and direct the activities of men and women without knowing how many are available, and what their capacities are. To attempt such a task would be comparable to the attempt of a tailor to make a suit without knowing how much cloth he had. How then, you will ask, is accurate manpower information secured, and how is it kept up to date?

The national registration which was made in 1940 provided basic information which has been of great practical value. A more scientific record of Canada's industrial population has been provided by the records of the Unemployment Insurance Commission. These two sets of records have been combined in a central registry in the Department of Labour. Because of the constant shifts in population in wartime, the task of keeping the records up to date is immense. The records must be so kept if manpower is to be directed efficiencly or fairly. This task is now being performed by the Department of Labour.

Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time, will be made as required. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken shortly. Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1st. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information.

Increasing Manpower Resources

The effective use of manpower has two sides. One is concerned with making the services of more persons available for war ~~work~~ service; the other with directing men and women into the most suitable forms of service.

How, it will be asked, is the total available manpower for war ~~work~~ purposes increased?

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year, the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production. Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

Concern has been expressed as to the effect of the employment of women on the welfare of the family. That concern is fully shared by the government. It must, however, not be forgotten that a total war effort is needed to protect everything we hold dear, including the family and family life; and that the employment of women is essential to a total war effort. We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children of working mothers are being established, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces. Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

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Up to now the shifting of manpower to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs.

Under the conditions of total war, some industries are properly regarded as wholly non-essential. Many industries in this category have already been shifted to war production, or closed down to conserve materials. In other fields of civilian activity, a certain amount of production is essential for the maintenance of the health and efficiency of the community, upon which the entire war effort depends. Up to a point, the production of such industries is no less essential to a total war effort than the production of war industry itself. Beyond the point of meeting necessary minimum requirements, however, further production is non-essential.

The government, accordingly, has decided ~~that all~~ non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose. Additional manpower for war ~~work~~ service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating ~~all forms of~~ non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel power and transportation. In restricting

civilian activity, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board will act in closest collaboration with the Director of National Selective Service, whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the manpower released from non-essential civilian activities.

By better organization and by the development of skill, fewer men and women are required for the same task. The efficiency of the manpower and womanpower of Canada has been greatly increased by labour training in technical schools and in industrial establishments. Labour training will be continued on a growing scale.

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards, and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian manpower.

Direction of Manpower

Turning now to the direction of the services of men and women, you wil probably ask: How are persons being directed into the appropriate form of war service?

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army. Compulsion for military training began in 1940; and for military service in Canada in 1941. From the outset, all the men were called up who could be

D 43262

trained and equipped. Training facilities and equipment have been made increasingly available. In consequence, in recent months the number of men called up has been increased several times over.

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service. The entry of men into a wide variety of occupations was drastically restricted. As a result, men seeking employment were automatically directed into service more immediately concerned with the war. To conserve essential manpower on the farms, employment in agriculture was stabilized.

A plan was set up to divert engineers and other technicians into direct war service. When this plan was announced, it was indicated that similar direction might later be given to the service of skilled workmen. The first step in directing the services of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the Employment Offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment is now necessary.

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to the nearest employment office. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office. Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

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An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decision or direction of a National Selective Service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some. But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the Director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of

D 43265

all the citizens of Canada. I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favour national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself.

With such time as I have had at my disposal, I have tried to bring home to you the magnitude of the danger and the gravity of the need for the utmost effort on the part of all. It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth." At this time of the world's greatest need, I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest. It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory. Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date AUG 19 1942

Subject

Master Plan Or Makeshift?

Prime Minister King will make a broadcast speech tonight outlining the plan for national selective service. What Mr. King has to say will be eagerly awaited, for the country is curious to know how far the government intends to go in this vital matter.

Let it be said at once that national selective service should have been inaugurated at least two years ago when the real nature of the world struggle we are engaged in became apparent to all except the isolationists, and also that without selective service over the whole field any plan will not be complete. That is, until selective service applies to overseas military service, there will be a serious gap in the war front.

Elliott M. Little, director of National Selective Service, has already outlined the main policy to be followed to reach the goal set. That goal is "to make possible a maximum war effort by arranging that . . . every employable person in Canada be placed in that position, whether civilian or military, in which he can make his greatest contribution." That will apply to women as well as to men.

By "every employable person," does the government really mean every employable person, regardless of race, class or status? Does it intend to make national selective service really national in all spheres? Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, in his warning speech in Toronto on Sunday, stated what is wanted. He said:

> What is wanted is more concentration on war products, more and better equipment to train with and to fight with, more and better training today, tomorrow and every day; a swifter tempo, harder work all down the line; a master plan for manpower spread over the whole nation, with no favoritism, no sectionalism, and no racialism. We are all going to stand together or fall together in this, the Armageddon of prophecy.

That will be national selective service as the perils of the hour dictate and as our honor as a nation demands. Anything less will be compromise with fate.

So the people will await with interest Mr. King's broadcast outlining the plan of national selective service. If it meets the test, it will be hailed. If it is another half-hearted measure, it will be a disappointment of a grievous kind. Any makeshift would be a betrayal.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date AUG 19 1942

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43267

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

MR. KING ANNOUNCES GENERAL MANPOWER PLAN

Mr. King's address on national selective service was timed to reach the Canadian public while it was sobered by news of aggressive action by Canadian troops on the French coast. The Prime Minister doubtless knew days ago that the raid was planned, and he timed his talk well to meet a responsive audience. If carried out, his promise that everyone except the very young, the very old and the disabled will be placed in the form of war work for which they are best adapted and for which there is the greatest need will result in the attainment of an all-out effort quite different from that which has hitherto been called by that name. In the attainment of this end the Government will have the strongest co-operation of the nation.

That such a mobilization of the national manpower would release many now engaged in industry for the fighting forces and largely cancel the argument that industrial needs necessitate the limiting of the number of men under arms seems fairly obvious. But while Mr. King very properly emphasized the seriousness of the present moment, when the United Nations are not yet beginning to win the war, he has not yet indicated any intention of applying conscription for overseas service. Compulsion in everything else he declares himself ready to adopt, but in the one phase of the war effort where ordered direction of manpower is essential to defense he still declares himself satisfied to rely on voluntary effort.

It will be strongly hoped that the Government loses no more time in putting its plan into operation. It is already three years since we entered on this war.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43268

Name of Publication Windsor Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

All for Victory

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's announcement of the new manpower mobilization policy of the Government goes a long way toward meeting the demands that have been widely made almost since the war began. There has been an insistent clamor that the Government take the bold step of directing the energies of all the citizens into the channels where it will do the most to produce the things we need for victory. At least part of that step has now been taken.

The policy does not go as far as many expected, or as far as many desire. There has been a vocal group which has been demanding total conscription of manpower both for military service and for war industry. This bloc will not be satisfied with the measures announced by Mr. King in his statement to the people last night.

On the other hand, there has been an element which has resisted and opposed regimentation. It will see in the new program an interference with individual rights of self-determination which is not justified even by the critical times in which we find ourselves.

Generally speaking, however, there is likely to be approval for the laws which have been announced. Briefly stated, they provide that every man and woman in Canada shall henceforth be engaged in that occupation in which he can make the greatest contribution to the war effort.

They fall short of conscription and compulsion on a general scale. For the present at least, there will be no attempt to give peremptory orders to those employed in agriculture, commerce or industry to change their occupations and engage in work directly connected with the prosecution of the war. There will be regulation and persuasion rather than regimentation, except for those who are presently unemployed and who show no inclination to engage in useful work.

The actual working out of the program, however, is likely to bring about a measure of compulsion which does not appear on the surface. This will be accomplished in an indirect way, which will be no less effective. It will be done through the strict regulation of industries, by the curtailment or closing of those which are non-essential, which will, in turn, force labor into employment more directly connected with war production.

The whole program is a daring experiment, even more drastic than the one dealing with control of prices and wages. For the first time in history, Canadian citizens are to be denied full rights of selection of their daily work, and are to be forced to accept direction as to what employment they shall take.

It will be a test of their practical patriotism. Mr. King penetratingly warned those who favor regimentation for others but not for themselves. There will be thousands who will be brought up short against the fact that the jobs which they consider essential are rather less than that, and an acceptance of the fact that they must do something more directly toward winning the war.

There will be need for a conscious determination to comply not only with the letter, but also with the spirit, of the new laws. As the Prime Minister stressed in his message, the co-operation of every Canadian citizen, both men and women, is required. The power rests with the Government to take even more drastic steps. Whether that authority shall be invoked rests entirely with the people. They can make a success of the program on which the Dominion is now entering, or they can make it necessary to introduce a greater measure of regimentation.

The essential requirement is that the manpower of this nation be thoroughly mobilized for the winning of the war. It is going to be done, either through the co-operation of that manpower or through its conscription.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 43269

Date AUG 2 0 1942

Subject

Would Put Every Available Man, Woman Into War Service. Extend Authority Over Employment; Curb Non-essential Work

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night announced proposed new measures of control over man-power and woman-power designed to place "all but very old, the very young and the disabled" behind the war effort.

Mr. King, speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, declared the government's policy was that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require."

Where Special Need

To this end he said controls would be exercised so that, "after a fixed period," unemployed persons may be required to accept any work for which there is special need.

Persons seeking employment may do so, under the proposed new controls, only with a permit from an employment office, and employers seeking new workers must have similar permission.

Employed persons induced by a National Selective Service officer to take new employment more directly associated with the war effort, will be entitled to the same right of reinstatement in his previous occupation, at the conclusion of his war work, as those serving in the armed forces.

Mr. King said use of manpower for non-war purposes was essential up to a point but beyond the necessity of meeting minimum requirements it was non-essential.

Curtail Non-essentials.

"The government, accordingly, has decided that non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated," he said, and added that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board had been directed to take the steps necessary to this end.

He forecast further measures to obtain accurate information on the availability of workers, including registration of women which it has already been indicated would be held next month.

Control will be placed over the help and situations wanted advertisements, and employers will be required to make a return showing all additions to and separations from their staffs as from last April 1.

Shift Call-up Task

The prime minister also announced that the task of calling up men for military service will be transferred "in the near future" from the National War Services Department to Elliott M. Little, director of National Selective Service.

Enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three defence departments, he said in his talk over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

"For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services," he said.

"It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the director of National Selective Service.

"In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration.

"This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service."

Major Points

Here are the important announcements in Mr. King's address:

1. Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time to provide a clear picture of the situation, "will be made as required."

2. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken "shortly." (Previously it has been said officially that September is the likely month for this survey.)

3. In the near future, "employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

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D43270

4. To help safeugard the welfare of families affected by employment of additional women in industry to replace men for heavier tasks, day nurseries are being established in co-operation with the provincial authorities in Ontario and Quebec, and other welfare activities are being "vigorously developed."

5. The government has decided that "non-essential" civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board has been instructed to put this policy into effect "by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose."

6. Besides these restrictions and eventual eliminations, "measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amounts of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation."

7. Labor training will be continued "on a growing scale" to help overcome the shortage of skilled workers.

8. Provision of housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards and the organization of personnel management are being promoted by the government.

9. Much more complete control and direction of employment now is necessary.

Curb Job Shifting

10. Apart from a few commonsense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employe, and no employe will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving "reasonable notice in writing." A copy of the notice will have to be provided to the nearest employment office.

11. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not obtained a permit from an employment office, and permission to seek employment may be restricted "to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment."

12. "Control" will be established over help-wanted and situation-wanted advertisements.

13. After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time suitable work of which there is special need—work of "high labor priority."

14. Any employed person who is induced by a National Selective Service officer to accept a new and more vital war job will be entitled upon termination of that essential work to reinstatement in his previous position.

No Advance Copies

Possibly because of last-minute revisions to the text, the prime minister's office did not follow the practice adopted by most public men of making copies of their addresses available to the press in advance, and Mr. King's was not made available before he went to the microphone. It was delivered to the press when the prime minister was about half-way through his speech.

"The progressive application of selective service is having two effects," said the prime minister. "By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some.

"But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

"But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the director and his officers receive the wholehearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada.

"I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself."

No Service Too Small

It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole, said Mr. King. No service efficiently rendered was too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory.

"Be inspired," he said, "by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind."

Mr. King began his address by saying that Canadians are "proud" that their troops have had a "foremost place" in the commando raid on Dieppe.

Memorable Day

He said he spoke on a memorable day for Canada, when Canadian troops had been in action, an action they had long been preparing and hoping to join.

The day's developments, however, should not cause Canadians to lose their perspective on the whole war.

"We have reached one of the gravest moments in history," said the prime minister.

The Germans were advancing into the richest areas of Southern Russia. Their advance threatened Iran (Persia) and "beyond Persia, India." The Japanese were strengthening their forces in Burma for an attack on India.

The Axis forces were engaged in the "greatest pincers movement in the history of warfare."

India Menaced

Speaking over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's national network, Mr. King said India was "threatened with disaster." All free people would sympathize with a nation's desire for freedom but there would be no sympathy with actions which threatened the freedom of all mankind.

The Allied powers were also threatened on the sea. The Japanese were on parts of the Aleutian islands and submarine warfare on both Canadian coasts was bringing the war nearer.

"The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war," he said. The danger was not only plainer but greater than ever.

But it was not a moment for despair. The circumstances should only evoke greater determination to win.

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Subject.....

D 49271

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Every week saw Canada and United States forces adding to the strength of the United Nations in all theaters of war.

Canada's contribution must be made as comprehensive as possible and every man and woman must be directed into the most useful capacity, said Mr. King.

"There are still a considerable number who can render a greater service than they have been able to thus far."

Manpower Policy

Mr. King said the manpower policy would affect "all but the very young, the very old and the disabled."

He said "any and every means necessary to accomplish our aim must be employed," and that the policy "will be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race or creed."

The efficient use of manpower demanded that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the nation be used for war services. It also demanded that the services of persons thus mobilized be used in the most efficient manner.

It was obvious that Canada should raise and maintain an army, a navy and an air force as large as it could support in a long war. It was important to keep all services in balance. If too many men and women were allotted to one task, some other task would suffer. One of the most difficult problems was to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be sent overseas and what proportion should be kept in Canada.

Discussing the proposed manpower controls, Mr. King said that "control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory."

Compulsion had no merit in itself. It was not needed for the great majority who were willing to serve.

Save in Red Tape

It was necessary to secure the services of those who were not otherwise willing to serve but the more compulsion was employed the more officials were needed. It was wasteful of time, labor and money. The voluntary system meant a great saving in red tape.

"Compulsory service or conscription has been part of the law of Canada since July, 1940," said Mr. King.

It was applied first to military training, then to military service in Canada, and last March, to civilian employment.

It was applied in stages because there was no use in attempting to control and direct manpower without knowing what manpower and womanpower was available.

The national registration of 1940 produced valuable information. Since then a more scientific survey of industrial labor had been made. The results of the two were now combined for use in the application of further measures of control.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Wi nipeg Free Press.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Selective Service Needs

Mr. King last night outlined in general terms the next stages toward total war which have become necessary for the Canadian people. The response of the nation will more than meet his expectations. All that will be asked is that the measures he described will be put into operation with the least delay possible. Each man and woman will meet the requirements of the general plan. The chief difficulty at the present time is that the individual has difficulty in seeing where he, or she, fits into the scheme of total war. For this reason above all direction is necessary. When the direction is given, the response will be more than adequate.

The main responsibility for the control of the nation's manpower is now being centralized in the Department of Labor, under Mr. Elliott M. Little, director of national selective service. This is as it should be, for it will greatly simplify administration if military and industrial needs are concentrated under a single department instead of being divided as they have been hitherto. The task means the immediate expansion of personnel in that department, and this is something that is already under way.

* * *

The immediate measures announced by Mr. King are in themselves very moderate steps forward. Employment is not being frozen: employees can quit or be laid off provided notice is given to the employment office; and no person can be hired without a permit from the same source. It is envisaged, however, that movement from one district to another may be restricted, and this is reasonable in view of the fact that movements across the country from one job to another are more likely to dislocate employment and create ancillary problems of housing and so forth than movements inside districts and regions.

It is blind to imagine that these next steps can be taken without inconvenience and vexation to the normal routine of business and employment. They will be. But anyone who has studied the steps taken in other belligerent countries which have undertaken a war effort as great or greater than ours knows that they are inevitable. The Free Press has warned its readers for a year or more that what is now announced was bound to come. Only yesterday we published a summary of the steps taken to transfer men and material to war purposes in Britain, and we propose to follow this up with further articles which, drawing on the experience of other countries, will indicate the shape of things to come here. From the existence of present moderate but widespread shortages of manpower it is obvious that, as time goes on, more and more dislocation of normal life will be inevitable.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 48273

What we ask today is that the present shortages be eliminated with the least delay possible. Mr. King's broadcast, by assuring us of the close co-operation of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and the Department of Labor tells us that the function of the former body is to be enlarged far beyond its immediate job of regulating prices. A joint responsibility is being placed on these two organs of government to work together to eliminate non-essential industry and concentrate the national resources of men and material in war jobs.

* * *

There has been a widespread tendency in Canada to interpret selective service in terms of calling young, fit men up for military service overseas. Mr. King's listeners were, we hope, convinced by his talk that this is one of the easiest and, relatively speaking, one of the less important parts of a much larger job. Selective service involves a demand upon a citizenship far wider than that which is comprised in what has been called the fighting manpower pool, a very large proportion of which is already under the colors. What is in mind now is a demand upon women and upon secondary manpower which, together, will be called on first of all to fill the gaps left by men called up for military service and, secondly, to fill the ranks of industry and agriculture where shortages are as critical as in the armed forces.

This means a degree of dislocation of our normal civilian life far greater than that caused by the volunteering or calling up of young men few of whom have reached positions of responsibility in civilian life. Selective service means the removal of men hitherto considered as holding key positions in their normal occupations and of women who have been performing the usual tasks of women in peacetime. The demands now to be made are rendered inevitable by the rapidly growing magnitude of a programme which, laid down in 1940, is only now reaching its critically difficult phase. There is a very special duty upon the individual employer and employee to recognize this fact and to meet the demands of essential selective service without, each one, considering that his job is essential while his neighbor's is not. It will also mean a considerable dislocation of family life, particularly in highly industrialized districts, a matter which has caused especial concern in the Quebec newspaper press. There, as elsewhere, there must be recognition of the fact that if we want to preserve the sanctity of our lives in Canada, the way to do it is to meet the needs of the present crisis without flinching.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43274

Name of Publication Montreal Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

NATIONAL SERVICE MEANS SACRIFICE

PREMIER Mackenzie King's address to the people of Canada last night on the problems of Canada's man-power was the first pronouncement he has made on this all-important subject since the adoption by the Government of its new National Selective Service policy. It bears out forecasts made in this column in regard to the radical steps by which the Government proposes to move towards the attainment of an all-out war effort for this Dominion.

From the administrative viewpoint a new department is created. Mr. H. M. Little has been given charge of a national selective service organization which will eventually exercise full control with inclusive compulsory powers over the entire man-power of the nation, both for the armed services and for all essential war industries. Complete co-ordination is planned, and complete control. What this means, in a phrase, is the steady elimination of all non-essential industries, and the redistribution of Canada's man-power—the word of course includes woman-power also—so that everybody in the country from coast to coast will eventually be put to such work in which he or she can give most effective service to the war effort.

An executive business man, eminently well qualified to exercise the tremendously wide powers which are to be given to the national selective service organization, Mr. Little will learn from the Minister of Labour where and what the most urgent specific needs are, both for war industries and for the armed services There will be, of course, the closest co-ordination between the national selective service organization and the various armed services, and the result should be, for the first time, complete selective service in which the entire nation will be playing its full part.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that when this scheme is in full swing the industrial life of this Dominion will have been completely reorientated, that many people will find themselves uprooted from their present domiciles and doing work which probably they never had dreamed of doing before. The powers given the national selective service organization are more sweeping than those ever possessed by any Government department in this country's history. It is inevitable that much inconvenience and a great deal of hardship, possibly in some cases even suffering, may be caused as a result of the new plan.

But the people of Canada must face it courageously and with a bold heart. Premier King, who spoke to the people in an intimate, conversational way, made all these things quite clear when he said: "Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom and of the freedom of mankind."

Before this war is over it is more than probable that our living standards will be so drastically changed that not a single person in Canada but will realize what sacrifice really means. We are only just at the beginning. We have to go a long way yet before we shall catch up with our fellow-citizens in Britain—if, indeed, we ever do. The one fact we have to keep ever before us, day by day, is that, no matter what sacrifice we are called upon to make, we must be ready to make it, and willing to make it. That way alone victory lies.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D48275

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

The Selective Service Program

Premier King announced last night a government policy of national selective service which will change the course of many Canadian lives, will bring inconvenience and disturbance to a host of Canada's citizens, will interfere to a marked degree with the normal course of employment and business in the Dominion and—this is, after all, the vital consideration—will help to win the war in which this nation is engaged.

The policy is, in brief, the sacrifice of non-essential employment and industry to the essential war activities of the nation; the placement of Canadians, except the very old and the very young, where their efforts can best contribute to victory; and, in consequence of this, a combined war winning effort of essential civilian industries and the war industries which will absorb the available supply of manpower and womanpower. "Non-essential civilian activities are to be curtailed or eliminated." It is easy to state such a policy in a general way. The tremendous complexity of the task is realized by the prime minister, and faced by him with a determination to see it through.

Mr. King says plainly that the policy "may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some." But this inconvenience and this hardship on the home front will be so negligible as compared with what is suffered on the war fronts of the world—so negligible, too, compared with what would be suffered by Canadians if the Axis nations were victorious—that there can be no complaint about it on the part of good citizens. Said Mr. King: "Such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom, but of our country's freedom and the freedom of mankind." He pointed to no easy path to victory. The United Nations have not yet begun to win the war, he said.

And winning the war requires, as he pointed out, "a supply of manpower to fight" as well as "a supply of manpower to make weapons." The task of the government is to strike the difficult balance between the provision of mechanisms and of men to use them against the enemy. Another difficult problem is to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be kept in Canada and what proportion sent overseas. Such issues will be decided by the course of the war. But in the meantime the government is planning to utilize for war purposes, in one branch of service or in another, the whole manpower and womanpower of the nation not required by essential civilian industries and occupations.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D4875

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 43276

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 2 0 1942

Subject

All But Old, Very Young Must Assist

Call-up of Men For Military Service Is Transferred To Elliott Little

Prime Minister King last night announced proposed new measures of control over manpower and woman-power designed to place "all but very old, the very young and the disabled" behind the war effort.

Mr. King, speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, declared the Government's policy was that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require".

Start Controls.

To this end he said controls would be exercised so that, "after a fixed period", unemployed persons may be required to accept any work for which there is special need.

Persons seeking employment may do so, under the proposed new controls, only with a permit from an employment office, and employers seeking new workers must have similar permission.

Employed persons induced by a national selective service officer to take new employment more directly associated with the war effort will be entitled to the same right of reinstatement in his previous occupation, at the conclusion of his war work, as those serving in the armed forces.

Mr. King said use of manpower for non-war purposes was essential up to a point but beyond the necessity of meeting minimum requirements it was non-essential.

"The Government, accordingly, has decided that non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated", he said, and added that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board had been directed to take the steps necessary to this end.

He forecast further measures to obtain accurate information on the availability of workers, including registration of women which it has already been indicated would be held next month.

Control will be placed over the help and situations wanted advertisements, and employers will be required to make a return showing all additions to and separations from their staffs as from last April 1.

Mr. King opened his broadcast with a reference to the part played by Canadians in today's raid on Dieppe, and said "we were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place" in that action.

News of the raid should not destroy "our sense of perspective" and he declared that "we have reached one of the gravest hours in history".

"The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war . . . we shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation."

These circumstances brought home the necessity of Canada making the greatest possible contribution to victory. "Every citizen must make his most useful contribution."

The Government had been striving toward "a total effort for total war", and much had been achieved but "we are now come to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed.

"The Government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race or creed or class."

Services of men and women were "imperatively" needed for the armed forces but all could not be employed in the armed forces. It was necessary to maintain as great an army, navy and air force as possible for "a long war".

But men and women were needed to produce the munitions of war and to carry on essential services. It was the Government's task to balance the utilization of men and women for these two efforts.

Mr. King said administration of the National Selective Service would remain in the hands of the present director, Elliott M. Little, responsible to Labor Minister Mitchell.

For the present the call-up for compulsory military service in Canada would remain the responsibility of the National War Services Department.

"It is planned, in the very near future", he added, "to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the director of National Selective Service.

"In anticipation of this transfer there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration.

"This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service."

Mr. King said that in the exercise of its "immense powers" over the services of men and women, national selective service might make decisions which would need revision if needless hardship were to be avoided.

He added that the National War Services Boards would accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of selective service officers.

Compulsion Has No Merit.

Mr. King said compulsion in itself "has little or no merit", but was necessary "to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve".

Success of the manpower plan depended upon the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada, Mr. King said as he appealed for such support.

"Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else but that you wish to escape it yourself."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

D 43377

"At this time of the world's greatest need I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest."

Important Plans.

Here are the important announcements in Mr. King's address:

1. Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time to provide a clear picture of the situation, "will be made as required".

2. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken "shortly". (Previously it has been said officially that September is the likely month for this survey.)

3. In the near future, "employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1".

4. To help safeguard the wellfare of families affected by employment of additional women in industry to replace men for heavier tasks, day nurseries are being established in co-operation with the provincial authorities in Ontario and Quebec, and other welfare activities are being "vigorously developed".

5. The Government has decided that "non-essential" civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board has been instructed to put this policy into effect "by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose".

6. Besides these restrictions and eventual eliminations, "measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amounts of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation".

7. Labor training will be continued "on a growing scale" to help overcome the shortage of skilled workers.

8. Provision of housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards and the organization of personnel management are being promoted by the Government.

9. Much more complete control and direction of employment now is necessary.

10. Apart from a few commonsense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employe, and no employe will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving "reasonable notice in writing". A copy of the notice will have to be provided to the nearest employment office.

11. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not obtained a permit from an employment office, and permission to seek employment may be restricted "to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment".

12. "Control" will be established over help-wanted and situation-wanted advertisements.

13. After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time suitable work of which there is special need—work of "high labor priority".

14. Any employed person who is induced by a National Selective Service officer to accept a new and more vital war job will be entitled upon termination of that essential work to reinstatement in his previous position.

Kept Back Text.

Possibly because of last-minute revisions to the text, the Prime Minister's office did not follow the practice adopted by most public men of making copies of their addresses available to the press in advance, and Mr. King's text was not made available before he went to the microphone. It was delivered to the press when the Prime Minister was about halfway through his speech.

"The progressive application of selective service is having two effects", said the Prime Minister. "By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some.

"But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

"But enact what measures the Government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the director and his officers receive the whole hearted cooperation of all the citizens of Canada.

"I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself."

It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole, said Mr. King. No service efficiently rendered was too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory.

"Be inspired", he said, "by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind."

Lauds Canadian in Raid.

Mr. King began his address by saying that Canadians are "proud" that their troops have had a "foremost place" in Wednesday's commando raid on Dieppe.

He said he spoke on a great day for Canada, when Canadian troops had been in action, an action they had long been preparing and hoping to join.

The day's developments, however, should not cause Canadians to lose their perspective on the whole war.

The Germans were advancing into the richest areas of Southern Russia. Their advance threatened Iran (Persia) and "beyond Persia, India". The Japanese were strengthening their forces in Burma for an attack on India.

The Axis forces were engaged in the "greatest pincers movement in the history of warfare".

Mr. King said India was "threatened with disaster". All free people would sympathize with a nation's desire for freedom but there would be no sympathy with actions which threatened the freedom of all mankind.

The Allied powers were also threatened on the sea. The Japanese were on parts of the Aleutian Islands and with submarine warfare on both Canadian coasts bringing the war nearer.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43278

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

"The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war", he said. The danger was not only plainer but greater than ever.

But it was not a moment for despair. The circumstances should only evoke greater determination to win.

Russia still had great resources in manpower and great areas untouched by the enemy. The Mediterranean was not closed and Britain remained "the fortress of world freedom".

Every week saw Canada and United States forces adding to the strength of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

Canada's contribution must be made as comprehensive as possible and every man and woman must be directed into the most useful capacity, said Mr. King.

"There are still a considerable number who can render a greater service than they have been able to thus far."

Mr. King said the manpower policy would affect "all but the very young, the very old and the disabled".

He said "any and every means necessary to accomplish our aim must be employed", and that the policy "will be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race or creed".

"All must realize that lives of our fighting men on land, on sea and in the air, depend on reinforcements and unceasing toil on the farms, in the mines, in the factories and in the forests", said Mr. King.

It was the duty of the Government to see that every able bodied man undertook some form of essential services, in the forces or elsewhere.

Must Be Used Efficiently.

The efficient use of manpower demanded that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the nation be used for war services. It also demanded that the services of persons thus mobilized be used in the most efficient manner.

It was obvious that Canada should raise and maintain an army, a navy and an air force as large as it could support in a long war. It was important to keep all services in balance. **If too many men and women were allotted to one task, some other task would suffer. One of the most difficult problems was to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be sent overseas and what proportion should be kept in Canada.**

Discussing the proposed manpower controls, Mr. King said that "control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory".

Compulsion had no merit in itself. It was not needed for the great majority who were willing to serve.

It was necessary to secure the services of those who were not otherwise willing to serve, but the more compulsion was employed the more officials were needed. It was wasteful of time, labor and money. The voluntary system meant a great saving in red tape.

"Compulsory service or conscription has been part of the law of Canada since July, 1940", said Mr. King.

It was applied first to military training, then to military service service in Canada, and last March, to civilian employment.

It was applied in stages because there was no use in attempting to control and direct manpower without knowing what manpower and womanpower was available.

The national registration of 1940 produced valuable information. Since then a more scientific survey of industrial labor had been made. The results of the two were now combined for use in the application of further measures of control.

He forecast further measures to obtain accurate information on the availability of workers, including registration of women which it has already been indicated would be held next month.

Control will be placed over the help and situations wanted advertisements, and employers will be required to make a return showing all additions to and separations from their staffs as from last April 1.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D43279

Name of Publication New York Times.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Canada to Curtail Civilian Activities

By The United Press.

OTTAWA, Aug. 19 — Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King tonight announced that the government had decided "non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated."

He said a special registration of woman power would be undertaken "shortly" to release men for heavier tasks.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 20 1942

Subject

D 43280

PREMIER'S BROADCAST ON MANPOWER PLANS

Ottawa, August 19.—(CP)—Following is a partial text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address tonight in which he announced plans for extending national selective service and changes in the administration of manpower regulations:

I am speaking to you on a memorable day. You have learned that, after long months of training, Canadian soldiers from Britain have been in action against the enemy. We know how eager the army overseas has been to share the actual combat with their comrades in the navy and the air force.

We were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

The news of any action should not be allowed to destroy our sense of perspective of this world-wide conflict. We have reached one of the gravest hours in history....

The Germans are still advancing into the richest areas of Southern Russia....

The Nazi advance threatens Persia, and beyond Persia, India.

The Japanese forces in Burma are being strengthened for a drive into India itself.

It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan are engaged in the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare. Their design is to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India.

India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathize with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind. The weakening of Indian powers of resistance can only help the Axis; it cannot help India. . . .

On all the seven seas, the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. . . .

Japanese landings in Alaska, and attacks already made on both coasts of our own country have brought the danger to our very doors.

DANGER IS GREATER.

The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. The danger is not only plainer than ever, it is greater than ever. We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation. It should not be the occasion for despair, but rather for grim determination. . . .

The picture fortunately is not wholly dark. Russia and China have been gravely weakened, but their peoples fight on with unparalleled heroism. Despite her losses, Russia has immense resources of manpower and materials and a huge territory untouched by the enemy. In Egypt the enemy has been halted, and held at the very moment when all there seemed to be lost. The Mediterranean has not been closed.

Britain remains a fortress of world freedom. From the British base, offensive action has steadily increased. The nations of the British Commonwealth continue to combine their forces and to fight as one. With every week that passes, Canadian and American forces at sea, on land and in the air, are adding to the strength of the United Nations in all the theatres of war.

In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power. The immense strength of the United States is making itself felt on all the continents in the world. Complete agreement exists among the Allied powers on the present and future plans of campaign. . . .

More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Canada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution.

GOAL IS TOTAL WAR.

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us.

A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving. . . .

The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race, or creed, or class. . . .

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in vital civilian activity. . . .

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. . . .

Secondly, it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner. . . .

Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and effiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort. . . .

Men—and women, too—must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

It is, also, of first importance that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. . . . To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here. . . .

The main responsibility for administering wartime manpower policy rests with the Director of National Selective Service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the Minister of Labor. For local administration, employment offices of the Unemployment Insurance Commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery. This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 4328 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

ENLISTMENT IS DIRECT

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service.

In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the national selective service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision.

The National War Services boards will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of selective service officers. . . .

The control and direction (of manpower) need not be wholly compulsory. In itself, compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve.

The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecessary compulsion is a waste of time, labor and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape."

In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum: in times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service, in other words, conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked.

Because of the constant shifts in population in wartime, the task of keeping the (manpower) records up to date is immense. The records must be so kept if manpower is to be directed efficiently or fairly. This task now is being performed by the department of labor.

ASKS CO-OPERATION.

Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time, will be made as required.

A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken shortly.

Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1st. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information. . . .

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year, the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. . .

We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children of working mothers are being established, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces.

Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

The total manpower available for war work is also increased by shifting men and women from unessential civilian tasks to more essential activities.

CURTAILS CIVILIAN JOBS

Up to now the shifting of manpower to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs.

The Government, accordingly, has decided non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose.

Additional manpower for war service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation.

In restricting civilian activity, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board will act in closest collaboration with the director of National Selective Service, whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the manpower released from non-essential civilian activities. . . .

Labor training will be continued on a growing scale.

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards, and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian manpower

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army. . . .

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service. . . .

The first step in directing the services of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the employment offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment now is necessary.

Under the measures of control to be adopted shortly, apart from a few common-sense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employee, and no employee will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving reasonable notice in writing. This notice will be called a "notice of separation."

A copy of this notice will have to be furnished to the nearest employment office.

No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office.

Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

Control will be established over "help wanted" and "situations wanted" advertisements.

After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than normal full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time, suitable work of which there is special need, or in other words, what is spoken of as work of "high labor priority."

WILL GET JOBS BACK

Any employed person who is induced by a National Selective Service officer to accept a new position in which he can contribute more effectively to the prosecution of the war, will be entitled, upon the termination of such essential work, to a similar right to reinstatement in his previous position to that accorded to men in the armed forces.

An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decision or direction of a National Selective Service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some.

But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada.

I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself.

OUR FREEDOM AT STAKE.

It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth."

At this time of the world's greatest need, I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest.

It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory.

Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom and of the freedom of mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43283

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

CUT CIVILIAN TASKS TO LIMIT CONCENTRATE ON WAR EFFORT

Non-Essential Work To Be Curtailed or Eliminated, Premier Says

JOBS FOR ALL

Ottawa, Aug. 20—Following is the text of Premier King's broadcast on Canada's manpower needs last night:

The great strength of the United Nations affords us the needed courage to turn our hopes into the reality of successful action. The magnitude of the danger must increase our determination. More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Canada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution methods. The aim and the means employed by the government to direct the services of all men and women into the most needed channels are described as its manpower policy. The government's manpower policy has already touched the lives of millions of Canadians, but there still remain considerable numbers who are capable of rendering much greater service than any they have thus far performed.

Every Man, Every Woman

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us. A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving. While much has been achieved, we have



"In Egypt the enemy has been halted and held"

now come to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aim must be employed. The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race or creed, or class. It must be recognized that the security of each individual is bound up in the security of the nation as a whole.

Every person must regard his services as essential to the combined effort. Moreover, all should realize that the lives of our fighting men at sea, on land and in the air depend on men for the reinforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil on the farm, in the mine, in the forest, in the mill and the factory, and on the merchant ships. Our growing consciousness of the danger will, I believe, increase the readiness of all to accept the added direction of their efforts.

Purpos of Broadcast

I have told you that the services of all are required. This includes the services of women as well as of men; the services alike of young and old; the services, as I have said, of all except the very young, the very old and the disabled. The power represented by these combined services, we speak of as "total manpower." As you see it includes, as well, "womanpower" and the power of youth.

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in a vital civilian activity.

Selection endorsed where need be by positive action on the part of the state is the method employed to ensure this end The words used to describe this process are national selective service.

I do not need to tell you that, to the total war effort which is our goal, it is not only the services of all that are essential, but, what is of equal if not of greater importance, the efficient use of those services.

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. This, in military language, is spoken of as "mobilizing" manpower. Secondly it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner.

The services of men and women are imperatively needed for the armed forces. All, however, cannot be employed in the armed forces. For example, it would not be possible to have a total effort if so many men were training for the navy that none were left to build ships. We could not have a total effort if so many men were taken into the army that enough were not left to make tanks and guns and shells. One could go on and give hundreds of similar examples, but others will suggest themselves to your own minds. Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort.

Scope of the Problem

Parliament, as you are aware, has given the government immense powers to control and direct the total services of men and women

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43284

Name of Publication.....

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Subject.....

to meet the needs of war. I propose to tell you how some of these powers have been used. I wish also to speak of a number of new measures it is intended to employ.

I think the manpower policy might be clearer to you were I to answer a number of questions which many of you have already been asking.

The first question I shall answer is: What tasks are men and women needed for in wartime? Men—and women, too—must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

In wartime, as in time of peace, the people of Canada must continue to be fed, clothed and sheltered; the young must be educated; the sick and the elderly must be cared for; police and fire protection must be provided; transportation must be maintained—a large undertaking in a widespread country. Everyone can think of other work which cannot be neglected. All civilian tasks should, of course, be cut down to the limit. But even when cut to the limit, to fulfil them requires a very large number of men and women.

It is also of first importance, that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. If too many persons are allotted to one task, some other task will suffer. There are few more difficult problems than accurately to decide how many men and women should be allotted to the several tasks. To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here.

Administration of Manpower Policy

I come next to the question: Who administers the wartime manpower policy?

The main responsibility for administring wartime manpower policy rests with the director of national selective service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the minister of labor. For local administration, employment offices of the unemployment insurance commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery. This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the department of national war services. It is planned, in the near future to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the director of national selective service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the department of national war services and the national selective service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.



"In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power"

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the national selective service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision. The national war services boards will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of selective service officers.

Compulsion Question

A word now as to whether national selective service need be or should be wholly compulsory.

The purpose of national selective service, is, as I have said, to control and direct the services of men and women in the manner which will best serve the national interest at a time of war. The control and direction need not be wholly compulsory. In itself compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve. The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecesary compulsion is a waste of time, labor and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape." In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum: In times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service in other words conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked.

Basis of Selective Service

Without accurate and up-to-date information about our manpower resources, there cannot be total mobilization. It is impossible to control and direct the activities of men and fomen without knowing how many are available, and what their capacities are. To attempt such a task would be comparable to the attempt of a tailor to make a suit without knowing how much cloth he had. How then, you will ask, is accurate manpower information secured, and how is it kept up to date?

The national registration which was made in 1940 provided basic information which has been of great practical value. A more scientific record of Canada's industrial population has been provided by the records of the unemployment insurance commission. These two sets of records have been combined in a central registry in the department of labor. Because of the constant shifts in population in war time, the task of keeping the records up to date is immense.

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Increasing Manpower Resources

The effective use of manpower has two sides. One is concerned with making the services of more persons available for war service, the other with directing men and women into the most suitable forms of service.

How, it will be asked, is the total available manpower for war purposes increased?

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production. Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

Concern has been expressed as to the effect of the employment of women on the welfare of the family. That concern is fully shared by the government. It must, however, not be forgotten that a total war effort is needed to protect everything we hold dear, including the family and family life; and that the employment of women is essential to a total war effort. We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children of working mothers are being established in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces. Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

The total manpower available for war work is also increased by shifting men and women from unessential civilian tasks to more essential activities.

Up to now the shifting of manpower to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs.

Non-essential Industries

Under the conditions of total war, some industries are properly regarded as wholly non-essential. Many industries in this category have already been shifted to war production, or closed down to conserve materials. In other fields of civilian activity, a certain amount of production is essential for the maintenance of the health and efficiency of the community, upon which the entire war effort depends. Up to a point, the production of such industries is no less essential to a total war effort than the production of war industry itself. Beyond the point of meeting necessary minimum requirements, however, further production is non-essential.

The government, accordingly, has decided non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose. Additional manpower for war service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation. In restricting civilian activity, the Wartime Prices and Trade board will act in closest collaboration with the director of national selective service, whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the manpower released from non-essential civilian activities.

By better organization and by the development of skill, fewer men and women are required for the same task. The efficiency of the manpower and womanpower of Canada has been greatly increased by labor training in technical schools and in industrial establishments. Labor training will be continued on a growing scale.



"Axis powers are making a stupendous effort to cut off vital supplies at the source"



"Russia . . . fights on with unparalleled heroism"

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian manpower.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

The records must be so kept if manpower is to be directed efficiently or fairly. This task is now being performed by the department of labor.

Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time, will be made as required. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken shortly. Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1st. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information.

Increasing Manpower Resources

The effective use of manpower has two sides. One is concerned with making the services of more persons available for war service, the other with directing men and women into the most suitable forms of service.

How, it will be asked, is the total available manpower for war purposes increased?

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production. Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 13286

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Directior of Manpower

Turning now to the direction of the services of men and women, you will probably ask: How are persons being directed into the appropriate form of war service?

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army. Compulsion for military training began in 1940; and for military service in Canada in 1941. From the outset all the men were called up who could be trained and equipped. Training facilities and equipment have been made increasingly available. In consequence, in recent months the number of men called up has been increased several times over.

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service. The entry of men into a wide variety of occupations was drastically restricted. As a result, men seeking employment were automatically directed into service more immediately concerned with the war. To conserve essential manpower on the farms, employment in agriculture was stabilized.

A plan was set up to divert engineers and other technicians into direct war service. When this plan was announced, it was indicated that similar direction might later be given to the service of skilled workmen. The first step in directing the services of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the employment offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment is now necessary.

Notice of Separation

Under the measures of control to be adopted shortly, apart from a few commonsense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employee and no employee will be permited to quit his employment, without giving reasonable notice in writing. This notice will be called a "notice of separation." A copy of this notice will have to be furnished to the nearest employment office. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office. Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

Control will be established over "help wanted" and "situations wanted" advertisements.

After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than normal full time may be required to transfer to available full time, suitable work of which there is special need, or in other words, what is spoken of as work of "high labor priority."

Any employed person who is induced by a national selective service officer to accept a new position in which he can contribute more effectively to the prosecution of the war, will be entitled, upon the termination of such essential work, to a similar right to reinstatement in his previous position to that accorded to men in the armed forces.

An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decision or direction of a national selective service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some. But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada. I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself.

With such time as I have had at my disposal, I have tried to bring home to you the magnitude of the danger and the gravity of the need for the utmost effort on the part of all. It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth." At this time of the world's greatest need, I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest. It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory. Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star. D 43287

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

NATIONAL SERVICE MEANS SACRIFICE

PREMIER Mackenzie King's address to the people of Canada last night on the problems of Canada's man-power was the first pronouncement he has made on this all-important subject since the adoption by the Government of its new National Selective Service policy. It bears out forecasts made in this column in regard to the radical steps by which the Government proposes to move towards the attainment of an all-out war effort for this Dominion.

From the administrative viewpoint a new department is created. Mr. H. M. Little has been given charge of a national selective service organization which will eventually exercise full control with inclusive compulsory powers over the entire man-power of the nation, both for the armed services and for all essential war industries. Complete co-ordination is planned, and complete control. What this means, in a phrase, is the steady elimination of all non-essential industries, and the redistribution of Canada's man-power—the word of course includes woman-power also—so that everybody in the country from coast to coast will eventually be put to such work in which he or she can give most effective service to the war effort.

An executive business man, eminently well qualified to exercise the tremendously wide powers which are to be given to the national selective service organization, Mr. Little will learn from the Minister of Labour where and what the most urgent specific needs are, both for war industries and for the armed services. There will be, of course, the closest co-ordination between the national selective service organization and the various armed services, and the result should be, for the first time, complete selective service in which the entire nation will be playing its full part.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that when this scheme is in full swing the industrial life of this Dominion will have been completely reorientated, that many people will find themselves uprooted from their present domiciles and doing work which probably they never had dreamed of doing before. The powers given the national selective service organization are more sweeping than those ever possessed by any Government department in this country's history. It is inevitable that much inconvenience and a great deal of hardship, possibly in some cases even suffering, may be caused as a result of the new plan.

But the people of Canada must face it courageously and with a bold heart. Premier King, who spoke to the people in an intimate, conversational way, made all these things quite clear when he said: "Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom and of the freedom of mankind."

Before this war is over it is more than probable that our living standards will be so drastically changed that not a single person in Canada but will realize what sacrifice really means. We are only just at the beginning. We have to go a long way yet before we shall catch up with our fellow-citizens in Britain—if, indeed, we ever do. The one fact we have to keep ever before us, day by day, is that, no matter what sacrifice we are called upon to make, we must be ready to make it, and willing to make it. That way alone victory lies.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star. D 43288

Date Aug. 20/42,

Subject

All for Victory

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's announcement of the new manpower mobilization policy of the Government goes a long way toward meeting the demands that have been widely made almost since the war began. There has been an insistent clamor that the Government take the bold step of directing the energies of all the citizens into the channels where it will do the most to produce the things we need for victory. At least part of that step has now been taken.

The policy does not go as far as many expected, or as far as many desire. There has been a vocal group which has been demanding total conscription of manpower both for military service and for war industry. This bloc will not be satisfied with the measures announced by Mr. King in his statement to the people last night.

On the other hand, there has been an element which has resisted and opposed regimentation. It will see in the new program an interference with individual rights of self-determination which is not justified even by the critical times in which we find ourselves.

Generally speaking, however, there is likely to be approval for the laws which have been announced. Briefly stated, they provide that every man and woman in Canada shall henceforth be engaged in that occupation in which he can make the greatest contribution to the war effort.

They fall short of conscription and compulsion on a general scale. For the present at least, there will be no attempt to give peremptory orders to those employed in agriculture, commerce or industry to change their occupations and engage in work directly connected with the prosecution of the war. There will be regulation and persuasion rather than regimentation, except for those who are presently unemployed and who show no inclination to engage in useful work.

The actual working out of the program, however, is likely to bring about a measure of compulsion which does not appear on the surface. This will be accomplished in an indirect way, which will be no less effective. It will be done through the strict regulation of industries, by the curtailment or closing of those which are non-essential, which will, in turn, force labor into employment more directly connected with war production.

The whole program is a daring experiment, even more drastic than the one dealing with control of prices and wages. For the first time in history, Canadian citizens are to be denied full rights of selection of their daily work, and are to be forced to accept direction as to what employment they shall take.

It will be a test of their practical patriotism. Mr. King penetratingly warned those who favor regimentation for others but not for themselves. There will be thousands who will be brought up short against the fact that the jobs which they consider essential are rather less than that, and an acceptance of the fact that they must do something more directly toward winning the war.

There will be need for a conscious determination to comply not only with the letter, but also with the spirit, of the new laws. As the Prime Minister stressed in his message, the co-operation of every Canadian citizen, both men and women, is required. The power rests with the Government to take even more drastic steps. Whether that authority shall be invoked rests entirely with the people. They can make a success of the program on which the Dominion is now entering, or they can make it necessary to introduce a greater measure of regimentation.

The essential requirement is that the manpower of this nation be thoroughly mobilized for the winning of the war. It is going to be done, either through the co-operation of that manpower or through its conscription.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram. D 43289

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

MR. KING ANNOUNCES
GENERAL MANPOWER PLAN

Mr. King's address on national selective service was timed to reach the Canadian public while it was sobered by news of aggressive action by Canadian troops on the French coast. The Prime Minister doubtless knew days ago that the raid was planned, and he timed his talk well to meet a responsive audience. If carried out, his promise that everyone except the very young, the very old and the disabled will be placed in the form of war work for which they are best adapted and for which there is the greatest need will result in the attainment of an all-out effort quite different from that which has hitherto been called by that name. In the attainment of this end the Government will have the strongest co-operation of the nation.

That such a mobilization of the national manpower would release many now engaged in industry for the fighting forces and largely cancel the argument that industrial needs necessitate the limiting of the number of men under arms seems fairly obvious. But while Mr. King very properly emphasized the seriousness of the present moment, when the United Nations are not yet beginning to win the war, he has not yet indicated any intention of applying conscription for overseas service. Compulsion in everything else he declares himself ready to adopt, but in the one phase of the war effort where ordered direction of manpower is essential to defense he still declares himself satisfied to rely on voluntary effort.

It will be strongly hoped that the Government loses no more time in putting its plan into operation. It is already three years since we entered on this war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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Date Aug. 20/43.

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star. D 43290

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

The Selective Service Program

Premier King announced last night a government policy of national selective service which will change the course of many Canadian lives, will bring inconvenience and disturbance to a host of Canada's citizens, will interfere to a marked degree with the normal course of employment and business in the Dominion and—this is, after all, the vital consideration—will help to win the war in which this nation is engaged.

The policy is, in brief, the sacrifice of non-essential employment and industry to the essential war activities of the nation; the placement of Canadians, except the very old and the very young, where their efforts can best contribute to victory; and, in consequence of this, a combined war winning effort of essential civilian industries and the war industries which will absorb the available supply of manpower and womanpower. "Non-essential civilian activities are to be curtailed or eliminated." It is easy to state such a policy in a general way. The tremendous complexity of the task is realized by the prime minister, and faced by him with a determination to see it through.

Mr. King says plainly that the policy "may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some." But this inconvenience and this hardship on the home front will be so negligible as compared with what is suffered on the war fronts of the world—so negligible, too, compared with what would be suffered by Canadians if the Axis nations were victorious—that there can be no complaint about it on the part of good citizens. Said Mr. King: "Such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom, but of our country's freedom and the freedom of mankind." He pointed to no easy path to victory. The United Nations have not yet begun to win the war, he said.

And winning the war requires, as he pointed out, "a supply of manpower to fight" as well as "a supply of manpower to make weapons." The task of the government is to strike the difficult balance between the provision of mechanisms and of men to use them against the enemy. Another difficult problem is to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be kept in Canada and what proportion sent overseas. Such issues will be decided by the course of the war. But in the meantime the government is planning to utilize for war purposes, in one branch of service or in another, the whole manpower and womanpower of the nation not required by essential civilian industries and occupations.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

The Selective Service Program

Premier King announced last night a government policy of national selective service which will change the course of many Canadian lives, will bring inconvenience and disturbance to a host of Canada's citizens, will interfere to a marked degree with the normal course of employment and business in the Dominion and—this is, after all, the vital consideration—will help to win the war in which this nation is engaged.

The policy is, in brief, the sacrifice of non-essential employment and industry to the essential war activities of the nation; the placement of Canadians, except the very old and the very young, where their efforts can best contribute to victory; and, in consequence of this, a combined war winning effort of essential civilian industries and the war industries which will absorb the available supply of manpower and womanpower. "Non-essential civilian activities are to be curtailed or eliminated." It is easy to state such a policy in a general way. The tremendous complexity of the task is realized by the prime minister, and faced by him with a determination to see it through.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Call to Common Task

Most significant point of the Prime Minister's address last night was his submission that the success of the new manpower plan depends upon the wholehearted co-operation of all citizens of Canada.

Each of us may have his individual criticism, but this must be tossed overboard. The only way to achieve total war is to submit ourselves to complete acceptance of a general and well-directed plan. Thus we can not be beaten.

Not only the labor unions are called upon to make their contribution. Professional men and women, businessmen and women, farmers and working housewives must make theirs. It is upon specialized crafts which tradesmen can bring to the making of war machines that very much depends, but not entirely. Their skills would be useless unless behind them were those of draftsmen and foremen and managers and a host of supporting people amongst the general public who now are to take their places much nearer the front line. This is but to say that in war production, as in the larger life, no man lives to himself alone. Each derives, each contributes, each is essential; and beyond the remuneration of the individual is the ultimate reward of the common war task, well done for the good of all.

Could this truth be grasped by all workers—using the word in its best and widest sense, as embracing the man at the top down to the humblest laborer and the tiniest office boy, industrial unrest with its attendant bitterness on both sides would disappear. We should then leave the bad habits of peace behind us.

That we do not do so is because the magnitude of our crisis still eludes the imagination of so many. Not even yet are they fully awake. They are still rubbing their eyes in the hope it is just a nightmare.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipg Free Press.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

D 43292

Selective Service Needs

Mr. King last night outlined in general terms the next stages toward total war which have become necessary for the Canadian people. The response of the nation will more than meet his expectations. All that will be asked is that the measures he described will be put into operation with the least delay possible. Each man and woman will meet the requirements of the general plan. The chief difficulty at the present time is that the individual has difficulty in seeing where he, or she, fits into the scheme of total war. For this reason above all direction is necessary. When the direction is given, the response will be more than adequate.

The main responsibility for the control of the nation's manpower is now being centralized in the Department of Labor, under Mr. Elliott M. Little, director of national selective service. This is as it should be, for it will greatly simplify administration if military and industrial needs are concentrated under a single department instead of being divided as they have been hitherto. The task means the immediate expansion of personnel in that department, and this is something that is already under way.

* * *

The immediate measures announced by Mr. King are in themselves very moderate steps forward. Employment is not being frozen: employees can quit or be laid off provided notice is given to the employment office; and no person can be hired without a permit from the same source. It is envisaged, however, that movement from one district to another may be restricted, and this is reasonable in view of the fact that movements across the country from one job to another are more likely to dislocate employment and create ancillary problems of housing and so forth than movements inside districts and regions.

It is blind to imagine that these next steps can be taken without inconvenience and vexation to the normal routine of business and employment. They will be. But anyone who has studied the steps taken in other belligerent countries which have undertaken a war effort as great or greater than ours knows that they are inevitable. The Free Press has warned its readers for a year or more that what is now announced was bound to come. Only yesterday we published a summary of the steps taken to transfer men and material to war purposes in Britain, and we propose to follow this up with further articles which, drawing on the experience of other countries, will indicate the shape of things to come here. From the existence of present moderate but widespread shortages of manpower it is obvious that, as time goes on, more and more dislocation of normal life will be inevitable.

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... D 42283 .....

Date .....

Subject .....

What we ask today is that the present shortages be eliminated with the least delay possible. Mr. King's broadcast, by assuring us of the close co-operation of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and the Department of Labor tells us that the function of the former body is to be enlarged far beyond its immediate job of regulating prices. A joint responsibility is being placed on these two organs of government to work together to eliminate non-essential industry and concentrate the national resources of men and material in war jobs.

* * *

There has been a widespread tendency in Canada to interpret selective service in terms of calling young, fit men up for military service overseas. Mr. King's listeners were, we hope, convinced by his talk that this is one of the easiest and, relatively speaking, one of the less important parts of a much larger job. Selective service involves a demand upon a citizenship far wider than that which is comprised in what has been called the fighting manpower pool, a very large proportion of which is already under the colors. What is in mind now is a demand upon women and upon secondary manpower which, together, will be called on first of all to fill the gaps left by men called up for military service and, secondly, to fill the ranks of industry and agriculture where shortages are as critical as in the armed forces.

This means a degree of dislocation of our normal civilian life far greater than that caused by the volunteering or calling up of young men few of whom have reached positions of responsibility in civilian life. Selective service means the removal of men hitherto considered as holding key positions in their normal occupations and of women who have been performing the usual tasks of women in peacetime. The demands now to be made are rendered inevitable by the rapidly growing magnitude of a programme which, laid down in 1940, is only now reaching its critically difficult phase. There is a very special duty upon the individual employer and employee to recognize this fact and to meet the demands of essential selective service without, each one, considering that his job is essential while his neighbor's is not. It will also mean a considerable dislocation of family life, particularly in highly industrialized districts, a matter which has caused especial concern in the Quebec newspaper press. There, as elsewhere, there must be recognition of the fact that if we want to preserve the sanctity of our lives in Canada, the way to do it is to meet the needs of the present crisis without flinching.

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 13294

Name of Publication Kingston Whig-Standard

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

The Prime Minister Makes an Important Announcement

Canada's contribution to the battle of nations for freedom must be made as comprenhensive as possible, and every man and woman must be directed into the most useful capacity. Any and every means to accomplish this all-important end must be employed. The Government is taking steps to organize and unify manpower to this purpose.

That is the body of the speech given by Prime Minister King over the radio last night in which he announced that the task of calling up men for military service will be transferred in the near future from the National War Services Department to Elliott M. Little, Director of National Selective Service.

* * *

The purpose of this change, as Mr. King emphasized, is to avoid undue dislocation of war industry which has found, and would continue to find, its manpower shuffling as a result of calling men up for military service. By a close co-ordination, hereafter, between the Department of National War Services, which has had charge of the military end, and the National Selective Service Administration, which has been responsible for the organization of the civilian manpower, it is planned that this problem will largely disappear. This is, of course, much to be desired as far as the general public goes for the regular business and industry of the country must be carried on if the great output of munitions, equipment, supplies and foods, so necessary to a continuation of the struggle, is to be kept up to its present high level.

* * *

Another development necessary to the greatest effort of the Dominion, the Premier pointed out, is a special registration of the woman power of Canada, because this is a big factor in the entire picture.

Having learned of the sound policy which Mr. King has laid down — sound because over-lapping of administration, of methods or of personnel must be avoided, the people of this country will give patriotic support, The Whig-Standard believes, to what the Government proposes. They will applaud his declaration that this policy, and the measures to accomplish what is so urgently needed, "will be carried out without fear or favor and without regard for race or creed."

* * *

In this last statement is embodied a principle which is vital to harmony amongst all classes. There is still strong in the minds of many that grave dissatisfaction was widespread during the first Great War because of frequent examples reported of favoritism and of discrimination. The people, we feel confident, want to do whatever the exigencies of the war demand, but they also want to be assured that all persons will be treated alike so far as is humanly possible.

The fact stares us all in the face, regardless of any other local or national consideration, that we have "reached one of the gravest moments in history." It is not a time for despair, but it is a time for a serious realization of the peril which is inevitable unless the United Nations can concentrate their vast manpower and their resources effectively against the enemy. That is what the Government is undertaking to do, so far as Canada can help, and the maximum of co-operation is what every loyal citizen should give, and will give, we hope.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 43295

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

A Total War Effort

Further methods to regulate the working capacity of Canadian civilians and harness this to the country's war effort are announced by Prime Minister King. The purpose is to place every person but the old, the young and the disabled in jobs which will contribute to that total exertion for victory toward which the Government is steadily proceeding.

Non-essential civilian activities will be sharply curtailed or even eliminated, and the War-time Prices and Trade Board has been authorized to decide when, where and how these new controls shall apply. Additional measures will be adopted to obtain accurate information on the availability of workers, and a registration of women will be undertaken in September. Thus is essential war work designed for almost every fit Canadian of either sex who is not so engaged at present.

Mr. King appeals to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept this direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest. National Selective Service can not succeed, he reminds the people, unless the officials in charge of it receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens. He trusts that no one will favour selective service for some one else and himself try to escape it. Every person's aid is needed to help forge the weapons of victory, and it is by individual effort, efficiently performed, that the nation's total contribution will become effective.

Canada's men on the battle fronts, as well as those in other zones of conflict, have to be kept adequately supplied with the best equipment this country can produce. To win, they must be better armed than their foes. So far, however, the United Nations have not begun to win this vast struggle, the Premier emphasizes, and the peril to the world's freedom has never been plainer than it is at this time. Yet, instead of making for despair, that grim fact should evoke only a stronger determination on the part of the Canadian people to put forth the supreme effort that will enable their fighting sons to do their full share in the common task. Mr. King concludes his announcement by stating that there is still a considerable number of Canadian civilians who can render a greater national service than they have been able to do so far.

No anxiety need be felt respecting present jobs, as all civilians who are directed to accept more vital war work will be entitled, upon termination of the latter, to reinstatement in their previous employment. More sacrifice is therefore expected of the Canadian people.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 43296

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Mr. King's Manpower Broadcast

The country was told last evening by the prime minister that "total effort for total war" is the aim of his government and that the time has come when "any and every means" to that end must be employed. It came long ago and, because of the delay in acting in accordance with the imperative need, the great majority of Canadians have been impatient and resentful to a steadily mounting degree.

They are extremely anxious to have "the best use made of the services of all" within our borders in the prosecution of the dominion's part in the war. Mr. King said that the government was determined to make sure of this. That it will proceed to do so is profoundly to be hoped. But it was necessary for him to go much further in his broadcast in order to give assurance that the demands of the war situation, which he described in all its gravity, will be adequately met by Canada.

Much may be accomplished through the wide authority to be conferred on the national selective service administration, which is to be responsible to the minister of labor. It will be in a position to exercise control over the manner in which our manpower and womanpower resources are to be utilized far beyond anything of the kind that has been attempted hitherto. An end had to be put to the conditions which permitted various departments to compete for the available manpower supplies.

The adoption of a coordinated policy has been greatly overdue. An important step in that direction is being taken through the committing to the selective service administration of the task it is about to assume, which includes the calling up of men for military duty. Up to the present that has been the function of the department of war services. The boards established by the latter are to be retained but only to hear appeals from the decisions of the selective service officials.

* * *

All must undertake the work for which they are best qualified, Mr. King declared. That is why a complete system of selective service has been urged by those who realize what is at stake in the war and who want Canada to do her full duty in defeating the enemy. But it cannot be complete if those who are best fitted to serve with the armed forces are to be free to refuse to give that service outside the country, where the result of the titanic struggle will be decided, while compulsion is applied for purposes of home defence or for ensuring maximum production of materials of war.

Mr. King said that "the lives of our fighting men depend on men for reinforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil at home," which cannot very well be disputed. How much that reinforcement may soon be needed was vividly impressed by the news that came earlier in "the memorable day," to which he referred in his opening sentence, of the part that our troops overseas had taken in the raid on Dieppe. But he gave no indication that he has any intention of applying conscription, in accordance with the power to do so that he received from parliament, in order to make certain that they can be properly reinforced when their lives may, as he declared, depend on this.

* * *

The prime minister told his audience that compulsory service or conscription had been part of the law of the land since 1940 and that that had been frequently forgotten. He was recalling "The National Resources Mobilization Act," which was passed two years ago last June. It gave the government immense powers of which it has been exceedingly slow to avail itself. But he did not mention that the measure provided these powers were "not to be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof." The limitation was removed only recently, after the people of the dominion by the plebiscite had expressed their overwhelming desire for the lifting of the restriction.

But, though Mr. King was thus left free to introduce conscription for overseas, he astounded everybody by saying that, before doing so, he would call parliament togeth r again and ask for a vote of confidence. That meant more temporizing and no one knows whether or not he plans such conscription, which is unquestionably a vitally necessary part of the "total effort for total war" that he set forth last evening as his government's objective.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Mr. King said that "the lives of our fighting men depend on men for reinforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil at home," which cannot very well be disputed. How much that reinforcement may soon be needed was vividly impressed by the news that came earlier in "the memorable day," to which he referred in his opening sentence, of the part that our troops overseas had taken in the raid on Dieppe. But he gave no indication that he has any intention of applying conscription, in accordance with the power to do so that he received from parliament, in order to make certain that they can be properly reinforced when their lives may, as he declared, depend on this.

* * *

The prime minister told his audience that compulsory service or conscription had been part of the law of the land since 1940 and that that had been frequently forgotten. He was recalling "The National Resources Mobilization Act," which was passed two years ago last June. It gave the government immense powers of which it has been exceedingly slow to avail itself. But he did not mention that the measure provided these powers were "not to be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof." The limitation was removed only recently, after the people of the dominion by the plebiscite had expressed their overwhelming desire for the lifting of the restriction.

But, though Mr. King was thus left free to introduce conscription for overseas, he astounded everybody by saying that, before doing so, he would call parliament together again and ask for a vote of confidence. That meant more temporizing and no one knows whether or not he plans such conscription, which is unquestionably a vitally necessary part of the "total effort for total war" that he set forth last evening as his government's objective.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43297

Name of Publication Prince Albert Herald.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

National Selective Service Coming

DRASTIC additional interference with their personal liberties looms immediately ahead, Prime Minister King advised Canadians last night. Not much longer will it be the privilege of Canadians to work for whom they wish, when they wish and where they wish.

Positive direction is to be applied to channel workers into essential jobs. Despite what Mr. King had to say about conscription of labor not being involved, this is what we will have, in effect if not in name, under the national selective service plan announced by Mr. King.

Selective service implies compulsion and while the intention may be to proceed by the method of persuasion, the authority to compel is strongly evident in the controls the government intends to fasten upon the manpower of the nation.

We have come to the point when the tightening of the manpower situation in Canada makes the adoption of national selective service unavoidable.

As Mr. King explained, Canada has reached the stage in her war effort when there must be positive intelligent direction of the utilization of her manpower if the nation is to be able to exert the total war effort of which Canada is capable.

The time is at hand when one central authority must be entrusted with the responsibility of designating those who are to serve in essential industries and those who are to enter the fighting services, if we are to achieve a balanced total effort. This step is to be taken in the near future, Mr. King advised.

We might as well resign ourselves to the fact that additional curtailments of our personal liberties are essential if Canada as a nation is to contribute as much as she is capable of to the destruction of the Axis might. We cannot enjoy our Four Freedoms now and pull our weight in winning the war. It appears to us that the right spirit for Canadians to show in accepting the temporary drastic curtailment of their liberties is to rejoice over the evidence that Canada's contribution to victory is well on the way toward its goal of complete regimentation of the 11,500,000 Canadians to match the regimentation of our German and Japanese foes.

The fact that Canadians at long last have gone into action in France in the Dieppe show should make it easier for civilians back home to accept the yoke of temporary loss of their liberties.

Many a Canadian died a hero's death on the soil of France in yesterday's prelude to the victory invasion of the continent which will come eventually. None of the sacrifices civilians will have to make under the national selective service regulations soon to go into effect can be compared to those that the members of our fighting forces are prepared to make—and are making—on our behalf.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43298

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

King Speech 'of Vital Import to Canadian People'

President B. C. Moxon of Vancouver Board of Trade today expressed the opinion that the radio statement of Prime Minister Mackenzie King Wednesday night was one of the most important messages ever given to the people of Canada.

"It should compel every citizen in the Dominion to realize that Canada is now entering a new phase in the national life as definitely a part of the all-out war effort of the Allied Nations," Mr. Moxon said.

"The proposals should take care of the very serious situation that exists in the essential industries.

"They will work some hardship on many non-essential industrial and other commercial activities. Nevertheless these sacrifices must be and will be made so that, as the Prime Minister puts it, we will all make a 100 percent contribution.

"It is to be hoped that no time will be lost in bringing into effect the Prime Minister's recommendations and thus permit of no delay in utilization of Canada's available manpower for the great program that lies ahead of us."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43299

Name of Publication Le Devoir.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

M. KING ET LA MOBILISATION GENERALE

"Le service obligatoire, autrement dit la conscription, pour tout le Canada, dans tout le Canada, fait partie des lois du pays depuis 1940. On a souvent oublié cela, si on ne l'a pas délibérément ignoré", a dit hier soir M. King dans son discours sur le problème de la main-d'oeuvre au Canada. Après ce discours d'hier soir et l'exposé qu'il a fait largement des mesures que son gouvernement a décidé de prendre dès septembre prochain pour assurer la main-d'oeuvre essentielle à l'effort de guerre canadien, il ne sera guère possible d'ignorer que la conscription fait en effet partie des lois du Canada depuis juin 1940. La loi de la mobilisation générale votée alors en vitesse, — personne n'avait eu le temps de se rendre compte de tout ce qu'elle pouvait contenir, surtout entre les lignes, — comporte l'attribution d'une vaste série de pouvoirs extraordinaires au gouvernement, car elle met à sa disposition tous les hommes et les femmes ainsi que tous leurs biens, au Canada, pour la poursuite de la guerre. C'est de cette loi que dériveront les dispositions prises par le ministère et la direction du service sélectif obligatoire, ces mois prochains. Après avoir déclaré que "les Nations-Unies n'ont pas encore commencé à gagner cette guerre", — et il y aura bientôt trois ans qu'elle dure et que le Canada y est entré, — M. King pose le principe que "tous les citoyens du Canada doivent servir de la manière la plus utile l'effort de guerre canadien" et déclare que "le principe suivi par le gouvernement est de veiller à ce que tout homme et toute femme capables d'accomplir quelque forme de service de guerre remplissent les fonctions les mieux adaptées à leurs aptitudes et aux nécessités de la guerre. . ." Cela comprend "les services des femmes aussi bien que des hommes; les services de toutes les personnes, jeunes et vieilles; les services. . . de tout le monde, excepté des très jeunes, des très vieux et des invalides. Nous appelons l'ensemble de tout cela "le total des ressources humaines. . ." Elles comprennent les ressources féminines ainsi que celles de la jeunesse". Ce sera "le service sélectif national", dit M. King. "Tous les services civils seront naturellement réduits au minimum". M. Elliott Little, préposé suprême à la direction de ce service sélectif obligatoire, fournira prochainement des détails précis sur les exigences indispensables de ce service et sur l'étendue des prestations auxquelles sera astreinte la population canadienne, ce qui en reste disponible, comme ce qui en est déjà occupé aux oeuvres de guerre et qui pourra être affecté à d'autres tâches que les présentes. "On entreprendra sous peu un enregistrement spécial des ressources féminines". Les individus, hommes ou femmes, seront aux ordres du gouvernement. Les patrons ne pourront congédier personne sans un avis de congé, motivé et pour raisons approuvées par un organisme gouvernemental. De même ils ne pourront engager personne sans un permis spécial. Les gens seront obligés de travailler selon que le voudra le gouvernement, où il le voudra, aux tâches qu'il désignera, et le temps qu'il voudra. Tout cela, dit M. King, "afin que la liberté ne disparaisse pas de la terre", menacée qu'elle est par des adversaires implacables. (On trouvera ailleurs la substance du texte de M. King).

En marge de ce discours significatif, et lourd de conséquences pour tous les individus, sauf les très jeunes, les trop vieux et les infirmes, on peut signaler les statistiques que le Bureau fédéral des statistiques vient de rendre publiques au sujet de la possibilité d'accroître la main-d'oeuvre en mettant au travail les femmes mariées, surtout de moins de 35 ans. Il y a 1,200,000 femmes qui gagnent leur vie, présentement, au Canada. D'après Ottawa, des 2,285,000 femmes qui tenaient maison en août 1940, au pays, il n'y en aurait eu, en juillet 1941 que 68,000 travaillant dans l'industrie. L'étude des statistiques a révélé que la masse des hommes sont au travail et que ce réservoir sera bientôt épuisé. D'autre part le gouvernement pourrait contraindre un nombre considérable de femmes, qui ne travaillent pas encore dans les industries, — soit 3,300,000, — à prendre place dans l'organisme économique du pays, de préférence celles de 16 à 34 ans et même de 35 à 44 ans. Il faudrait organiser, avant d'exploiter cette main-d'oeuvre nombreuse, des garderies, des pouponnières, des cantines publiques, des blanchisseries, etc. Ainsi raisonne-t-on. Mais il y a l'aspect social du travail féminin en masse, celui de l'absence des femmes mariées du foyer, où il y a à prendre soin de l'homme et des enfants, etc. Il sera essentiel de tenir compte de tout cela, et de ne pas voir que les chiffres, sans plus. Souhaitons qu'Ottawa s'en avise sérieusement. Il ne faudrait pas ajouter au bouleversement de la société par la guerre le bouleversement de la famille par l'industrie de guerre.—G.P.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir.

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43300

Name of Publication London Times

Date Aug. 21/42

Subject

CANADA'S GREAT DAY

MR. MACKENZIE KING ON DIEPPE RAID

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

OTTAWA, AUG. 20

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, last night delivered his postponed broadcast in which he dealt chiefly with the man-power problem. He said that he spoke on a great day for Canada, when the Canadian troops had been in the battle action for which they had been long preparing and hoping to join, and the Canadian people should be proud that their army had the foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

With regard to policy about man-power, he avoided any reference to oversea conscription, but made some other announcements. He said that voluntary enlistment of men for the active Army, Navy, and Air Force would continue to be carried on by the three defence departments, but the work of calling up men for military service would in the near future be transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Director of the National Selective Service, who functions under the Ministry of Labour. This change was designed to avoid undue dislocation of war industry through the drafting of men for the Army.

He also announced that special surveys and registers of man-power would be made from time to time to provide a clear picture of the situation as required; that there would be undertaken a special registration of women; and that employers would be asked to report all additions and removals from their staffs since April 1.

DANGER GREATER

Reviewing cursorily the recent developments of the war, Mr. King said that the raid must not cause Canadians to lose their perspective of the whole struggle. There had been grave reverses lately and new threats, and the United Nations had not yet begun to win this war. Their danger was not only plainer but greater than ever, but it was a moment for greater determination to win rather than for despair. Canada's contribution must be made as comprehensive as possible, and every man and woman must be directed into the most useful capacity. The new man-power policy would affect all but the very young, the very old, and the disabled, and would be administered without fear or favour and without regard for race or creed, because any and every means to accomplish our aims must be employed.

Explaining that the basis of the policy was that every man and woman capable of performing some kind of war service should undertake the type for which he or she was best qualified or most useful for the demands of war, Mr. King said that for this objective controls would be exercised, after a fixed period, for making unemployed persons accept any work for which there was special need, and for transferring persons already employed to new employment more directly associated with the war effort. Hereafter persons seeking employment or employers seeking new workers must have permits from the employment office. He also announced that the Government, having decided to eliminate or to curtail all non-essential civilian activities, had instructed the War-time Prices Trade Board to take the necessary measures.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 4330 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

M. King et le travail des femmes

Sur le discours de mercredi — Si le Premier Ministre retrouvait ses yeux d'autrefois — La désorganisation des foyers — Le tragique avertissement des évêques

Le dernier discours de M. King atteste que le Premier Ministre n'a pas renoncé à l'idée qui lui paraît tellement tenir au coeur: jeter dans les services militaires, directs ou indirects, le maximum possible de femmes, même mariées.

M. King devrait être, pourtant, accessible à certaines considérations d'ordre extra-militaire. Le Premier Ministre n'est pas un individu quelconque, sans horizon. C'est un homme cultivé, qui s'est toute sa vie occupé des questions sociales.

Ne serait-il pas capable de comprendre que la première chose qui importe au salut du pays, c'est la conservation et la multiplication de ses foyers, que tout le reste, par conséquent, est secondaire et que toute blessure infligée au foyer atteint dans ses oeuvres vives la nation elle-même?

* * *

M. King parlait l'autre soir des ravages que pourrait causer au foyer canadien le triomphe des Allemands et de leurs alliés. On voudrait tout de même s'entendre, essayer de voir les choses telles qu'elles sont.

Personne ne conteste que les côtes et même l'intérieur du Canada, comme les côtes et l'intérieur des Etats-Unis, soient accessibles, qu'ils puissent être l'objet de *raids* audacieux; mais le Premier Ministre croit-il que, même vainqueurs, les Allemands entreprendront d'établir en Amérique leur autorité politique, avec ou malgré la certitude de dresser contre eux, à tout jamais, *toutes* les Amériques?

Feuilletez les journaux, écoutez les discours de là-bas: sauf quelques formules vagues sur les ambitions mondiales des Allemands, vous n'y trouverez, de la part des pires adversaires de l'Axe, que des accusations de ce genre: les Allemands veulent organiser une fédération européenne dont ils seraient en réalité les maîtres; ils veulent mettre la main sur les richesses naturelles du Moyen-Orient, etc. Mais personne, même si on les croit capables et désireux de se créer en Amérique de puissantes intelligences, personne ne les accuse, avec quelque air de sérieux, de prétendre s'y tailler un empire territorial.

Ce n'est point qu'on doute de leur appétit ou de leur ambition; mais on les suppose doués d'une certaine intelligence et capables de calculs élémentaires.

Assimiler, comme l'a fait M. King, au cas de la Pologne ,pays voisin de l'Allemagne, en querelle séculaire avec elle, celui du Canada, qui appartient à un autre monde, et qui, en dépit des progrès de l'aviation et de la navigation sous-marine, restera toujours séparé de l'Allemagne par un océan et de vastes espaces ,terrestres, c'est un peu — soyons polis! — forcer la note.

* * *

A la lointaine hypothèse du sac des foyers canadiens par l'Allemagne, M. King oppose une réalité immédiate, indiscutable celle-là: la désorganisation des foyers canadiens par le travail féminin maximum aux usines et à l'armée.

Certes, nous n'ignorons pas qu'il est à peu près impossible de supprimer le travail de la femme dans l'usine de guerre; mais, de là à organiser systématiquement la désertion des foyers, il y a tout de même une distance.

M. King peut, à l'occasion, être un émouvant orateur. Il sait écrire, composer un tableau, en faire saillir les traits principaux. On l'a pu constater une fois de plus l'autre soir. Que ne redevient-il pour un moment le sociologue d'autrefois!

Quel tableau il pourrait alors faire des conséquences de cette désertion des foyers, de ces enfants confiés à des mains étrangères, quand ils ne sont pas à peu près abandonnés, des mères et des futures mères atteintes dans leur santé physique — et morale trop souvent — et compromettant ainsi l'avenir?

Ce ne sont pas les chiffres qui lui manqueraient. Tous les observateurs crient déjà l'inquiétude que leur cause la hausse de la criminalité enfantine. Que sera-ce quand on aura jeté à l'usine plus de mères encore?

Nous ne faisons point à M. King l'injure de croire qu'il veuille autre chose que l'intérêt du Canada.

Mais alors qu'il regarde donc, avec ses yeux d'autrefois, — avec ses yeux d'observateur dressé aux bonnes méthodes, — ce qui se passe déjà! Qu'il songe aux conséquences probables — trop certaines plutôt — du régime qu'il propose!

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir.

Date Aug. 21/42.

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Ce n'est point qu'on doute de leur appétit ou de leur ambition; mais on les suppose doués d'une certaine intelligence et capables de calculs élémentaires.

Assimiler, comme l'a fait M. King, au cas de la Pologne ,pays voisin de l'Allemagne, en querelle séculaire avec elle, celui du Canada, qui appartient à un autre monde, et qui, en dépit des progrès de l'aviation et de la navigation sous-marine, restera toujours séparé de l'Allemagne par un océan et de vastes espaces terrestres, c'est un peu — soyons polis! — forcer la note.

* * *

A la lointaine hypothèse du sac des foyers canadiens par l'Allemagne, M. King oppose une réalité immédiate, indiscutable celle-là: la désorganisation des foyers canadiens par le travail féminin maximum aux usines et à l'armée.

Certes, nous n'ignorons pas qu'il est à peu près impossible de supprimer le travail de la femme dans l'usine de guerre; mais, de là à organiser systématiquement la désertion des foyers, il y a tout de même une distance.

M. King peut, à l'occasion, être un émouvant orateur. Il sait écrire, composer un tableau, en faire saillir les traits principaux. On l'a pu constater une fois de plus l'autre soir. Que ne redevient-il pour un moment le sociologue d'autrefois!

Quel tableau il pourrait alors faire des conséquences de cette désertion des foyers, de ces enfants confiés à des mains étrangères, quand ils ne sont pas à peu près abandonnés, des mères et des futures mères atteintes dans leur santé physique — et morale trop souvent — et compromettant ainsi l'avenir?

Ce ne sont pas les chiffres qui lui manqueraient. Tous les observateurs crient déjà l'inquiétude que leur cause la hausse de la criminalité enfantine. Que sera-ce quand on aura jeté à l'usine plus de mères encore?

Nous ne faisons point à M. King l'injure de croire qu'il veuille autre chose que l'intérêt du Canada.

Mais alors qu'il regarde donc, avec ses yeux d'autrefois, — avec ses yeux d'observateur dressé aux bonnes méthodes, — ce qui se passe déjà! Qu'il songe aux conséquences probables — trop certaines plutôt — du régime qu'il propose!

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43302

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Le Premier Ministre n'est point un fanatique. Il sait fort bien qu'il n'est pas un corps plus désintéressé, plus détaché de toute passion partisane, plus soucieux de ne pas se mêler à d'inutiles querelles, plus respectueux aussi de l'autorité civile, que l'épiscopat catholique. Il sait qu'il n'en est pas qui puisse disposer de plus puissants moyens d'information, qui regarde les choses de plus haut.

Or, quelques semaines après qu'il eut prononcé ce discours du 24 mars où il énonçait les grandes lignes de son programme, M. King a pu lire, sous la signature de tous les évêques catholiques du Canada, ces paroles auxquelles leur sobriété voulue donne un accent de gravité particulièrement émouvant:

FAUT-IL AUSSI EXPRIMER L'INQUIETUDE QUE NOUS CAUSENT LES MESURES DESTINEES A ATTIRER LES FEMMES, ET LES MERES SURTOUT, HORS DU FOYER, POUR LES APPLIQUER AU TRAVAIL DE L'USINE OU A D'AUTRES OCCUPATIONS PEU SEANTES A LEUR SEXE? SA SAINTETE LE PAPE PIE XII LE RAPPELAIT RECEMMENT, "C'EST DANS LES LIENS DE LA FAMILLE QUE REPOSENT LA FORCE ET LA GLOIRE D'UNE NATION, UNE NATION NE PEUT SUBSISTER AVEC DES FAMILLES DISLOQUEES". IL EST GRANDEMENT A CRAINDRE QUE LA DISLOCATION DE NOS FAMILLES NE DESAXE AUSSI TOUTE LA VIE SOCIALE DE NOTRE PAYS

M. King est de taille pourtant à comprendre un pareil avertissement, et sa tragique portée.

21-VIII-42

Omer HEROUX

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21-VIII-42

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

48303

Name of Publication Le Devoir.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

LA MOBILISATION GENERALE CANADIENNE

La presse canadienne en général traduit l'impatience du public de savoir au juste de quoi il retournera, au sujet des nouveaux règlements de la mobilisation générale dont M. King a parlé une demi-heure mercredi soir, à la radio. Tous reconnaissent que la loi étant la loi, il faut s'y soumettre, si grandes puissent être les exigences nouvelles du gouvernement. Il a tous les pouvoirs, il peut en user à fond et personne ne saurait se risquer à déconseiller au public l'obéissance à la loi. Ce qui importe, c'est que le public connaisse au plus tôt, ainsi que le note déjà le "Droit" (20 août), quelles charges nouvelles on lui imposera. Un journal ministériel, le "Soleil" de Québec (20 août: "Il faut se soumettre à la loi"), écrit, après avoir conseillé à ses lecteurs de se conformer aux nouvelles dispositions qu'on leur fera connaître bientôt, et exprimé l'opinion qu'on devra procéder "avec intelligence, avec équité et même avec humanité", qu'il "se garde bien d'approuver le principe et l'étendue de la loi de mobilisation telle qu'elle a été amendée à la dernière session" (alors que M. King en a fait retrancher la clause qui limitait le service militaire obligatoire à la seule défense territoriale du Canada). Le "Soleil" ajoute: "Les pouvoirs conférés au gouvernement canadien sont presque sans limites. Ils dépassent ceux du gouvernement des Etats-Unis, sinon ceux du gouvernement anglais". Après un couplet sur "la sagesse de M. King et de ses collègues", en lesquels il faudrait avoir confiance, et un autre sur "l'espoir qu'ils n'abuseront pas de leur autorité", le "Soleil" écrit: "Mais cet espoir deviendrait précaire si le premier ministre disparaissait de la scène fédérale, et surtout s'il était remplacé par un impérialiste outrancier comme ceux qui prétendent que l'Angleterre a droit de compter sur le sacrifice total des ressources du Canada jusqu'au dernier homme. Tant pis pour les esprits légers qui ne voient pas ce danger poindre à l'horizon politique". Enfin, le "Soleil" y va précautionneusement de quelques mots sur le "bouleversement social qui peut résulter de l'application de la présente loi" [de mobilisation 1940] conférant au gouvernement canadien des pouvoirs sans limites.

A Ottawa, il y a quelques heures, la directrice adjointe (section féminine) du service national sélectif, madame Rex Eaton, vient de dire, selon une dépêche de la "Canadian Press", que "l'enregistrement des femmes de 20 à 24 ans va commencer le 14 septembre, pour qu'on sache combien il y a de femmes non mariées disponibles, qu'on pourrait employer dans les industries de guerre où l'on manque déjà de main-d'oeuvre. "Autant que possible, nous épargnerons ces sortes d'emplois aux femmes mariées qui ont des enfants. Nous avons jusqu'ici accepté des femmes de cette catégorie, parce que nous n'avions pas de réservoir bien délimité de femmes non mariées où pouvoir puiser", ajoute madame Eaton, parlant devant des déléguées de 21 associations nationales de femmes. Madame Eaton déclare que "l'enregistrement sera obligatoire tant pour les femmes mariées que pour les célibataires, mais qu'il n'y aura pas d'obligation pour les femmes d'accepter des emplois. Il s'agit simplement de leur donner une direction, — National selective service will be purely directive", dit-elle. A remarquer que madame Eaton dit qu'"autant que possible" on évitera de mobiliser les femmes mariées qui ont des enfants. Cela ne lie pas autrement la Commission du service national sélectif, car elle a les pouvoirs les plus absolus, qui lui sont délégués par le gouvernement, aux termes de la loi de mobilisation générale de 1940. Il y a lieu de souhaiter qu'elle laisse chez elles les mères de famille, qui sont le pivot du vrai foyer, dans notre province peut-être encore plus qu'ailleurs, certainement plus qu'aux Etats-Unis, où, du reste, on a renoncé il y a quelque temps, et du moins pour plusieurs mois, à la mobilisation des femmes pour service dans les établissements industriels. Il avait été question d'un enregistrement tel que celui de septembre prochain chez nous, mais Washington a ajourné indéfiniment ce projet. "As a nation, we are not yet more than ankle deep in the war", a dit de son pays, à Washington, le congressman Tolan, de l'Etat de Californie. Nous y sommes, au Canada, déjà plus qu'à la hauteur de la cheville. . . — G. P.

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Name of Publication Le Devoir.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D43304

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 21 1942

Subject

Mr. King's Radio Address: Its Style and Delivery.

Listening to Mr. MACKENZIE KING over the radio Wednesday night one could not help thinking what a handicap it is to a war leader to be unable to use direct language when issuing grave warnings to his people.

Mr. KING started out well; brought up his listeners all-standing with:

> "We were proud to hear of the part played by Canadians in today's raid on Dieppe, that they had a foremost place. But news of the raid should not destroy our sense of perspective. . . . It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan design to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India. . . . On all the seven seas the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. . . . The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. . . . We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation."

Straight talk that—necessary.

It seemed unfortunate to us that he then trailed off into an unnecessarily verbose and involved statement about coming National Selective Service. The points he had to make did not stand out clearly—or as clearly as they might have without the wordage of a carefully-prepared essay.

To people who did not hear the opening of it—and there were doubtless thousands—the address sounded just like one of Mr. KING's usual parliamentary or political speeches. "Old stuff." He touched on so many phases, buried the gravely-intended admonitions in so many long explanations, that we suspect few who heard him could have given if asked a correct summary of the Government's proposed new radical regulations.

And he ended with what was meant to be an earnest peroration but that did not bring listeners back to the horror of his opening utterances.

We have before expressed a wish that he would employ some expert in forceful presentation to revise his addresses. Or we would have liked Mr. KING on Wednesday night to have begun as he did and repeated his starting words at the end with, in between, a direct, definite and clear statement by Mr. ELLIOTT LITTLE. As it was, the summary of the address as prepared by The Canadian Press for the newspapers was much clearer and more useful than Mr. KING's full reading of it.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE D 43305

Date AUG 21 1942

Subject

THE NEED, BUT NOT THE EFFORT.

Prime Minister King could not have made a better case for a total war effort than he did in his Wednesday night broadcast. He told of enemy successes and of enemy threats, the danger of "the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare"—the German-Japanese attempt to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India—a divided India. He said that the naval supremacy of the United Nations on all the seven seas is gravely threatened. "The United Nations," he said, "have not yet begun to win this war." There was more than this. "A total effort for total war has been the "goal toward which the Government has been "steadily striving." To achieve a total effort "we must not only raise, but be prepared to main- "tain, a Navy, an Army and an Air Force as large "as Canada can support in a long war."

Fighting services as large as Canada can support, and in a long war. But the programme announced by Prime Minister King does not provide for the creation and maintenance of such a force, particularly its maintenance "in a long war." It is not a programme by which the Government achieves "a total effort for total war." It provides for compulsion at home, compulsory selective service in the Army and in civilian activities—at home. It still falls short of compulsory selective service for overseas, where the fighting is being done, where Canadian troops went into action on Wednesday. As Mr. King has admitted, there never was a legal obstacle to compulsory military service overseas. As a matter of fact the old Militia Act made provision for such service. There was a so-called moral obligation from which the Prime Minister asked to be freed last April, and from which he was freed.

Parliament amended the National Resources Mobilization Act to give the Government still further freedom of action in accordance with the nation's April verdict. But no action comes. According to Mr. King no action will come until he has gone back to Parliament and obtained a vote of confidence from it. And yet, "We have reached one of the gravest hours in history." Canadians have been in battle, and will be again, perhaps next week, perhaps tomorrow. The Government has been striving toward "a total effort for total war." Moreover, "the Government's policy "is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be "administered without fear or favor and without "regard for race, or creed, or class." All of which being so, and the Government having thus pledged itself to total war through a total war effort, it would seem that, if only as an evidence of sincerity, the pledge should be carried out. And not after the House of Commons, at some future date, has gone through the formality of recording a vote of confidence, but now, in these "gravest hours."

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D43306

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Maill

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

LIMITED SELECTIVE SERVICE

At last Canada is within sight of national selective service. Three years after the war began, two years after the Government took unto itself the power to conscript manpower and resources for war service, a plan has emerged. To pretend that its emergence has been progressive since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act is to fly at the facts. Nothing approaching the plan which Prime Minister King discussed with the nation Wednesday night has been in existence. There was not even machinery around which to plan until the National Selective Service office was established, and Mr. Elliott M. Little appointed director, last April.

There was little to the Prime Minister's speech that had not already been forecast. He was right in warning the people that the new measures will bring inconveniences and hardship. But he could warn them of nothing which they are not ready and willing to accept, though many will question how much of the hardship might have been avoided had national selective service been the basis of our planning from the beginning. What Mr. King drew in outline is the program, and the only program, by which the services the people have been clamoring to give could be fully and fairly utilized. The direction they are being asked to accept now they have pleaded for all through the gloomy days since Dunkirk.

Yet Mr. King's speech did not add up to a total plan. His own emphasis on "the gravity of the situation" that has driven the Government this far was the sternest criticism of what he left unsaid. Director Little will have full power to put us, men and women, to work as the need and our capabilities warrant. But there was nothing to indicate that he is to have the power to prevent skilled labor being needlessly wasted in military service. He has the power to defer essential men, but the deferred man can still volunteer for army, air force and navy.

Mr. Little is not concerned about where the army uses its men when it gets them. He is concerned about the type of manpower that goes into the forces, and about the loss to war industry of essential workers through the voluntary system. It is no secret that war production has been badly weakened on this account in the past. Not only should the leakage be stopped, but National Selective Service should have the power to reclaim for industry those skilled men whose training is not fully employed in the army.

If we read the Prime Minister's speech correctly, the Director of National Selective Service has no such authority. "We have come now," Mr. King said, "to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed." But he also said: "Control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory." In short, what Mr. King was trying to say was that any and every means, except conscription for service overseas, must be employed.

Women can be taken from homes to industry; businesses, factories, services will be shut down, or eliminated, by stripping them of their manpower; labor can be transferred from job to job, from one section of the country to another. But our overseas forces are to be maintained by volunteers. The thing is fantastic. Mr. King, having been driven by the gravity of war to adopt selective service, would risk the dislocation of the manpower plan rather than back out of an untenable political position.

Dislocation of the manpower program is the least we have to fear from continuance of the voluntary system. We have said before, and say again, if Mr. Little is to achieve a balanced distribution of the nation's manpower between armed services, industry and essential utilities, then he must have the power to say who shall and shall not enter the army, and make it stick. He cannot make it stick while the Government attempts to reinforce the Canadian Army, now poised for the invasion of Europe, with volunteers. If we are to have national selective service, then scrap the voluntary system, and make it selective all around.

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If we read the Prime Minister's speech correctly, the Director of National Selective Service has no such authority. "We have come now," Mr. King said, "to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed." But he also said: "Control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory." In short, what Mr. King was trying to say was that any and every means, except conscription for service overseas, must be employed.

Women can be taken from homes to industry; businesses, factories, services will be shut down, or eliminated, by stripping them of their manpower; labor can be transferred from job to job, from one section of the country to another. But our overseas forces are to be maintained by volunteers. The thing is fantastic. Mr. King, having been driven by the gravity of war to adopt selective service, would risk the dislocation of the manpower plan rather than back out of an untenable political position.

Dislocation of the manpower program is the least we have to fear from continuance of the voluntary system. We have said before, and say again, if Mr. Little is to achieve a balanced distribution of the nation's manpower between armed services, industry and essential utilities, then he must have the power to say who shall and shall not enter the army, and make it stick. He cannot make it stick while the Government attempts to reinforce the Canadian Army, now poised for the invasion of Europe, with volunteers. If we are to have national selective service, then scrap the voluntary system, and make it selective all around.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Journal.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Let Us Hear Now About Something Done.

In another two weeks we shall be in the fourth year of this war. Remembering that, many Canadians cannot be blamed if they are a bit impatient when Prime Minister King goes on the radio to tell what the Government hopes or plans to do about manpower.

The Government has been telling about its manpower plans and hopes ever since Dunkirk. But though we have had mobilization laws, and amendments to mobilization laws, and registrations and still more registrations, the net result of everything thus far has been talk and still more talk, and a hovering between persuasion and compulsion—with almost necessarily lack of organization and war harm and confusion.

Mr. KING may at last be about to do something; we hope so. But we think the country would like to tell him that it has had enough of promises and enough of dependence on persuasion and exhortation—that it is ready and waiting for the Government to tell people, and with authority, just what they must do. It is five minutes to twelve.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

AUG 2 1 1942

Date

Subject

Mr. King On Manpower

The overall objective, said Prime Minister King in his broadcast on national selective service, is "total war." To that end the government's policy is that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualfiied and which the demands of the war require."

Nobody can quarrel with that objective and that policy. The test will come in the application of the policy. The first essential is that it be applied firmly and impartially over the whole nation. Mr. King promised that it would. It would "be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race, class or creed." That is excellent.

Among the first steps will be a registration of womanpower. There will be a tightening up of existing measures for the control and direction of employment of all kinds. Soon no employer may dismiss a worker, and no worker will be able to quit, without suitable formalities. "Help wanted" advertisements will be controlled. Labor training will be increased and day nurseries set up for the children of working women. Most interesting, the W.P.T.B. is to begin cutting down non-essential production.

So far, so good. Will these and other policies aimed at placing "every man and woman" in the war job for which he or she is most suited be carried out without compulsion? Mr. King hopes so. He reiterated his faith in voluntarism. "In itself, compulsion has little or no merit," he said. That is true under normal circumstances, but under present circumstances, voluntarism has led to grievous and perhaps irremediable anomalies.

In the field of overseas military service it has led to conditions that may become tragic. As Mr. King said, "Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve." Exactly, and at this stage, a compulsory overseas army would be made up largely of those not willing to serve. Thus you have the obnoxious "two-army" trouble. Compulsion in the beginning, as in Britain and the United States, is the only fair and efficient policy in a democracy fighting for survival. And as in the military field, so it may prove in the industrial.

No master plan was disclosed by Mr. King. But he gave a comprehensive survey of the manpower situation and foretold the broad policy that is being formulated to meet it. And he rightly emphasized that national selective service cannot succeed without the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada. That co-operation will be forthcoming so long as it is demonstrated that the government means business and will carry out its plans promptly, vigorously and "without fear or favor."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 43309

Date AUG 2 1 1942

Subject

Great Changes Are Likely In Economic Life

What is construed as capable of bringing about large transformation in the economic life of the country is the policy outlined by Prime Minister King Wednesday whereby the Wartime Prices and Trade Board becomes the arbiter as to what is essential and non-essential industry.

The announced objective is to "curtail or eliminate" the latter. Combined with this is the purpose to save for, and divert to, war industry the manpower, womanpower, materials, machinery and electric or steam power now employed in such industries. It may be done partially or it may be done wholly.

That, really, was the new thing in Wednesday's pronouncement. Nearly everything which was said about selective service, the principle and purpose of it, and the method of procedure to be followed, had been said before.

Details Are Awaited

A great deal, however, remains to be outlined in the way of regulations by which the scheme will be applied in detail. Director E. M. Little is to supply such details before the month ends.

The Wartime Prices Board has already begun preparation for its widened responsibility. A committee of its experts has been at work on it for some time and extensive study is indicated. The board is unlikely to be enlarged for the purpose.

It was stated yesterday the new project will call for considerable study before there is an outline of what is to be done and how it is to be gone about.

Generally, however, it will call for new classifications, the elimination of dividing lines between essential and non-essential production, or the relative degree of each, and to what lines each of the affected industries would "switch." There is no intention of putting any industry out of business without proposing some alternative outlet for its productive energy.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

P 43310

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Victoria Colonist.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

AN APPEAL TO ALL

With one part of Mr. Mackenzie King's address to the nation on Wednesday evening people everywhere in this Dominion will agree. That was the Prime Minister's appeal for the utmost effective service from all able-bodied men and women in the country, each in their allotted place. Nor was his summation of the gravity of the undertaking at fault, this indeed being the hour at which freedom everywhere is at stake.

Mr. King also had behind him all of the people of the country when he paid a tribute to the valor of the Canadian forces overseas, and expressed Canada's pride and gratitude to those who stood up so staunchly for this country under fire in the epic attack on Dieppe.

For the rest, the Prime Minister had but little new to say. He rehearsed steps taken to carry out the man-power policy as laid down by the regime of which he is the head. He announced that national selective service would continue, with a transfer of that authority shortly from the National War Services eDpartment to Mr. Elliott M. Little, Director of National Selective Service.

In this, Mr. King showed clearly that he has had no change of heart, or of mind. Hearing his summing up of the position of the United Nations, and of the need for an all-out response on the part of free men and free women, many will have thought that there was in that ground for a somewhat larger and more compelling vision than the subsequent recital appeared anywhere to disclose. But with Mr. King's premise, that now is the time for the best that Canada can contribute in every stint and by every means, none will disagree. Three years ago that was a truism, nor has it changed today. It is rather on her actions that Canada will be judged, and before all of the world.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43311

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Aug 19

Must Cut Non-Essentials

Prime Minister King stated in his broadcast Wednesday evening that the government has decided that non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated and that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board has been instructed to put this policy into effect "by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose."

Canada's finance minister, Mr. Ilsley, has repeatedly urged Canadians to stop spending money on non-essentials.

Mr. Ilsley has told us the federal government is quite prepared to let non-essentials disappear completely from the Canadian market.

Donald Gordon, chairman of Canada's Wartime Prices and Trade Board, has been most vigorous in his denunciation of Canadians who spend even a cent on things they do not need, even going so far as to denounce the buying at one time of more essentials than are absolutely necessary for current consumption.

Mr. Gordon has told us we must "accustom ourselves to a standard of living based on bare essentials" and that only by doing so can we "divert to war the maximum of our productive effort which is the prime requirement of total war."

The Edmonton Exhibition association was swift to tell the public that the federal government got $22,000 in taxes from last month's midway and race meet. It has been reluctant, however, to make public the total amount spent on the midway or bet on the races, although these figures have been published in previous years without question.

If the $22,000 Ottawa got represents the yield from the five per cent amusement and betting taxes, the total spent on the midway and races in six days was at least $440,000.

The association has stated that some $7,000 was paid to the provincial government as its share of the Alberta tax on betting. The net return to the government is 2½ per cent. This means that over $280,000 was bet on the races alone, which would leave $160,000 presumably spent on the midway during the six days of the fair.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Droit.

D 48312

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Le service de la mobilisation

Avant longtemps, la mobilisation pour service militaire obligatoire passera sous la juridiction de M. Elliott M. Little, directeur du Service national sélectif. C'est bien ce que M. Mackenzie King a fait clairement entendre mercredi soir à la radio. Le premier ministre, en effet, a dit textuellement: "Pour le présent immédiat, le ministère des Services nationaux de guerre gardera la responsabilité de la conscription des hommes pour service au Canada. On se propose de remettre, dans un avenir rapproché, au directeur du Service national sélectif la tâche d'appeler les hommes pour le service militaire. En prévision de ce changement, le ministère des Services nationaux de guerre et l'administration du Service national sélectif vont travailler en coordination étroite. Cela permettra d'éviter une désorganisation exagérée des industries de guerre pour l'appel des hommes au service militaire."

Logiquement, tout le personnel que le major-général Laflèche dirige en ce moment et le major-général Laflèche lui-même qui, à l'heure actuelle, s'occupe de cette tâche, devraient passer au Service national sélectif. Le Service de la mobilisation pour service obligatoire au Canada est le seul service fédéral de guerre où les nôtres exercent une véritable influence. Lorsque le transfert aura eu lieu, cette influence tombera à peu près à rien. Le contrôle que le major-général Laflèche exerce en ce moment passera aux mains de M. Little et de ses conseillers, parmi lesquels nous ne comptons pas suffisamment pour avoir chance de faire valoir notre manière de voir. Si le major-général accepte d'être tranféré au Service national sélectif, au lieu d'avoir le poste de sous-ministre qu'il occupe en ce moment, il ne deviendra que l'exécuteur d'une politique dans laquelle il n'aura aucun mot à dire. Bref, ce qui nous reste d'influence dans les services fédéraux de guerre baissera encore.

Telle que la haute administration du Service national sélectif est constituée, les nôtres, en effet, n'ont pas grand'chose à dire dans l'élaboration et dans la mise en vigueur de la politique relative à l'enrégimentation des hommes et des femmes dans les services directs et indirects de guerre. On nous a donné, il est vrai, un directeur adjoint. Celui qui occupe ce poste est sans doute rempli de bonne volonté. Mais il nous semble qu'il est placé dans une situation où il est loin d'être en état de faire triompher les idées qu'il peut avoir sur la mobilisation totale de nos ressources humaines. Il possède un titre, sans avoir l'autorité exécutive qui reste, en fait, entre les mains du directeur du Service national sélectif.

Dans les circonstances, il est permis de se demander si le major-général Laflèche accepterait d'être transféré de son poste de sous-ministre au ministère des Services nationaux de guerre à celui de fonctionnaire quelconque chargé immédiatement de l'appel des hommes pour service militaire, lorsque le présent service qu'il dirige sera confié au directeur du Service national sélectif. Nous ne sommes pas évidemment au courant des pensées intimes du major-général Laflèche. Mais nous doutons que celui-ci accepte ce changement, sans exiger des garanties que, dans l'application de la nouvelle politique de mobilisation du gouvernement, la façon de voir des nôtres sera respectée.

Si le major-général Laflèche refuse ce transfert, on se demande ce qu'il arrivera de lui. Continuera-t-il à être sous-ministre au ministère des Services nationaux de guerre? La chose est possible. Le sous-ministre conjoint est M. le juge T. C. Davis. Au lendemain de la mort de M. le juge A. K. MacLean, de la cour de l'Echiquier, on a mentionné le nom de M. le juge T. C. Davis, comme successeur de ce dernier. Advenant cette promotion, il se pourrait que le major-général Laflèche demeure seul sous-ministre au ministère des Services nationaux de guerre. Le cas du major-général Laflèche, pour le moment, est une énigme.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique. D 43313

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

L'effort total pour la guerre totale

Après le discours de M. King

"L'effort total pour la guerre totale...

"Tous les citoyens doivent servir de la manière la plus utile...

"Le principe suivi par le gouvernement est de veiller à ce que tout homme et toute femme capable d'accomplir quelque forme de service de guerre, remplisse les fonctions les mieux adaptées à ses aptitudes et aux besoins de la guerre. L'application de ce principe touchera évidemment et nécessairement tout le monde, sauf les vieillards, les enfants et les invalides"...

"Le gouvernement est déterminé, autant que cela est humainement possible, à faire en sorte que les services de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes soient efficacement employés et que tout homme valide entreprenne une forme quelconque de service essentiel dans les forces armées, dans la production de guerre ou dans un emploi civil indispensable...

"Le gouvernement a décidé, en conséquence, que toute activité civile, non-essentielle doit être interrompue ou supprimée..."

Les quelques lignes précédentes sont extraites du discours prononcé avant hier soir, par l'hon. Premier Ministre. Elles parlent par elles-mêmes; et nul ne pourrait exagérer la portée de la politique annoncée par M. King. Son application chambardera la vie des Canadiens.

Pourquoi cette perturbation sociale?

Pourquoi cette quasi perturbation sociale ? Pour éviter un plus grand mal: la perte de la guerre. M. King est d'avis que la gravité de la situation exige l'effort de tous et que chacun doit être prêt à servir où on lui dira de servir.

Puisque ceux qui ont la responsabilité de diriger le Canada estiment que les mesures annoncées sont indispensables, nous pourrions difficilement les contredire. Mais nous pouvons tout de même affirmer que ce vaste programme réussira *dans la mesure où les Canadiens seront convaincus de sa nécessité.*

X

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
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Or nous doutons que ce soit présentement le cas.

Par la faute des impérialistes et de certains nationalistes qui parlent et agissent comme si le Canada faisait la guerre exclusivement pour sauver l'Angleterre et son empire, une trop forte proportion de Canadiens n'ont pas conscience de se battre pour sauver leur pays et protéger la civilisation. A leurs yeux, on demande beaucoup trop.

Et puis, on ne s'est pas suffisamment préoccupé de démontrer à nos gens ce que nos Alliés font pour gagner la guerre. On a laissé dire que nous faisions plus que les autres. Si c'est vrai, on a tort de nous demander davantage, à nous qui sommes tout de même moins directement menacés et intéressés que les Européens, que les Anglais plus particulièrement. Si ce n'est pas vrai, il est grand temps qu'on l'avoue et qu'on informe le public des sacrifices consentis par les Anglais, les Américains, les Australiens, les Néo-Zélandais, etc.

Il faut améliorer le moral de guerre

Nous ne gagnerons pas la guerre à nous tourner les pouces, c'est entendu. Mais pour obtenir des Canadiens qu'ils acceptent VOLONTAIREMENT les mesures que l'on vient d'annoncer ou qui le seront incessamment, il faudra améliorer leur moral de guerre.

Au surplus, il semble à une foule de gens bien disposés qu'on aurait pu appliquer autrement le service sélectif pratiqué jusqu'ici. Un exemple. Des cultivateurs sont privés de main-d'oeuvre alors que jamais les distillateurs et les brasseurs n'ont autant distillé et brassé. Nous ne prétendons pas que toute fabrication et tout commerce de boissons alcooliques devraient disparaître; mais nous croyons fermement qu'avant d'enlever des bras à l'agriculture, la guerre devrait en enlever à l'industrie des boissons alcooliques. Or, comme la consommation a augmenté de façon ALARMANTE, selon l'expression d'un haut personnage politique, il est permis de croire que la production a également augmenté, ce qui a sans doute exigé plus de main-d'oeuvre.

Nous ne sommes pas contre le service sélectif; au contraire, nous croyons que nombre de gens pourraient faire un usage bien plus utile de leurs pieds, de leurs mains et de leur cerveau. Qu'on s'empresse de faire tout d'abord disparaître certaines anomalies ! Que les dirigeants du Service sélectif donnent au plus tôt des preuves qu'ils savent hiérarchiser les occupations. Ainsi, sortir la femme du foyer est un mal; mais en sortir la mère avant que l'homme accomplissant aujourd'hui une tâche nuisible, inutile ou non essentielle ne soit mobilisé pour un travail nécessaire, serait un crime social.

Or nous doutons que ce soit présentement le cas.

Par la faute des impérialistes et de certains nationalistes qui parlent et agissent comme si le Canada faisait la guerre exclusivement pour sauver l'Angleterre et son empire, une trop forte proportion de Canadiens n'ont pas conscience de se battre pour sauver leur pays et protéger la civilisation. A leurs yeux, on demande beaucoup trop.

Et puis, on ne s'est pas suffisamment préoccupé de démontrer à nos gens ce que nos Alliés font pour gagner la guerre. On a laissé dire que nous faisions plus que les autres. Si c'est vrai, on a tort de nous demander davantage, à nous qui sommes tout de même moins directement menacés et intéressés que les Européens, que les Anglais plus particulièrement. Si ce n'est pas vrai, il est grand temps qu'on l'avoue et qu'on informe le public des sacrifices consentis par les Anglais, les Américains, les Australiens, les Néo-Zélandais, etc.

Il faut améliorer le moral de guerre

Nous ne gagnerons pas la guerre à nous tourner les pouces, c'est entendu. Mais pour obtenir des Canadiens qu'ils acceptent VOLONTAIREMENT les mesures que l'on vient d'annoncer ou qui le seront incessamment, il faudra améliorer leur moral de guerre.

Au surplus, il semble à une foule de gens bien disposés qu'on aurait pu appliquer autrement le service sélectif pratiqué jusqu'ici. Un exemple. Des cultivateurs sont privés de main-d'oeuvre alors que jamais les distillateurs et les brasseurs n'ont autant distillé et brassé. Nous ne prétendons pas que toute fabrication et tout commerce de boissons alcooliques devraient disparaître; mais nous croyons fermement qu'avant d'enlever des bras à l'agriculture, la guerre devrait en enlever à l'industrie des boissons alcooliques. Or, comme la consommation a augmenté de façon ALARMANTE, selon l'expression d'un haut personnage politique, il est permis de croire que la production a également augmenté, ce qui a sans doute exigé plus de main-d'oeuvre.

Nous ne sommes pas contre le service sélectif; au contraire, nous croyons que nombre de gens pourraient faire un usage bien plus utile de leurs pieds, de leurs mains et de leur cerveau. Qu'on s'empresse de faire tout d'abord disparaître certaines anomalies ! Que les dirigeants du Service sélectif donnent au plus tôt des preuves qu'ils savent hiérarchiser les occupations. Ainsi, sortir la femme du foyer est un mal; mais en sortir la mère avant que l'homme accomplissant aujourd'hui une tâche nuisible, inutile ou non essentielle ne soit mobilisé pour un travail nécessaire, serait un crime social.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 43315

La protection des valeurs morales

Une des tâches les plus urgentes c'est, nous le répétons, de convaincre les citoyens que l'effort additionnel qu'on leur demande, les citoyens des pays alliés sont également appelés à le donner. Les Canadiens son généralement disposés à faire leur part; nous doutons qu'ils s'empressent de faire beaucoup plus que les autres, surtont *s'ils n'ont pas la conviction solide de travailler pour sauvegarder le Canada, leur liberté, toutes les valeurs morales qui font la vraie civilisation.*

Or, cette conviction, c'est aux dirigeants à la cultiver en accordant une importance plus grande à ces valeurs morales. Nous ne demandons pas à nos dirigeants politiques, économiques ou militaires de se transformer en moralistes; mais nous avons le droit de leur demander de ne pas se montrer sourds à certains appels publics ou discrets, de ne pas faire les indifférents quand il s'agit de la protection des moeurs. Le blasphème, l'intempérance et la débauche existent à l'état épidémique dans ou autour des centres d'entrainement. On pourrait certainement faire plus qu'on ne fait pour circonscrire le mal et inspirer ainsi une plus grande confiance.

Les Canadiens se soumettront à toutes les mesures, mais d'une façon d'autant plus volontaire et d'autant plus efficace que les autorités se préoccuperont davantage de rectifier leur opinion sur la part des autres à l'effort commun et sur la sincérité de nos buts de guerre.

Louis-Philippe ROY

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date AUG 21 1942

Subject

D 43316

LIMITED SELECTIVE SERVICE

At last Canada is within sight of national selective service. Three years after the war began, two years after the Government took unto itself the power to conscript manpower and resources for war service, a plan has emerged. To pretend that its emergence has been progressive since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act is to fly at the facts. Nothing approaching the plan which Prime Minister King discussed with the nation Wednesday night has been in existence. There was not even machinery around which to plan until the National Selective Service office was established, and Mr. Elliott M. Little appointed director, last April.

There was little to the Prime Minister's speech that had not already been forecast. He was right in warning the people that the new measures will bring inconveniences and hardship. But he could warn them of nothing which they are not ready and willing to accept, though many will question how much of the hardship might have been avoided had national selective service been the basis of our planning from the beginning. What Mr. King drew in outline is the program, and the only program, by which the services the people have been clamoring to give could be fully and fairly utilized. The direction they are being asked to accept now they have pleaded for all through the gloomy days since Dunkirk.

Yet Mr. King's speech did not add up to a total plan. His own emphasis on "the gravity of the situation" that has driven the Government this far was the sternest criticism of what he left unsaid. Director Little will have full power to put us, men and women, to work as the need and our capabilities warrant. But there was nothing to indicate that he is to have the power to prevent skilled labor being needlessly wasted in military service. He has the power to defer essential men, but the deferred man can still volunteer for army, air force and navy.

Mr. Little is not concerned about where the army uses its men when it gets them. He is concerned about the type of manpower that goes into the forces, and about the loss to war industry of essential workers through the voluntary system. It is no secret that war production has been badly weakened on this account in the past. Not only should the leakage be stopped, but National Selective Service should have the power to reclaim for industry those skilled men whose training is not fully employed in the army.

If we read the Prime Minister's speech correctly, the Director of National Selective Service has no such authority. "We have come now," Mr. King said, "to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed." But he also said: "Control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory." In short, what Mr. King was trying to say was that any and every means, except conscription for service overseas, must be employed.

Women can be taken from homes to industry; businesses, factories, services will be shut down, or eliminated, by stripping them of their manpower; labor can be transferred from job to job, from one section of the country to another. But our overseas forces are to be maintained by volunteers. The thing is fantastic. Mr. King, having been driven by the gravity of war to adopt selective service, would risk the dislocation of the manpower plan rather than back out of an untenable political position.

Dislocation of the manpower program is the least we have to fear from continuance of the voluntary system. We have said before, and say again, if Mr. Little is to achieve a balanced distribution of the nation's manpower between armed services, industry and essential utilities, then he must have the power to say who shall and shall not enter the army, and make it stick. He cannot make it stick while the Government attempts to reinforce the Canadian Army, now poised for the invasion of Europe, with volunteers. If we are to have national selective service, then scrap the voluntary system, and make it selective all around.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48317

Name of Publication Calgary Herald.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Government Is Getting Into Step

Canada's prime minister has at long last evidently realized what Canadians have recognized as a fact for many months: that without a fair and rigidly enforced system of selective service for the country's man and woman power in war effort no "all-out" war effort is possible.

From statements and admissions made by Mr. King in his Wednesday C.B.C. national broadcast one gathers that we are to have that type of service. Characteristically, however, he failed to set a date for its inception. The nearest he came to this was to suggest "after a fixed period." The ray of hope appearing here is that a date really has been fixed. Let us pray that it be not changed.

One gathers from the tone of the prime minister's Wednesday talk that he is feeling in better fighting trim than for some considerable time past. The change—a decided improvement—is probably due to the fact that with political exigencies of the parliamentary session behind him and opportunity offering for concentration upon the much more important matter of carrying on the war, he has felt free to make up his mind about things.

Matters upon which he has come to a decision include the scope of "selective service" as it will affect the people. Here is his statement in that connection:

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified, and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young, and the disabled among us.

Nothing the matter with that unless it is that it became a policy later than was desirable. In fact it meets a condition which might call for service overseas, though by reason of government hesitancy in that connection parliament would still have to be called and consulted before action could be taken.

Another policy decision made and announced in the prime minister's address calls for full control of the new man-power policy by the department of national selective service, under the minister of labor. This means that in the near future the calling of men for compulsory military service will pass from the hands of the department of national war services. That change is quite drastic, but in view of the fact that close decisions will have to be made from time to time as to the relative importance of calls from munitions and armed forces sources, it looks to be a change for the better.

The prime minister's radio talk pleased us. It indicated that his government is getting into step with the Canadian people on the war issue, and everyone knows how much easier things go when no one is out of step.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin.

Date Aug. 21/42.

D 4-3-18

Subject

Selective Service

The principles of selective service, as announced by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, will meet the approval of every thinking person in Canada.

Almost every political faction in the country, including the Conservative party headed by Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, has demanded some sort of total manpower utilization. Officially, at least, every party has asked for total war. And selective service, as outlined by the Prime Minister, is an essential prerequisite for total war.

Thus, no political group in the country, with the exception of the nationalists in Quebec, can take issue with the principles laid down by Mr. King.

Industry should welcome the regulations because the new orders will take most of the haphazard element out of manpower. Every employer of labor should now be enabled to know exactly where he stands.

Exactly the same thing is true of the worker. Mr. King has inferentially promised that there will be a useful job for everybody. Every employable individual, so it is planned, will be settled down into the war job that suits him or her best and will be kept there, undisturbed, for the duration.

Thus is to be achieved, with a stroke of the pen and a good deal of careful organization, that stabilization of employment which has been the dream of industry since the world began.

It is an excellent principle and a first rate plan. Obviously, it is an absolutely necessary factor in total war. Mr. King's announcement, then, offers two kinds of encouragement to the Canadian people—the encouragement inherent in the manpower regulations and the encouragement implied in them. In other words, Mr. King's statement is both heartening because of the vigor and forthrightness of the plan itself and also because the plan points to total war.

The latter is the hope and demand of the victory-minded Canadian people.

It goes without saying, of course, that selective service will succeed only in the measure to which it is practically applied. Mr. King says it will operate without favoritism or distinction between race or class.

It will be useful in the degree to which that is completely true. Just as the War-time Prices and Trade Board has succeeded only insofar as it has kept prices down, which some people suspect has only been accomplished to a point, so will selective service be judged, not by what it promises, but by what it actually performs.

Thus, it is too early to go all out in a paean of praise.

The project is well-conceived. Mr. Elliott M. Little, the director of selective service, made an excellent impression on the newspapermen called into conference with him in Ottawa at the beginning of the month. He is sincere and forceful and capable.

The keystone of the whole undertaking is that little phrase "without favoritism or distinction between race or class."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43319

Name of Publication London Free Press.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Drastic Action on Man Power

The announcement of Prime Minister King that the Government is proposing new and drastic measures for the control of the man power of Canada will be accepted with satisfaction by the public even if it does mean more sacrifice and more restrictions. The people of Canada are looking for strong leadership that will help win the war. The recent taxation is an example. Hard as it bears on the public it has been accepted with cheerfulness.

The only criticism is that this step should have been taken long ago. The public was far in advance of the Government, which has hesitated and procrastinated. Gen. McNaughton in the early months of the war advocated a system of National Selective Service so that men who were needed in munition factories would not be sent into the army and so that the labor of the country would be mobilized. When the National Registration was taken the people thought that this would place in the hands of the Government the information for a complete mobilization of the man power. The same was true when the plebiscite was held. The people were looking for an all-out effort.

Now that we are facing a labor crisis in man power the Government is at last taking action. The plan still does not include conscription for overseas service and the three war services will still each continue their recruiting efforts. This is a continuation of a system which is expensive and wasteful and does not make for unity of sacrifice.

The new plan is wisely being placed under one head. Up to the present there have been no less than six departments competing for the man power of the country. It will ultimately be all under the direction of the Department of Labor with Elliott Little, director of national service, in complete charge. Mr. Little is an able executive with lots of drive and courage. The job is in good hands and the plans which have been worked out, as announced by Mr. King, will be accepted by the public in good spirit, if it does mean hardship and sacrifice to many employees and employers.

Mr. King's speech should be taken to heart by the people of Canada. He faced up to realities and frankly told the public the blunt facts that the war has not been going well for the Allies and it is a long, hard row ahead before we can expect victory. We have had too few speeches of this kind. The Government should take the public into its confidence. It would be surprised at the response.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Phoenix. D43320

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Selective Service at Last

At the beginning of the month the minister of labor, Mr. Mitchell, invited newspaper men from all over Canada to come down to Ottawa where he told them what was in his mind in regard to necessity for more rigid restrictions on the use of man power and woman power. On Wednesday the Prime Minister announced that these restrictions and regulations, or selective service, were soon to come into effect and that within a short time all Canadians except those very young or very old, would come under the purview of the Labor Department of the Government. There will be those who will say that this decision should have been reached much earlier in the war; that had a proper perspective of the man power situation in Canada been taken almost from the start the bottlenecks which have arisen, and indeed the dislocations which have taken place, might not have occurred nor, in consequence, the drastic steps which are now apparently envisaged.

As it is, the country is faced finally with an emergency and the Government quite properly is going to do what it can to remedy it. It is unlikely, therefore, there will be any major criticism of whatever steps have now to be taken. Criticism, as has been said, will more likely lie in the fact that the steps were not taken long ago. Every citizen, said Mr. King, must make his most useful contribution. Every citizen, in fact, has been only too eager to make his most useful contribution and most of them have been waiting to be told where and how they can do it. It is to be hoped that they will be told soon and definitely and with as few complications as possible.

* * *

The Prime Minister made 14 brief points in his address. Surveys and registers are to be taken from time to time in order to provide an up-to-date picture of the situation. Registration of woman power will probably take place in September. Employers are to be asked to report additions and separations from their staffs since April 1. To provide for most essential use of woman power in the areas where there are heavy industries, nurseries are going to be established in co-operation with provincial authorities, but this only in the Central Provinces. Non-essential civilian industries are to be curtailed or eliminated under the direction of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. But essential things are to be provided, although only by the use of the least possible amounts of labor, materials and other items which enter into production. Labor training will be conducted on a growing scale. Social conditions will be aided by provision of housing, improving the condition of the physically handicapped, maintenance of health standards and organization of personnel management. This is being promoted by the Government. To keep down the turnover of labor, no employer now, except for common sense exceptions, can lay off employees and no employees can quit without written copies in writing on both sides and the nearest employment office will have to have a copy of the letter. Employees cannot take jobs who have not got the permission to do so from the employment office, and this permission may be restricted to specified localities or industries. So that, following along this, advertising for certain jobs is going to be controlled too and unemployed people are going to have to take what jobs are given them, and part time employees may have to take jobs on a full time scale where there is special need for them in essential industry. Finally, if anyone who is now employed is induced by the National Selective Service Department to take a more vital war job he or she will be entitled to get the job back they left in order to do this essential work.

* * *

The whole selective service organization is being built around the present unemployment commission labor offices. There are many of these scattered through Canada but a great many more are to be set up. It is to be hoped that in the setting up of these and in the increased staffing of the already existing ones, care will be taken to see that they are provided with management, at any rate, which has some knowledge of human nature and of psychology. Tact will be needed in making the selective service work as efficient as possible. The army has found it necessary to apply intelligence and psychological standards to recruits.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Phoenix.

Date Aug. 21/42.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 43321

True, it is probable that there is more time to decide where a recruit will be more valuable than there may be in the case of an individual called up under the selective service when there is a crying need for men in various jobs in various parts of the country. But the point which the Star-Phoenix makes is that the success of the selective service and its value to Canada's war effort will depend pretty largely on the way it is handled and on the confidence which individuals called up have in the manner in which it is administered. The Star-Phoenix has no reason to criticize the administration of the local office, and these remarks are not based on anything other than a general view of what would seem to be required for the successful operation of the new man power requirements and regulations. They have been brought into being late enough. They must not be allowed to fail in their most effective purpose through weakness in administration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram. D 43322

Date Aug. 22/42.

Subject

WHAT OPPORTUNITIES WERE MISSED IN INDIA?

In his broadcast to the people of Canada, Premier King had this to say about India: "India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathise with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind."

Mr. King means Canadians to understand that British governments in the past missed opportunities to solve the India problem. His remark is an impertinence, for it is not the function of the Prime Minister of one Empire nation to criticize the government of another. His suggestion that there were missed opportunities just misses being a falsehood by the fact that it is not a positive statement.

There never was a better opportunity to solve the problem of India than there is today. There never was a time when the Moslems would have been reconciled to the rule of the Hindus, and there never was a time when it would have been just or safe to put them under the Hindus against their will. Neither Mr. King nor another can point to a moment in history when the obstacle to Indian self-government —Moslem dislike of Hindus—was not present to prevent a solution.

His own words prove him wrong. He says India is divided and threatened with disorder. He condemns the conduct of the Hindu leaders as placing in danger the freedom of mankind. The India that is divided now was always divided. The leaders of the Hindus, who endanger the freedom of mankind and that of India in the hope of getting their own way, are the men with whom British governments had to deal in the past. Would it have been just or wise to give them control of all the races of India?

He knows it would be madness to do that today. It would have been madness to do it at any time in the past. If independence had been granted to India on the terms demanded by the Congress party, there would have been division and disorders on a scale not known since the time of the Mogul invasion. If the Congress party had been in control when war started, India would have been an easy prey to Japan. Nothing could have saved her.

In 1935 a Conservative British government gave India a new constitution as a step on the way to self-government. Neither Mr. King nor any other responsible statesman thought at the time it should go farther. Mr. Churchill condemned it for going, as he thought, too far. Mr. Churchill has been praised for his protest against the return of Irish ports, and Chamberlain has been condemned for the action. What would be said now if Chamberlain, against Churchill's protests, had handed India over to the Congress party. That is what Premier King thinks he should have done. Those who think him wiser than Winston Churchill may respect his judgment, but those who know his quality will consider his suggestion a piece of pure impudence.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram.

Date Aug. 22/42.

Subject

WHAT OPPORTUNITIES WERE MISSED IN INDIA?

In his broadcast to the people of Canada, Premier King had this to say about India: "India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathise with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind."

Mr. King means Canadians to understand that British governments in the past missed opportunities to solve the India problem. His remark is an impertinence, for it is not the function of the Prime Minister of one Empire nation to criticize the government of another. His suggestion that there were missed opportunities just misses being a falsehood by the fact that it is not a positive statement.

There never was a better opportunity to solve the problem of India than there is today. There never was a time when the Moslems would have been reconciled to the rule of the Hindus, and there never was a time when it would have been just or safe to put them under the Hindus against their will. Neither Mr. King nor another can point to a moment in history when the obstacle to Indian self-government —Moslem dislike of Hindus—was not present to prevent a solution.

His own words prove him wrong. He says India is divided and threatened with disorder. He condemns the conduct of the Hindu leaders as placing in danger the freedom of mankind. The India that is divided now was always divided. The leaders of the Hindus, who endanger the freedom of mankind and that of India in the hope of getting their own way, are the men with whom British governments had to deal in the past. Would it have been just or wise to give them control of all the races of India?

He knows it would be madness to do that today. It would have been madness to do it at any time in the past. If independence had been granted to India on the terms demanded by the Congress party, there would have been division and disorders on a scale not known since the time of the Mogul invasion. If the Congress party had been in control when war started, India would have been an easy prey to Japan. Nothing could have saved her.

In 1935 a Conservative British government gave India a new constitution as a step on the way to self-government. Neither Mr. King nor any other responsible statesman thought at the time it should go farther. Mr. Churchill condemned it for going, as he thought, too far. Mr. Churchill has been praised for his protest against the return of Irish ports, and Chamberlain has been condemned for the action. What would be said now if Chamberlain, against Churchill's protests, had handed India over to the Congress party. That is what Premier King thinks he should have done. Those who think him wiser than Winston Churchill may respect his judgment, but those who know his quality will consider his suggestion a piece of pure impudence.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 43323

Date AUG 22 1942

Subject

New Regulations About Manpower Due In Ten Days

Several weeks will be required to complete the tightened control over manpower and womanpower utlined in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's broadcast, it was learned yesterday.

First of the new regulations are expected in about ten days, relating to the dismissals of workers and their voluntary departure from present occupations.

But it is expected to be early October before the final touches are put on the new set-up which will include the transfer to Labor Minister Mitchell of jurisdiction over the call-up for military service now in the hands of War Services Minister Thorson.

The new arrangement involves reorganization of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, originally an autonomous body for which the labor minister was spokesman in the House of Commons, into an integral part of the Labor Department, working closely with the National Selective Service Administration.

Heavy Responsibility

Mr. King's announcement that the new policy would aim to place every available man and woman behind the industrial war effort placed a heavy responsibility upon Elliott M. Little, national selective service administrator.

Some indication of the effect this will have was seen in the fact that during the past week alone some 75 new branch employment offices have been set up in various parts of Canada, bringing the total to about 180.

At the end of September it is expected there will have been completed a registration of some age-groups of women and the collection, through employment offices, of a complete picture of employment and dismissals in industry over the period from last April 1.

Meanwhile, organization of the Selective Service Branch will have approached completion and the policy, which Mr. King said would affect "all but the very young, the very old and the disabled among us," will be under way.

One of the most significant moves proposed is that which will require employers to give notice in writing when dismissing a worker, the notice to be immediately filed with the nearest employment office. The same notice will be required from a worker wishing to leave his or her employment.

Heretofore similar regulations have been applicable to men of military age and fitness. An order last June 17 went a little further and required that dismissals and retirements from industry must be reported within three days.

The new proposal, officials say, may have the effect of heading off strikes which have occurred in protest when union members have been dismissed for what their associates claimed to be the result of their union activities.

It has not been indicated what action would be taken if employment officials disapprove proposed dismissals or retirements from industry, but it is assumed they would cancel them in cases where they were deemed not in the public interest.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 2 2 1942

D 43324

Subject

Speeches Over the Radio.

A paragraph in a London cable to the New York *Times* we commend earnestly to some of our political leaders here in Canada. This:

> "It has been suggested that the Prime Minister might broadcast to the nation (on his conversations with Stalin), but Mr. Churchill is too strict a parliamentarian to overlook his obligation to report first to the House of Commons."

Over here too many of our public men appear to have the idea that in making important announcements of policy or action to the country all they have to do is to go before a microphone. Indeed there have been cases where government policy was announced over the radio while Parliament was actually in session.

This is not merely a mistaken idea of the obligations of responsibility to Parliament; it is as well a mistaken idea about the best means of reaching the greatest possible number of people. Many politicians seem to have the notion that people chain themselves to their radios to hear public speeches. They don't. Many of them listen to speakers like Mr. CHURCHILL and Mr. ROOSEVELT, but it is pretty generally known that in the case of the average public speaker not one person in ten listens to him. Mr. KING might be astonished to learn of the great number of people who didn't hear him on Wednesday night.

The fact is that the radio, as a disseminator of information, is a purely secondary agency; complementary to the printed word in a way, but nothing more. If our public men were wise they would make their important public speeches (when Parliament isn't sitting) on the platform and have them reported, or, if that be impossible or difficult, have their statements handed out to the newspapers first and put on the radio afterwards.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43325

Name of Publication Halifax Herald.

Date Aug. 24/42.

Subject

He's Still There

BROADCASTING to the Canadian people, the Prime Minister of the Dominion has defined his Government's policy of National Selective Service in these terms:

> ". . . every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of the war require."

Bear that in mind. Go back and re-read that definition after you have read all that is printed here.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

IN the House of Commons at Ottawa a few weeks ago, National Selective Service was described as follows: "It means, simply and soley, the practical application of Total War in a sensibly, just and effective manner. It means in a word that every man among us shall be called to perform the right war job at the right time, in the right place, in the right way."

A policy branded by that "consummate politician" — that Minister of the Crown — that member of the present Government — the Hon. J. G. Gardiner — as "Bismarckian" policy. And this is what that Minister said about it from his place in Parliament:

> "The only kind of government which could bring that kind of policy into effect in Canada at present, the only kind of government which would undertake to do so, would be the government with no political past and no desire to have a political future."

And at the self-same time that same Minister must have been sitting in Cabinet Council discussing that very policy with his colleagues of Government! No wonder another member of the House (a veteran of the first Great War) interpreted the Minister's remarks to mean: "I stand where I have always stood. My consideration is political survival at some time in the future. . . . The ballot-box —right or wrong, 'yes' or 'no'—the ballot-box."

Who, demanded this politically-minded Minister on that occasion,— "who is going to tell us what the job is? Who is going to tell us what the right time is? Who is going to tell us what the right place is?"

That Minister was answered by his Leader over the air during the past week.

The answer is, the Government— the Government of which that Minister is a member — the Government that is now launching its policy of National Selective Service.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

WE come now to the consideration that must be in all minds as they read this record: Why should this Minister remain in the Government? Why should he be permitted to remain in the Government?

The policy demanded by the Canadian people—a Total War Effort to meet Total War—is described by this Minister as "Bismarckian". By that he means "Prussian" . . . and the new Nazi is merely the old Prussian in disguise.

Prime Minister Churchill stated this policy in a few brief words:

"Each to our part, each to our station."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43326

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Prime Minister King stated it in his broadcast. Go back and read the declaration of the Prime Minister quoted at the outset. But at the very time the Government's National Selective Service policy must have been under consideration, a member of that Government rose in his place in Parliament and delivered himself of the "Bismarckian" epithet!

If that Minister continues in the Government the people of this country will conclude, and rightly, that there is a cynicism in Canadian public affairs that puts political expediency before national duty.

It is bad enough in times of peace, but in wartime it is intolerable.

What this country needs right now is not "consummate politicians"—but public men who will stand forth and stand fast for a TOTAL war effort.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43327

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette.

Date Aug. 24/42.

Subject

Pros and Cons Across Canada

Prime Minister King's Speech

Toronto Globe and Mail.

At last Canada is within sight of national selective service. Three years after the war began, two years after the Government took unto itself the power to conscript manpower and resources for war service, a plan has emerged. To pretend that its emergence has been progressive since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act is to fly at the facts. Nothing approaching the plan which Prime Minister King discussed with the nation Wednesday night has been in existence. There was not even machinery around which to plan until the National Selective Service office was established, and Mr. Elliott M. Little appointed director, last April.

There was little to the Prime Minister's speech that had not already been forecast. He was right in warning the people that the new measures will bring inconveniences and hardship. But he could warn them of nothing which they are not ready and willing to accept, though many will question how much of the hardship might have been avoided had national selective service been the basis of our planning from the beginning. What Mr. King drew in outline is the program, and the only program, by which the services the people have been clamoring to give could be fully and fairly utilized. The direction they are being asked to accept now they have pleaded for all through the gloomy days since Dunkirk.

Yet Mr. King's speech did not add up to a total plan. His own emphasis on "the gravity of the situation" that has driven the Government this far was the sternest criticism of what he left unsaid. Director Little will have full power to put us, men and women, to work as the need and our capabilities warrant. But there was nothing to indicate that he is to have the power to prevent skilled labor being needlessly wasted in military service. He has the power to defer essential men, but the deferred men can still volunteer for army, air force and navy.

Mr. Little is not concerned about where the army uses its men when it gets them. He is concerned about the type of manpower that goes into the forces, and about the loss to war industry of essential workers through the voluntary system. It is no secret that war production has been badly weakened on this account in the past. Not only should the leakage be stopped, but National Selective Service should have the power to reclaim for industry those skilled men whose training is not fully employed in the army.

If we read the Prime Minister's speech correctly, the Director of National Selective Service has no such authority. "We have come now," Mr. King said, "to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed." But he also said: "Control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory." In short, what Mr. King was trying to say was that any and every means, except conscription for service overseas, must be employed.

Ottawa Citizen.

The overall objective, said Prime Minister King in his broadcast on national selective service, is "total war." To that end the government's policy is that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of the war require."

Nobody can quarrel with that objective and that policy. The test will come in the application of the policy. The first essential is that it be applied firmly and impartially over the whole nation. Mr. King promised that it would. It would "be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race, class or creed." That is excellent.

Among the first steps will be a registration of womanpower. There will be a tightening up of existing measures for the control and direction of employment of all kinds. Soon no employer may dismiss a worker, and no worker will be able to quit, without suitable formalities. "Help wanted" advertisements will be controlled. Labor training will be increased and day nurseries set up for the children of working women. Most interesting, W.P.T.B. is to begin cutting down non-essential production.

So far, so good. Will these and other policies aimed at placing "every man and woman"in the war job for which he or she is most suited be carried out without compulsion? Mr. King hopes so. He reiterated his faith in voluntarism. "In itself, compulsion has little or no merit," he said. That is true under normal circumstances, but under present circumstances, voluntarism has led to grievous and perhaps irremediable anomalies.

In the field of overseas military service it has led to conditions that may become tragic. As Mr. King said, "Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve." Exactly, and at this stage, a compulsory overseas army would be made up largely of those not willing to serve. Thus you have the obnoxious "two-army" trouble. Compulsion in the beginning, as in Britain and the United States, is the only fair and efficient policy in a democracy fighting for survival. And as in the military field, so it may prove in the industrial.

Ottawa Journal.

Listening to Mr. Mackenzie King over the radio Wednesday night one could not help thinking what a handicap it is to a war leader to be unable to use direct language when issuing grave warnings to his people.

Mr. King started out well; brought up his listeners all-standing with:

"We were proud to hear of the part played by Canadians in today's raid on Dieppe, that they had a foremost place. But news of the raid should not destroy our sense of perspective. . . . It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan design to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India. . . . On all the seven seas the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. . . . The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. . . . We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation."

Straight talk that—necessary.

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To people who did not hear the opening of it—and there were doubtless thousands—the address sounded just like one of Mr. King's usual parliamentary or political speeches. "Old stuff." He touched on so many phases, buried the gravely-intended admonitions in so many long explanations, that we suspect few who heard him could have given if asked a correct summary of the Government's proposed new radical regulations.

And he ended with what was meant to be an earnest peroration but that did not bring listeners back to the horror of his opening utterances.

Windsor Daily Star.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's announcement of the new manpower mobilization policy of the Government goes a long way toward meeting the demands that have been widely made almost since the war began. There has been an insistent clamor that the Government take the bold step of directing the energies of all the citizens into the channels where it will do the most

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 4:32

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette.

Date Aug. 24/42.

Subject

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Toronto Globe and Mail.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

to produce the things we need for victory. At least part of that step has now been taken.

The policy does not go as far as many expected, or as far as many desire. There has been a vocal group which has been demanding total conscription of manpower both for military service and for war industry. This bloc will not be satisfied with the measures announced by Mr. King in his statement to the people last night.

On the other hand, there has been an element which has resisted and opposed regimentation. It will see in the new program an interference with individual rights of self-determination which is not justified even by the critical times in which we find ourselves.

Generally speaking, however, there is likely to be approval for the laws which have been announced. Briefly stated, they provide that every man and woman in Canada shall henceforth be engaged in that occupation in which he can make the greatest contribution to the war effort.

They fall short of conscription and compulsion on a general scale. For the present at least, there will be no attempt to give peremptory orders to those employed in agriculture, commerce and industry to change their occupations and engage in work directly connected with the prosecution of the war. There will be regulation and persuasion rather than regimentation, except for those who are presently unemployed and who show no inclination to engage in useful work.

The actual working out of the program, however, is likely to bring about a measure of compulsion which does not appear on the surface. This will be accomplished in an indirect way, which will be no less effective. It will be done through the strict regulation of industries, by the curtailment or closing of those which are non-essential, which will, in turn, force labor into employment more directly connected with war production.

The whole program is a daring experiment, even more drastic than the one dealing with control of prices and wages. For the first time in history, Canadian citizens are to be denied full rights of selection of their daily work, and are to be forced to accept direction as to what employment they shall take.

Brantford Expositor.

A policy designed to effectively mobilize Canadian manpower for "total effort for total war" and, to that end, to have every available man and woman engaged in some form of war service, has been announced by the Prime Minister of the Dominion. In the light of recent official intimations, this statement occasioned no surprise. Indeed it may be said it had been fully and eagerly anticipated. The war has reached the phase of decisive climax. It is an inescapable fact that the outcome of the struggle is being determined now. It is no mere figure of speech to assert that the fate of human freedom hangs in the balance. To insure that the balance is swung the right way, it is imperative that manpower and womanpower be fully mobilized and the most efficient use made thereof.

Organization of Canada's human resources, including all but the very young, the very old and the incapacitated, has been proceeding for some time, but only on an incomplete basis. Henceforth the difficult task of the authorities will be to put these resources on a full footing. In so doing, it will be vitally necessary, as Prime Minister Mackenzie King pointed out, to preserve a proper balance, so as to secure maximum effectiveness. This will entail well calculated allocation of manpower to the armed forces, war industry and the services requisite to the health and efficiency of the people.

There was gratifying intimation, in the Prime Minister's address, of a much-needed centralization of manpower control. Mr. Elliott M. Little, director of National Selective Service, will be charged with the primary responsibility in this huge task. Accordingly he should be vested with the necessary power and authority under the Minister of Labor. Enlistments for the armed forces are to remain with the Defence Ministries, but it is to be taken for granted that there will be complete co-operation with the Director. The calling up of men for military service remains temporarily with the Department of National War Services, but, according to Mr. King's statement, this function is to be transferred to Mr. Little's Department. This is where it belongs and no time should be wasted in making the change.

The new policy will entail steadily increasing employment of women in war production, in the armed services and elsewhere, to facilitate the release of men for war duties; the establishment of day nurseries for the children of women entering employment; the curtailment or elimination of non-essential industries; the direction and control of labor and conditions of employment. Some of these steps are already well advanced; the others have been planned and will be inaugurated in the immediate future.

Such direction of the lives and activities of Canadians is unaccustomed but necessary. It is to be assumed, from the Prime Minister's outline, that the Government's plan will be comprehensive and that it will be developed with all possible speed consistent with efficiency and stability. But, as the Prime Minister emphasized, no such undertaking, unprecedented as it is in this country, can succeed as it ought to succeed, and as it must succeed, without the wholehearted co-operation of all the people.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date AUG 2 1942

Subject

D 43329

As To Psychological Moments

Our esteemed Queen street contemporary says that Mr. King missed a great psychological moment on Wednesday night—the day of Dieppe—to tell Canadians that "from this moment on there would be no manacles upon this country's effort."

That is true. But Mr. King has missed other great psychological moments. There was the moment when he returned from his bomber flight to Britain. He was to broadcast and the whole country (for once) was hanging on its radios. But all the country got was the old threadbare rhetoric.

There was the moment afforded by Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt's inspiring words electrified the world. The United States was in it with no manacles upon its effort. But Mr. King said nothing, or if he did say something, we don't recall what it was.

There was the moment when the results of the plebiscite came in on April 27. But no. Mr. King, after dwelling passionately on the urgency of freeing the government during the campaign, decided not to cut the manacles, but to dilly-dally longer, winding up with that vote of confidence device.

Sometimes one wonders whether Mr. King knows a psychological moment when he meets one.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 25 1942

D 43330

Subject

Two Men Who Will Direct Us.

In our concern last week over Dieppe two significant things in Prime Minister KING'S speech escaped most of us. They were the tremendous powers that have been given or are about to be given to two men over the lives and fortunes of the rest of us. The men are ELLIOTT M. LITTLE, director of national selective service, and the tough, hard-hitting DONALD GORDON, policeman of trade and prices.

Said Mr. KING:

> "The main reason now for further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs. The Government, accordingly, has decided non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose."

Let none of us mistake what this means. Mr. GORDON could tomorrow, if he willed it, close every gold mine in this country; could close pulp and paper mills; could go to any business or industry and tell it that it was no longer necessary to the sustenance of life in this country and that it must close its doors and hand over its workers to the war effort. There could be no appeal against such an order; no challenge. Mr. GORDON, under the powers given him by the Cabinet through the War Measures Act, is supreme.

Mr. LITTLE'S powers, providing the Government acts on what Mr. KING promises, will be almost as great. He will decide not merely who shall be hired and fired; he will tell people where and where and how they should work—be the arbiter and referee over the whole field of industrial relations. More, in due time, Mr. LITTLE will take over the calling up of military manpower as well; determine who should be in the army and out of it and who should be in a war plant or on a farm, or anywhere else.

There's a suggestion of the story that in all great human undertakings direction and power inevitably gravitate to a few individuals.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 25 1942

Subject

D 43330

Two Men Who Will Direct Us.

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Thus a repetition of the story that in all great human endeavors direction and power inevitably gravitate to a few individuals.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 43331

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal

Date Oct. 28/42.

Subject

Mr. King Should Visit the People

From the Peace River Record

In a splendid Victory Loan address recently Mr. King told of the struggle which lies ahead and of the need for continued effort, but again harped on his old theme when he said he did not believe peoples of the new world had begun to realize this appalling menace, nor how imminent it might be.

What Mr. King should do is make a tour of Canada and really learn what the people are thinking. He would return home aware of the fact the people are far ahead of those in the government in their desire to win this war. Mr. King would not find it necessary to make the trip if he correctly judged the willingness of the people, of English-speaking Canada at least, to accept the inconveniences of war and to make sacrifices. If he evaluated the number of enlistments in the various services and checked on the willingness of the people to pay heavier taxes, be placed under controls of various sorts and to work longer hours due to the manpower shortage, he would then know the truth.

All of these things should be apparent to a leader of government, especially a politician, without taking time from his official duties, but if Prime Minister King thinks the people of Canada are not aware of the war then he should pack his club bag and travel across the country.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star D 12332 5166/42

Date Dec.16/42

Subject

Now

By R. M. Harrison

A BASIC slur—a lie—a further confession that Poor Old Willie is totally, abysmally, out of touch with what's going on in the country, is the announcement that Mr. Bracken's immediate predecessor, at 9 bells tonight, will proclaim a "temperance policy" for Canada.

AT 9 bells tonight, Poor Old Willie will cave in, and yet continue to straddle the fence, in a characteristically frantic endeavor to please everybody. Nobody wants prohibition again—at least, nobody who remembers those God-awful days of murder, hi-jacking, poison, life-in-penitentiary-for-a-pint, hysteria and Gestapo-like skull-thumping. Yet the Jarvis Street crowd in Toronto is apparently powerful enough to gang up on the Government and force it to inject, into the war effort, an issue without which the war effort could get along splendidly well.

THE phrase, "intemperance among Canadian people," is the tip-off to the fact that Ottawa is even more purblind to the wishes of the populace than we had supposed. The people of Canada are NOT intemperate. The lumberman and the shipbuilder in B.C. like their glass of beer, alongside the R.C.A.F. chap just back from Alaska or the Aleutians. The Prairie people, hearing that our 30th Recces will be having one heck of a good time in Detroit over Christmas and New Year's, said: "Hoist one for me." Ontario brewery workers have been shipping beer, at Mr. Churchill's request, to Libya —and in Libya they've been lapping it up. After 14 nights on a plank, or spar, or raft, a Merchant Seaman is fished out of the icy water, brought to Halifax, and given a bottle of ale. And, boy! does he love it!

THE prohibitionists, to whom Poor Old Willie promises tonight to give ear, would like to kid you into believing that so long as brewery chimneys belch smoke—they can't complain about distillery chimneys, since they're producing nothing, now, but ammunition—we're not doing our part. That's the tragedy of it. And so tonight's the night.

TONIGHT'S the night our Leader trembles again in the shoes in which he has so often trembled before, and announces that—in his estimation—Canada should commit a folly which America (have an old-fashioned), Great Britain (have a gin and bitters), Australia (make it what you've got) and New Zealand (same here) hesitate even to consider.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Reveal All Able-Bodied Persons To Perform Some War Service; King Proud of Canadian Army

Prime Minister Announces Proposed Measures of Control Over Man Power to Knit Dominion Together in All-Out Victory Drive

Government Decides All Non-Essential Activity Shall Be Either Curtailed or Eliminated as Labour Reserves Vanish

Ottawa, Aug. 20.—(CP)—Following is a partial text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address last night in which he announced plans for extending national selective service and changes in the administration of man power regulations:

Proud of Troops Now in Action

I am speaking to you on a memorable day. You have learned that, after long months of training, Canadian soldiers from Britain have been in action against the enemy. We know how eager the army overseas has been to share the actual combat with their comrades in the navy and the air force.

We were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

The news of any action should not be allowed to destroy our sense of perspective of this world-wide conflict. We have reached one of the gravest hours in history. . . .

The Germans are still advancing into the richest areas of southern Russia. . . .

The Nazi advance threatens Persia (Iran), and beyond Persia, India. . . .

The Japanese forces in Burma are being strengthened for a drive into India itself.

It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan are engaged in the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare. Their design is to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India.

India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathize with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind. The weakening of Indian powers of resistance can only help the axis; it cannot help India.

On all the seven seas, the naval supremacy of the united nations is gravely threatened. . . .

Japanese landings in Alaska, and attacks already made on both coasts of our own country have brought the danger to our very doors.

The united nations have not yet begun to win this war. The danger is not only plainer than ever, it is greater than ever. We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation. It should not be the occasion for despair, but rather for grim determination.

Picture of War Not Wholly Dark

The picture fortunately is not wholly dark. Russia and China have been gravely weakened, but their peoples fight on with unparalleled heroism. Despite her losses, Russia has immense resources of man power and materials and a huge territory untouched by the enemy. In Egypt the enemy has been halted, and held at the very moment when all there seemed to be lost. The Mediterranean has not been closed.

Britain remains a fortress of world freedom. From the British base, offensive action has steadily increased. The nations of the British Commonwealth continue to combine their forces and to fight as one. With every week that passes, Canadian and American forces at sea, on land and in the air, are adding to the strength of the united nations in all the theatres of war.

In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power. The immense strength of the United States is making itself felt on all the continents in the world. Complete agreement exists among the allied powers on the present and future plans of campaign. . . .

More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Can-

ada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution.

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us.

A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving.

Administer Policy Without Fear, Favour

The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favour and without regard for race, or creed, or class. . . .

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in a vital civilian activity.

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. . . .

Secondly, it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner. . . .

Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort. . . .

Men—and women, too—must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

Service Demands To Be Balanced

It is, also, of first importance that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. . . . To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here.

The main responsibility for administering war-time man power policy rests with the director of national selective service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the minister of labour. For local administration, employment offices of the unemployment insurance commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery. This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the department of national war services.

It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the director of national selective service.

In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the department of national war services and the national selective service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the national selective service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision.

The national war services boards will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of selective service officers.

The control and direction (of man power) need not be wholly compulsory. In itself, compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve.

Unnecessary Force Not Advocated

The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecessary compulsion is a waste of time, labour and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape."

In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum; in times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service, in other words, conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked. . . .

Because of the constant shifts in population in war-time, the task of keeping the (man power) records up to date is immense. The records must be so kept if man power is to be directed efficiently or fairly. This task now is being performed by the department of labour.

Special surveys and registers of man power, needed from time to time, will be made as required.

The special registration of woman power will be undertaken shortly. Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information. . . .

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total man power resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year, the total man power for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. . . .

We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children or working mothers are being established, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces.

Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43335

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

The total man power available for war work is also increased by shifting men and women from unessential civilian tasks to more essential activities.

Conserve Man Power For Direct War Need

Up to now the shifting of man power to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve man power for direct war needs. . . .

The government, accordingly, has decided non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The war-time prices and trade board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose.

Additional man power for war service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of man power, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation.

In restricting civilian activity, the war-time prices and trade board will act in closest collaboration with the director of national service whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the man power released from non-essential civilian activities.

Labour training will be continued on a growing scale.

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards, and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian man power.

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army.

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service.

The first step in directing the service of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the employment offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment now is necessary.

Under the measures of control to be adopted shortly, apart from a few common-sense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employee, and no employee will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving reasonable notice in writing. This notice will be called a "notice of separation."

A copy of this notice will have to be furnished to the nearest employment office.

No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office.

Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

Control will be established over "help wanted" and "situations wanted" advertisements.

After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than normal full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time, suitable work of which there is special need, or in other words, what is spoken of as work of "high labour priority."

Right of Appeal Given Employers

Any employed person who is induced by a national selective service officer to accept a new position in which he can contribute more effectively to the prosecution of the war, will be entitled, upon the termination of such essential work, to a similar right to reinstatement in his previous position to that accorded to men in the armed forces.

An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decisions or direction of a national selective service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts and disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardships for some.

But it also means that the supply of man power to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada.

I, therefore, appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favour national selective service for some one else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself. . . .

It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth."

At this time of the world's greatest need I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest.

It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help tilt the balance toward ultimate victory.

Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom, but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 25 1942

Subject

D 43336

Pros and Cons Across Canada

More on Mackenzie King's Speech

Winnipeg Free Press

There has been a widespread tendency in Canada to interpret selective service in terms of calling young, fit men up for military service overseas. Mr. King's listeners were, we hope, convinced by his talk that this is one of the easiest and, relatively speaking, one of the less important parts of a much larger job. Selective service involves a demand upon a citizenship far wider than that which is comprised in what has been called the fighting manpower pool, a very large proportion of which is already under the colors. What is in mind now is a demand upon women and upon secondary manpower which, together, will be called on first of all to fill the gaps left by men called up for military service and, secondly, to fill the ranks of industry and agriculture where shortages are as critical as in the armed forces.

This means a degree of dislocation of our normal civilian life far greater than that caused by the volunteering or calling up of young men few of whom have reached positions of responsibility in civilian life. Selective service means the removal of men hitherto considered as holding key positions in their normal occupations and of women who have been performing the usual tasks of women in peacetime. The demands now to be made are rendered inevitable by the rapidly growing magnitude of a program which, laid down in 1940, is only now reaching its critically difficult phase. There is a very special duty upon the individual employer and employee to recognize this fact and to meet the demands of essential selective service without, each one, considering that his job is essential while his neighbor's is not. It will also mean a considerable dislocation of family life, particularly in highly industrialized districts, a matter which has caused especial concern in the Quebec newspaper press. There, as elsewhere, there must be recognition of the fact that if we want to preserve the sanctity of our lives in Canada, the way to do it is to meet the needs of the present crisis without flinching.

Toronto Evening Telegram.

Mr. King's address on national selective service was timed to reach the Canadian public while it was sobered by news of aggressive action by Canadian troops on the French coast. The Prime Minister doubtless knew days ago that the raid was planned, and he timed his talk well to meet a responsive audience. If carried out, his promise that everyone except the very young, the very old and the disabled will be placed in the form of war work for which they are best adapted and for which there is the greatest need will result in the attainment of an all-out effort quite different from that which has hitherto been called by that name. In the attainment of this end the Government will have the strongest co-operation of the nation.

That such a mobilization of the national manpower would release many now engaged in industry for the fighting forces and largely cancel the argument that industrial needs necessitate the limiting of the number of men under arms seems fairly obvious. But while Mr. King very properly emphasized the seriousness of the present moment, when the United Nations are not yet beginning to win the war, he has not yet indicated any intention of applying conscription for overseas service. Compulsion in everything else he declares himself ready to adopt, but in the one phase of the war effort where ordered direction of manpower is essential to defense he still declares himself satisfied to rely on voluntary effort.

It will be strongly hoped that the Government loses no more time in putting its plan into operation. It is already three years since we entered on this war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 8857

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Toronto Daily Star.

Premier King announced last night a government policy of national selective service which will change the course of many Canadian lives, will bring inconvenience and disturbance to a host of Canada's citizens, will interfere to a marked degree with the normal course of employment and business in the Dominion and—this is, after all, the vital consideration — will help to win the war in which this nation is engaged.

The policy is, in brief, the sacrifice of non-essential employment and industry to the essential war activities of the nation; the placement of Canadians, except the very old and the very young, where their efforts can best contribute to victory; and, in consequence of this, a combined war winning effort of essential civilian industries and the war industries which will absorb the available supply of manpower. "Non-essential civilian activities are to be curtailed or eliminated." It is easy to state such a policy in a general way. The tremendous complexity of the task is realized by the prime minister, and faced by him with a determination to see it through.

Mr. King says plainly that the policy "may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some." But this inconvenience and this hardship on the home front will be so negligible as compared with what is suffered on the war fronts of the world—so negligible, too, compared with what would be suffered by Canadians if the Axis nations were victorious—that there can be no complaint about it on the part of good citizens. Said Mr. King: "Such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom, but of our country's freedom and the freedom of mankind." He pointed to no easy path to victory. The United Nations have not yet begun to win the war, he said.

And winning the war requires, as he pointed out, "a supply of manpower to fight" as well as "a supply of manpower to make weapons." The task of the government is to strike the difficult balance between the provision of mechanisms and of men to use them against the enemy. Another difficult problem is to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be kept in Canada and what proportion sent overseas. Such issues will be decided by the course of the war. But in the meantime the government is planning to utilize for war purposes, the whole manpower and womanpower of the nation not required by essential civilian industries and occupations.

London Free Press.

The anouncement of Prime Minister King that the Government is proposing new and drastic measures for the control of the manpower of Canada will be accepted with satisfaction by the public even if it does mean more sacrifice and more restrictions. The people of Canada are looking for strong leadership that will help win the war. The recent taxation is an example. Hard as it bears on the public it has been accepted with cheerfulness.

The only criticism is that this step should have been taken long ago. The public was far in advance of the Government, which has hesitated and procrastimated. Gen. McNaughton in the early months of the war advocated a system of National Selective Service so that men who were needed in munition factories would not be sent into the army and so that the labor of the country would be mobilized. When the National Registration was taken the people thought that this would place in the hands of the Government the information for a complete mobilization of the manpower. The same was true when the plebiscite was held. The people were looking for an all-out effort.

Now that we are facing a labor crisis in manpower the Government is at last taking action. The plan still does not include conscription for overseas service and the three war services will still each continue their recruiting efforts. This is a continuation of a system which is expensive and wasteful and does not make for unity of sacrifice.

The new plan is wisely being placed under one head. Up to the present there have been no less than six departments competing for the manpower of the country. It will ultimately be all under the direction of the Department of Labor with Elliott Little, director of national service, in complete charge. Mr. Little is an able executive with lots of drive and courage. The job is in good hands and the plans which have been worked out, as announced by Mr. King, will be accepted by the public in good spirit, if it does mean hardship and sacrifice to many employees and employers.

Mr. King's speech should be taken to heart by the people of Canada. He faced up to realities and frankly told the public the blunt facts that the war has not been going well for the Allies and it is a long, hard row ahead before we can expect victory. We have had too few speeches of this kind. The Government should take the public into its confidence. It would be surprised at the response.

Saint John Telegraph-Journal.

The Prime Minister has spoken to the Dominion on the subject of using Canada's manpower with maximum efficiency. He showed why we must strain every nerve to assign our man power to the most urgent tasks. He indicated generally how it is to be done, and appealed for the nation's whole-hearted support.

There has been various criticism of manpower policy in the past, but now is not the time to argue. We must buckle down to the present effort. All men and women except the very old, the very young and the unfit, must band themselves to the common task. Some must join the armed forces, others must produce for the support of the services and our allies, and others again must work for the health and maintenance of the nation. All striving, however, must be related to and every endeavor must be tested by its contribution to the grim business of winning the war.

It is not easy to comment on what Mr. Mackenzie King said. Most of it was couched in very general terms. The points he made, however, should render the urgent necessity clear. Compulsion will be reduced to a minimum, but control will be tightened. The object will be direction of effort. Personal restraints will be imposed and in some cases an unemployed person will "after a fixed period" be required to accept any work for which there is a special need. In all cases the term manpower includes womenpower, and next month, Canada's womanpower is to be exactly surveyed.

All this seems rather new to us, and yet it is not in fact as novel as it appears. For some time we have been under a certain measure of employment control; what is coming will be an extension of that. We are likely to see all luxuries and many comforts disappear as the effort is shifted from dispensable to vital production and services. There will be changes in the lives of many, but reinstatement in previous employment is to be assured. At the moment, there appear to be rather many public bodies set up to deal with the various phases of the manpower problem; possibly that will iron itself out. Canada is not generally an official country and the administrative end is likely to strain the civil service and tax our ingenuity, but with goodwill it can doubtless be accomplished. The main thing is for every man and woman to feel personally challenged to do their best and to accept changes in a spirit of selfless service. Canada must mobilize her war effort to the utmost.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

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The policy is, in brief, the sacrifice of non-essential employment and industry to the essential war activities of the nation; the placement of Canadians, except the very old and the very young, where their efforts can best contribute to victory; and, in consequence of this, a combined war winning effort of essential civilian industries and the war industries which will absorb the available supply of manpower. "Non-essential civilian activities are to be curtailed or eliminated." It is easy to state such a policy in a general way. The tremendous complexity of the task is realized by the prime minister, and faced by him with a determination to see it through.

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And winning the war requires, as he pointed out, "a supply of manpower to fight" as well as "a supply of manpower to make weapons." The task of the government is to strike the difficult balance between the provision of mechanisms and of men to use them against the enemy. Another difficult problem is to decide what proportion of manpower and equipment should be kept in Canada and what proportion sent overseas. Such issues will be decided by the course of the war. But in the meantime the government is planning to utilize for war purposes, the whole manpower and womanpower of the nation not required by essential civilian industries and occupations.

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The new plan is wisely being placed under one head. Up to the present there have been no less than six departments competing for the manpower of the country. It will ultimately be all under the direction of the Department of Labor with Elliott Little, director of national service, in complete charge. Mr. Little is an able executive with lots of drive and courage. The job is in good hands and the plans which have been worked out, as announced by Mr. King, will be accepted by the public in good spirit, if it does mean hardship and sacrifice to many employees and employers.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 43338

Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph.

Fate is being most unkind to Mr. Mackenzie King and the Liberal party; far from being able to wage the "painless" war it had conceived of and hoped for, the Government has found itself obliged, first of all, to impose compulsory military service within Canada; then to clothe itself with power to impose compulsory military service outside of Canada at its own discretion—subject to the gesture of a vote of confidence from Parliament—; and now to impose compulsory war service on civilians, men and women. The allegiance of French Canada to the party it has followed for nearly half a century was severly shaken over the "conscription" issue and is not going to be re-cemented by the enforcement of selective service. It remains to be seen, moreover, with what grace organized labor—which has hitherto been kept in a contented mood with plentiful employment, high wages, cost of living bonuses and light taxation—will accept an arbitrary interference with its right of free contract, even on the plea of war necessity.

Actually, our chief criticism of the Government's selective manpower policy is that it has been brought forward dangerously late in the day and fails to provide a fully co-ordinated plan even yet, since the three Service Departments are still to draw upon the general manpower reserve independently of each other and of the Selective Service Board. Moreover, until we see this policy in operation, it is difficult to muster up any great enthusiasm for it. We remember the farce of national registration and all the shilly-shalling over compulsory military service. We remember, too, how the selective manpower issue has been played with hitherto by the appointment of a Minister of National War Services and of a Director of Selective Service, neither of whom had the power to do anything worth while.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL D 43339

Date AUG 22 1942

Subject

Mr. King Missed The Psychological Moment.

What a great psychological moment Mr. KING missed on Wednesday night! The night of Dieppe. Here was an hour when the cables flashed news that struck deep in Canadian hearts. Our boys had met the Hun on the old soil of France where their fathers had met and beaten him a generation ago; had taken the Union Jack back to the land whence it had been carried with Dunkirk. There were Canadian casualties. Here, surely, was the great moment; the hour for the Prime Minister of Canada to tell Canadians that from this moment on there would be no manacles upon this country's effort; that henceforth every strength and substance of the land would sustain the men who fought and fell at Dieppe.

What an inspiration that would have been to all Canada! What a signal to the fighting spirit, the morale, the unity, of all our people!

The signal wasn't given. Instead we heard the Prime Minister of Canada in the old threadbare rhetoric; in the old promises of something to be done some other day.

Mr. KING, as all his story tells, is no mean psychologist; has an uncanny way of seeing into the Canadian mind. But Mr. KING, in this case, surely missed his cue; gave us a message on a night of opportunity that was wholly an anti-climax.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 43340

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post.

Date Aug. 22/42.

Subject

Sound Manpower Policies

One of the soundest features of the new manpower policy announced by Prime Minister King is that the labor department, under the director of national selective service, Mr. Elliott M. Little, will eventually become responsible for the allocation of men to both the armed services and war industry, with the exception that the defence department will continue to enlist volunteers for the navy, air force and active army. This will provide that strong, central authority which has been demanded for some time, and which should lead to a more efficient handling of available resources of manpower and womanpower.

Mr. Little and his staff will not assume their wider responsibilities immediately, and for the time being the national war services department will handle the call-up of men for military service. In the meantime, to smooth the way for the change-over and to eliminate any undue interference with industry, there will be the closest co-operation between Mr. Little and the war services branch.

Ultimately, Mr. Little will decide where the men, and the women, must go in order that they may be used most effectively in carrying on the war. It is a tremendous responsibility, but Mr. Little has shown a thorough grasp of the problems involved and now, given a free hand, should be able to get the last ounce of power out of Canada's human potential. In any event, this centralizing of authority should end the scramble for manpower between competing industry and armed services, a factor which was threatening the efficiency of both branches of the war effort.

Mr. King has laid down the fundamental rule that those not at present engaged in such services as would help maintain the "health and efficiency" of the people shall be employed at war work of some nature. In addition, there would have to be greater efficiency of employment—that is, every worker doing a worthwhile job and doing it to the limit of his capacity. That is an objective most Canadians will agree with. Obviously, it may mean inconvenience for most of us, and hardship for some. Mr. King's plea in this connection is worth quoting: **"Let it never be said that you favor national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself."**

The great majority of Canadians will welcome the increased opportunities to work at war jobs, and those who must continue at those essential but more prosaic civilian occupations, will be encouraged by Mr. King's statement that their tasks, under the new scheme of things, give them a "place in the war effort."

Another important point—it has been urged editorially by a number of eastern newspapers—is the decision to provide safeguards for the health and well-being of women workers in war industry, and the establishment of day nurseries for the children of mothers also engaged in war work. There has been some fear, in view of the arduous nature of the work many of these women will be called on to perform, that their health might suffer. Measures looking to a solution of this problem should be firmly and adequately enforced. In this connection, Mrs. Rex Eaton, who is associated with Mr. Little in the selective service division, has rightly emphasized that it is chiefly unmarried women who are sought for war work. Mothers of children can best serve, it is pointed out, by running their own households.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... D 48241

Date .....

Subject .....

Training of workers for skilled jobs is a policy which will have worthwhile results. It is a plan which should be continued after the war, for at least one cause contributing to the dearth of skilled workers now is the fact that during the depression years scant attention was paid to training young men for such work. It is probably quite true to say that war, a grave state of national emergency, not only reveals the mistakes of the past, but also points the way to a more efficient handling of our problems in the future.

Finally, the necessity of appointing men of ability to take charge of the local employment offices should be stressed. These men will have wide powers under the new manpower system, and will have to exercise sound judgment if things are to run smoothly. Fortunately, the national war services board will be retained, and it will hear appeals from selective service officers' decisions. But the fewer appeals to this body the better, for the manpower plan could be badly snarled in a short time if there were a rush of appeals to this board.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Times

Date Aug. 22/42

Subject

D 62342

Man-Power in the Dominions

A new man-power policy for Canada was announced by MR. MACKENZIE KING in the broadcast immediately after the Dieppe raid. It was a great day for Canada, he said, but the success of the raid must not cause Canadians to lose their perspective of the whole struggle. The danger threatening the United Nations was greater and plainer than ever. It called for greater determination and a more comprehensive effort. The new man-power policy, he explained, meant that every man and woman must be directed to the task in which he or she could be most useful. It would affect all but the very young, the very old, and the disabled, and would be administered without fear or favour and "without regard for race or "creed, because any and every means to "accomplish our aims must be employed." This does not mean the immediate adoption of conscription for oversea service. The Expeditionary Force, the Navy, and the Air Force will continue to be recruited by voluntary enlistment. In order to avoid the dislocation of war industry the power to call up men will be transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Director of National Selective Service, who—functioning under the Ministry of Labour—will carry out the new policy to make sure that everyone is pulling his or her weight in the national effort.

In working towards this policy the Canadian Government have been hampered by racial and religious sectionalism and by political partisanship. By a great majority vote in a national plebiscite they have been given power to apply compulsion for service abroad if and when they think this necessary; but, in their anxiety not to deepen existing divisions, they are reluctant to use that power unless forced to do so by the pressure of events. The Government are satisfied that sufficient recruits are coming forward without compulsion, and they know well that Canada's contribution in munitions and food, in making guns and aeroplanes and in building ships is just as vital as her contribution in fighting men, and has an equal claim upon her man-power. It is possible that the Canadian laurels won at Dieppe may have some effect upon this problem. A common pride in the gallantry displayed by Canadians at the front is likely to weaken the dividing forces of sectarianism and political partisanship. One of the arguments of the conscriptionists has been what they maintain is the unsatisfactory flow of voluntary recruits. But if this flow has been unsatisfactory of late a contributing cause has been the growing boredom of the Canadian troops at their long, inactive stay in this country. However valuable their mere presence here, however inevitable for strategic reasons their enforced inaction has been, it is easy to understand the effect upon eager young men who, a year or two years ago, or in some cases almost three years ago, threw up their civilian jobs to fight HITLER, and also upon their friends and kinsfolk in Canada, to whom they communicated some of their disappointment. That they have been in action and acquitted themselves nobly has raised the spirits of all the Canadian troops in Great Britain and will inspire their friends still in Canada with a new eagerness to join them.

In Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa the Governments are grappling with the same problem of making the most effective use of their man-power and other resources. In Australia and New Zealand there are no racial divisions, but the conflict between Labour, now the dominant party in both Dominions, and the non-Labour parties has not been without its hampering effect upon the war effort. All sections are united in the same determination to achieve victory, but of necessity there has been some difficulty in sinking differences over economic and social issues. New Zealand, which has a War Cabinet representing all parties, seems to have found effective machinery to reflect this common determination in action. Too much importance should not be attached to recent bickerings between party leaders in Australia. Labour there holds power by the very narrowest margin and does not even command a majority in the House of Representatives. Party feeling has run very high for many years. Great confidence is felt in the courage, the good sense, and the sturdy patriotism of the Prime Minister, MR. CURTIN, whose recent utterances have shown him to possess a sound sense of perspective and a capacity to view the struggle as a whole. But in all the circumstances it was perhaps too much to expect that his critics should be able to refrain from the sort of comment that he inevitably took as carping. It is disappointing that he should have allowed himself to be goaded into answering them in the same tone. The divisions in South Africa go much deeper, but under the statesmanlike leadership of GENERAL SMUTS the great majority of the people are resolved to put out their full strength in the common effort. They have already made a magnificent contribution. The man-power and other resources of the Dominions are proving an even greater factor in this war than in 1914-18.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Evenement Journal

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

Mobilisation générale

La mobilisation des ressources humaines annoncée hier soir par le premier ministre dépasse en amplitude tout ce qu'on pouvait imaginer. A l'exception des vieillards et des enfants, des invalides et des malades, des hommes et femmes déjà engagés dans l'effort de guerre, le gouvernement exigera de chacun de ses administrés — sans exception, a dit M. King — l'enrégimentation dans l'armée, dans l'industrie ou dans l'agriculture. L'obligation de servir frappera dorénavant tout le monde. C'est le principe de la levée en masse, qui est à la base de l'Acte de la Milice du Canada, mais appliquée aux femmes comme aux hommes, dans le champ d'activité où leurs services paraitront le plus efficaces. Quant à la façon de procéder à cette conscription nationale, M. Mackenzie King promet qu'on y apportera le plus d'intelligence possible, avec ce que ce terme comporte d'équité, de sens pratique, et de sagesse politique. C'est à souhaiter. Pour justifier cette mesure extrême, le chef de l'Etat affirme qu'elle est absolument nécessaire au salut de la patrie. A cet argument péremptoire, il n'y a rien à répliquer. Dans ces conditions, le seul commentaire à offrir est le suivant : Heureux ceux qui se soumettront volontairement à la loi, en comparaison de ceux qui auront à l'appliquer avec ses sanctions !

Gazette rimée

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 20 1942

Subject

D 43344

MOBILIZATION OF CANADIANS.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in last night's broadcast on National Selective Service brought home to the people of Canada the dangers of the world situation, the responsibility which rests upon every fit man and woman, and the dire need that each and every one should do his or her part in some sphere of usefulness connected with the war effort. Only the very old, the very young and the disabled are to be excluded from the comprehensive scheme which the Government has in prospect. The object is to direct all men and women into the most needed channels.

The August number of the Pamphlet, "Canada's War Record," states that only about 80,000 males between the ages 16 and 69 are not now employed, and of these about one-quarter are unemployable. Yet more than 250,000 persons will be added to the services and war industry in the next five months. The gap is to be bridged by selective service, and that is where the women of Canada come in. They will have to fill many more jobs, and thus relieve strong men for rougher tasks. There will be registration of women and other special registrations whenever necessary, and some non-essential occupations will have to go by the board—they will be controlled, even eliminated. This is in the interest of the total war effort which Mr. King promises and which every earnest Canadian knows must come if Canada, and the other United Nations and neutrals, are to live in freedom.

The Prime Minister made some interesting remarks about compulsion—unnecessary compulsion is not advisable, in his estimation. At the same time he gave details of the plans in effect or in contemplation which indicate that the authorities concerned will not hesitate to demand the services of anyone for any duty. He uttered the significant words that the programme of National Selective Service would be carried out without fear or favor, without regard to race, creed or class. The action of the state is to be positive, he declared.

Canadians are ready to do their duty in the war effort. It remains for the ministers and departments concerned to give the direction which Prime Minister King has promised.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 20 1942

Subject

D 4384

MOBILIZATION OF CANADIANS.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in last night's broadcast on National Selective Service brought home to the people of Canada the dangers of the world situation, the responsibility which rests upon every fit man and woman, and the dire need that each and every one should do his or her part in some sphere of usefulness connected with the war effort. Only the very old, the very young and the disabled are to be excluded from the comprehensive scheme which the Government has in prospect. The object is to direct all men and women into the most needed channels.

The August number of the Pamphlet, "Canada's War Record," states that only about 80,000 males between the ages 16 and 69 are not now employed, and of these about one-quarter are unemployable. Yet more than 250,000 persons will be added to the services and war industry in the next five months. The gap is to be bridged by selective service, and that is where the women of Canada come in. They will have to fill many more jobs, and thus relieve strong men for rougher tasks. There will be registration of women and other special registrations whenever necessary, and some non-essential occupations will have to go by the board—they will be controlled, even eliminated. This is in the interest of the total war effort which Mr. King promises and which every earnest Canadian knows must come if Canada, and the other United Nations and neutrals, are to live in freedom.

The Prime Minister made some interesting remarks about compulsion—unnecessary compulsion is not advisable, in his estimation. At the same time he gave details of the plans in effect or in contemplation which indicate that the authorities concerned will not hesitate to demand the services of anyone for any duty. He uttered the significant words that the programme of National Selective Service would be carried out without fear or favor, without regard to race, creed or class. The action of the state is to be positive, he declared.

Canadians are ready to do their duty in the war effort. It remains for the ministers and departments concerned to give the direction which Prime Minister King has promised.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Patrie

Date Aug. 20/42.

Subject

D 43345

La mobilisation des ressources humaines du Canada

Le discours de M. King

Le Canada est arrivé au point où la poursuite de son programme de guerre nécessite, pour le recrutement de ses forces armées et pour l'intensification de sa production industrielle, une organisation scientifique de ses ressources humaines. Ce sont les grandes lignes de cette organisation que l'hon. Mackenzie King a révélées dans son discours d'hier. Il s'agit, en deux mots, de restreindre au minimum le fonctionnement des services et des industries non essentielles à la poursuite de la guerre et d'affecter aux oeuvres de guerre la main-d'oeuvre mise ainsi en disponibilité.

Par une généralisation progressive du travail féminin, le gouvernement compte combler les vides créés dans le champ du travail par l'appel des hommes sous les armes. Il incombera éventuellement au directeur du Service national sélectif d'appliquer la conscription pour le service militaire au Canada et cela en tenant compte des exigences des industries de guerre essentielles, parmi lesquelles il faut compter l'agriculture au même titre que la production des munitions.

L'enregistrement prochain des femmes révèlera l'étendue des ressources de la main-d'oeuvre féminine. D'autre part, une réglementation stricte de l'emploi de la main-d'oeuvre masculine, la stabilisation des personnels existants, par le contrôle des migrations d'employés, permettront au Service national sélectif de coordonner l'utilisation du travail humain suivant les exigences de la guerre. Bref, toute personne valide sera appelée à consacrer ses efforts à une tâche liée à l'effort de guerre et au besoin forcée de ce faire. M. King a clairement dit que l'Etat recourra à la conscription du travail si cela devient nécessaire.

Les mesures annoncées par le premier-ministre vont donc plier toute la population civile du Canada aux exigences croissantes de l'économie de guerre; elles constituent, à n'en pas douter, un empiètement décisif de l'Etat sur la liberté individuelle. La guerre totale le veut ainsi et le gouvernement compte beaucoup plus sur la bonne volonté et la collaboration des citoyens, pour l'accomplissement de sa tâche, que sur les pouvoirs de coercition dont il dispose.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... 12346 .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Par un décret en date du 1er septembre 1939, le gouvernement allemand établissait dans tout le territoire du Reich le contrôle complet de la main-d'oeuvre. Trois ans après, presque jour pour jour, le gouvernement canadien annonce des mesures à peu près identiques. Noter ce retard de trois années, ce n'est pas accuser l'Etat canadien de lenteur: c'est tout simplement montrer le temps qu'il faut pour exécuter la transformation complète de l'économie d'une nation. Les Etats-Unis sont encore loin derrière le Canada, dans ce domaine et nous leur donnons l'exemple. La situation militaire des Nations Unies, à l'heure actuelle, les revers passés des Alliés s'expliquent par ce fait que l'Allemagne, qui voulait la guerre, l'a déclarée après s'y être longuement préparée, tandis que les nations démocratiques sont forcées depuis trois ans de faire la guerre tout en procédant à leur armement.

L'hon. M. King a terminé son exposé par un appel passionné au civisme et au patriotisme des citoyens. Personne ne saurait être sourd à cet appel, qui se donne la peine de réfléchir à la gravité de l'heure présente, qui veut comprendre l'enjeu de la guerre, qui compare les avantages de la vie qui nous est faite au Canada avec le sort tragique que la défaite a infligé aux populations des nations subjuguées par l'ennemi.

Eustache LETELLIER de SAINT-JUST

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 24 1942

D 43347

Subject

Pros and Cons Across Canada

Prime Minister King's Speech

Toronto Globe and Mail.

At last Canada is within sight of national selective service. Three years after the war began, two years after the Government took unto itself the power to conscript manpower and resources for war service, a plan has emerged. To pretend that its emergence has been progressive since the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act is to fly at the facts. Nothing approaching the plan which Prime Minister King discussed with the nation Wednesday night has been in existence. There was not even machinery around which to plan until the National Selective Service office was established, and Mr. Elliott M. Little appointed director, last April.

There was little to the Prime Minister's speech that had not already been forecast. He was right in warning the people that the new measures will bring inconveniences and hardship. But he could warn them of nothing which they are not ready and willing to accept, though many will question how much of the hardship might have been avoided had national selective service been the basis of our planning from the beginning. What Mr. King drew in outline is the program, and the only program, by which the services the people have been clamoring to give could be fully and fairly utilized. The direction they are being asked to accept now they have pleaded for all through the gloomy days since Dunkirk.

Yet Mr. King's speech did not add up to a total plan. His own emphasis on "the gravity of the situation" that has driven the Government this far was the sternest criticism of what he left unsaid. Director Little will have full power to put us, men and women, to work as the need and our capabilities warrant. But there was nothing to indicate that he is to have the power to prevent skilled labor being needlessly wasted in military service. He has the power to defer essential men, but the deferred men can still volunteer for army, air force and navy.

Mr. Little is not concerned about where the army uses its men when it gets them. He is concerned about the type of manpower that goes into the forces, and about the loss to war industry of essential workers through the voluntary system. It is no secret that war production has been badly weakened on this account in the past. Not only should the leakage be stopped, but National Selective Service should have the power to reclaim for industry those skilled men whose training is not fully employed in the army.

If we read the Prime Minister's speech correctly, the Director of National Selective Service has no such authority. "We have come now," Mr. King said, "to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aims must be employed." But he also said: "Control and direction of manpower need not be wholly compulsory." In short, what Mr. King was trying to say was that any and every means, except conscription for service overseas, must be employed.

Ottawa Citizen.

The overall objective, said Prime Minister King in his broadcast on national selective service, is "total war." To that end the government's policy is that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of the war require."

Nobody can quarrel with that objective and that policy. The test will come in the application of the policy. The first essential is that it be applied firmly and impartially over the whole nation. Mr. King promised that it would. It would "be administered without fear or favor and without regard for race, class or creed." That is excellent.

Among the first steps will be a registration of womanpower. There will be a tightening up of existing measures for the control and direction of employment of all kinds. Soon no employer may dismiss a worker, and no worker will be able to quit, without suitable formalities. "Help wanted" advertisements will be controlled. Labor training will be increased and day nurseries set up for the children of working women. Most interesting, W.P.T.B. is to begin cutting down non-essential production.

So far, so good. Will these and other policies aimed at placing "every man and woman"in the war job for which he or she is most suited be carried out without compulsion? Mr. King hopes so. He reiterated his faith in voluntarism. "In itself, compulsion has little or no merit," he said. That is true under normal circumstances, but under present circumstances, voluntarism has led to grievous and perhaps irremediable anomalies.

In the field of overseas military service it has led to conditions that may become tragic. As Mr. King said, "Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve." Exactly, and at this stage, a compulsory overseas army would be made up largely of those not willing to serve. Thus you have the obnoxious "two-army" trouble. Compulsion in the beginning, as in Britain and the United States, is the only fair and efficient policy in a democracy fighting for survival. And as in the military field, so it may prove in the industrial.

Ottawa Journal.

Listening to Mr. Mackenzie King over the radio Wednesday night one could not help thinking what a handicap it is to a war leader to be unable to use direct language when issuing grave warnings to his people.

Mr. King started out well; brought up his listeners all-standing with:

"We were proud to hear of the part played by Canadians in today's raid on Dieppe, that they had a foremost place. But news of the raid should not destroy our sense of perspective. . . . It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan design to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India. . . . On all the seven seas the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. . . . The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. . . . We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation."

Straight talk that—necessary.

It seemed unfortunate to us that he then trailed off into an unnecessarily verbose and involved statement about coming National Selective Service. The points he had to make did not stand out clearly—or as clearly as they might have without the wordage of a carefully-prepared essay.

To people who did not hear the opening of it—and there were doubtless thousands—the address sounded just like one of Mr. King's usual parliamentary or political speeches. "Old stuff." He touched on so many phases, buried the gravely-intended admonitions in so many long explanations, that we suspect few who heard him could have given if asked a correct summary of the Government's proposed new radical regulations.

And he ended with what was meant to be an earnest peroration but that did not bring listeners back to the horror of his opening utterances.

Windsor Daily Star.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's announcement of the new manpower mobilization policy of the Government goes a long way toward meeting the demands that have been widely made almost since the war began. There has been an insistent clamor that the Government take the bold step of directing the energies of all the citizens into the channels where it will do the most

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REPEAT
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The policy does not go as far as many expected, or as far as many desire. There has been a vocal group which has been demanding total conscription of manpower both for military service and for war industry. This bloc will not be satisfied with the measures announced by Mr. King in his statement to the people last night.

On the other hand, there has been an element which has resisted and opposed regimentation. It will see in the new program an interference with individual rights of self-determination which is not justified even by the critical times in which we find ourselves.

Generally speaking, however, there is likely to be approval for the laws which have been announced. Briefly stated, they provide that every man and woman in Canada shall henceforth be engaged in that occupation in which he can make the greatest contribution to the war effort.

They fall short of conscription and compulsion on a general scale. For the present at least, there will be no attempt to give peremptory orders to those employed in agriculture, commerce and industry to change their occupations and engage in work directly connected with the prosecution of the war. There will be regulation and persuasion rather than regimentation, except for those who are presently unemployed and who show no inclination to engage in useful work.

The actual working out of the program, however, is likely to bring about a measure of compulsion which does not appear on the surface. This will be accomplished in an indirect way, which will be no less effective. It will be done through the strict regulation of industries, by the curtailment or closing of those which are non-essential, which will, in turn, force labor into employment more directly connected with war production.

The whole program is a daring experiment, even more drastic than the one dealing with control of prices and wages. For the first time in history, Canadian citizens are to be denied full rights of selection of their daily work, and are to be forced to accept direction as to what employment they shall take.

Brantford Expositor.

A policy designed to effectively mobilize Canadian manpower for "total effort for total war" and, to that end, to have every available man and woman engaged in some form of war service, has been announced by the Prime Minister of the Dominion. In the light of recent official intimations, this statement occasioned no surprise. Indeed it may be said it had been fully and eagerly anticipated. The war has reached the phase of decisive climax. It is an inescapable fact that the outcome of the struggle is being determined now. It is no mere figure of speech to assert that the fate of human freedom hangs in the balance. To insure that the balance is swung the right way, it is imperative that manpower and womanpower be fully mobilized and the most efficient use made thereof.

Organization of Canada's human resources, including all but the very young, the very old and the incapacitated, has been proceeding for some time, but only on an incomplete basis. Henceforth the difficult task of the authorities will be to put these resources on a full footing. In so doing, it will be vitally necessary, as Prime Minister Mackenzie King pointed out, to preserve a proper balance, so as to secure maximum effectiveness. This will entail well calculated allocation of manpower to the armed forces, war industry and the services requisite to the health and efficiency of the people.

There was gratifying intimation, in the Prime Minister's address, of a much-needed centralization of manpower control. Mr. Elliott M. Little, director of National Selective Service, will be charged with the primary responsibility in this huge task. Accordingly he should be vested with the necessary power and authority under the Minister of Labor. Enlistments for the armed forces are to remain with the Defence Ministries, but it is to be taken for granted that there will be complete co-operation with the Director. The calling up of men for military service remains temporarily with the Department of National War Services, but, according to Mr. King's statement, this function is to be transferred to Mr. Little's Department. This is where it belongs and no time should be wasted in making the change.

The new policy will entail steadily increasing employment of women in war production, in the armed services and elsewhere, to facilitate the release of men for war duties; the establishment of day nurseries for the children of women entering employment; the curtailment or elimination of non-essential industries; the direction and control of labor and conditions of employment. Some of these steps are already well advanced; the others have been planned and will be inaugurated in the immediate future.

Such direction of the lives and activities of Canadians is unaccustomed but necessary. It is to be assumed, from the Prime Minister's outline, that the Government's plan will be comprehensive and that it will be developed with all possible speed consistent with efficiency and stability. But, as the Prime Minister emphasized, no such undertaking, unprecedented as it is in this country, can succeed as it ought to succeed, and as it must succeed, without the wholehearted co-operation of all the people.

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript.

Date Aug. 21/42.

D 48349

Subject

FOR ALL-OUT WAR

A ringing challenge to the men and women of Canada was sounded by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his address in which he announced the plans of the government for the extension of the national selective service plan to enlist the entire manpower and womanpower of the Dominion in the task of winning the war.

Canada has gone a long way toward that goal since 1939, but the time has come to take longer steps to achieve the objective. Warning of the peril in which Canada and other free countries stand, although pointing also to the brighter parts of the war picture, Mr. King called upon the nation to unite in devoting all its energies to the achievement of victory.

This is a time for essentials and nothing of lesser importance can be permitted to stand in the way. The primary duties of Canadians, as Mr. King classed them, were the provision and maintenance of fighting services as large as could be supported in a long war, the provision of the implements of war for our forces and our Allies, the production of food for ourselves and those associated with us in the struggle, and the maintenance of essential civilian services.

Non-essentials must be curtailed and many eliminated, and our ideas of what is essential must be reduced to the standard that is permitted by an all-out effort. All the men and all the women who can be spared for service in the armed froces and in war industries must be made available. This, the Prime Minister said, applied to every man and woman, even to the young people, to all except the very old, the very young and the disabled.

How is this to be accomplished? By voluntary measures to as great an extent as possible, because the government is satisfied that is the best and most economical method. There will be compulsion if necessary for those who may require it, because a nation in peril can brook no opposition to the plans adopted for its salvation, but the government is relying largely on the patriotism of the people to take up the burdens that must be borne.

In a deeply moving appeal, Mr. King asked for the co-operation of the entire Dominion in carrying out this program to avert the dire peril that confronts free men everywhere. He was confident that the plans for Selective National Service would be generally approved, but he found it necessary to urge each individual to approve and accept them for himself or herself and not merely for others.

The plans outlined by Mr. King strike at the roots of any complacency which may be left. They will, when put into effect, upset many whose lives have been but little affected by the war. They will cause inconvenience and perhaps in some cases hardships. Canadians are being called as never before to blood and toil and sweat, but nothing that it will cost will be too great a price to pay for freedom from the brutality of Nazi tyranny.

It is not necessary to ask if Canada will accept the challenge. Canadians have been waiting for it. They will respond.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... Lethbridge Herald.

Date ..... Aug. 21/42.

Subject .....

D 43350

Over-All Conscription

Prime Minister King left little doubt in the minds of Canadians in his Wednesday evening speech that compulsory selective service in Canada is going to mean just what it says. Warning of the serious phase into which the war has entered, a phase where the enemy must be stopped before he makes gains from which he cannot be dislodged, the Prime Minister told us that every able-bodied man and woman in Canada would have to accept a measure of compulsion so that the armed forces may be supplied with fighters, the war factories supplied with skilled workers and the farms supplied with food producers. There is no other way that Canada can do her duty to herself and to her Allies in this war, and no other way in which victory can be won.

Mr. King did not go into details of how compulsory selective service will be worked out, but we were given to understand that every man and woman would, by a process of selection, be placed in the job where he or she can render the best service in the war effort. We may expect that, within a few days, a steady stream of directives will be coming out of Ottawa carrying a compulsory ruling as to registration and submission to direction into new armed services or labor channels. We know the Canadian people as a whole are awaiting these directives and will welcome their arrival and their enforcement. The average Canadian wants to do what will best help to win the war; the only thing they ask is that there be a compulsory application so that there may be no discrimination in favor of those who take their duty too lightly.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

Over-All Conscription

Prime Minister King left little doubt in the minds of Canadians in his Wednesday evening speech that compulsory selective service in Canada is going to mean just what it says. Warning of the serious phase into which the war has entered, a phase where the enemy must be stopped before he makes gains from which he cannot be dislodged, the Prime Minister told us that every able-bodied man and woman in Canada would have to accept a measure of compulsion so that the armed forces may be supplied with fighters, the war factories supplied with skilled workers and the farms supplied with food producers. There is no other way that Canada can do her duty to herself and to her Allies in this war, and no other way in which victory can be won.

Mr. King did not go into details of how compulsory selective service will be worked out, but we were given to understand that every man and woman would, by a process of selection, be placed in the job where he or she can render the best service in the war effort. We may expect that, within a few days, a steady stream of directives will be coming out of Ottawa carrying a compulsory ruling as to registration and submission to direction into new armed services or labor channels. We know the Canadian people as a whole are awaiting these directives and will welcome their arrival and their enforcement. The average Canadian wants to do what will best help to win the war; the only thing they ask is that there be a compulsory application so that there may be no discrimination in favor of those who take their duty too lightly.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication St. John Telegraph Journal.

Date Aug. 21/42.

D 43351

Subject

Canada's Manpower

THE prime minister has spoken to the Dominion on the subject of using Canada's manpower with maximum efficiency. He showed why we must strain every nerve to assign our manpower to the most urgent tasks. He indicated generally how it is to be done, and appealed for the nation's whole-hearted support.

There has been various criticism of manpower policy in the past, but now is not the time to argue. We must buckle down to the present effort. All men and women except the very old, the very young and the unfit, must band themselves to the common task. Some must join the armed forces, others must produce for the support of the services and our allies, and others again must work for the health and maintenance of the nation. All striving, however, must be related to and every endeavor must be tested by its contribution to the grim business of winning the war.

It is not easy to comment on what Mr. Mackenzie King said. Most of it was couched in very general terms. The points he made, however, should render the urgent necessity clear. Compulsion will be reduced to a minimum, but control will be tightened. The object will be direction of effort. Personal restraints will be imposed and in some cases an unemployed person will "after a fixed period" be required to accept any work for which there is a special need. In all cases the term manpower includes womanpower, and next month, Canada's womanpower is to be exactly surveyed.

All this seems rather new to us, and yet it is not in fact as novel as it appears. For some time we have been under a certain measure of employment control; what is coming will be an extension of that. We are likely to see all luxuries and many comforts disappear as the effort is shifted from dispensable to vital production and services. There will be changes in the lives of many, but reinstatement in previous employment is to be assured. As the moment, there appear to be rather many public bodies set up to deal with the various phases of the manpower problem; possibly that will iron itself out. Canada is not generally an official country and the administrative end is likely to strain the civil service and tax our ingenuity, but with goodwill it can doubtless be accomplished. The main thing is for every man and woman to feel personally challenged to do their best and to accept changes in a spirit of selfless service. Canada must mobilize her war effort to the utmost.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Chroncile.

Date Aug. 21/42.

Subject

D43352

NECESSARY COMPULSION

If, during these three years of war, there has been some sense of futility among Canadians, it has been due, in no small degree, to a common feeling that there has been a lack of forceful driving power from above. Offers of services in the early days often were either refused or deferred. Round people appeared to be put into square holes, and there certainly existed among many people the feeling that the emergency, after all, could not be so great as to demand any serious departure from the old slogan of "Business as usual."

Now, at length, the Prime Minister of Canada has spoken. Whether or not it can be said that his radio address of Wednesday night was an inspiring clarion call to service is a matter of opinion. But at least he formulated what seems to be a sound plan to utilize all available services of all Canadians. The details of the new scheme are now well known to everybody. Henceforth we may expect to hold the job we have because the Government thinks that it is the right job for us, and, under such circumstances we shall all feel far more comfortable than many of us have been in the past.

Mr. King declares that "compulsion in itself has little or no merit," but that it is "necessary to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve." In our opinion Mr. King need not shrink from the use of compulsion. Canadians may be, and indeed are, a freedom loving, individualistic lot. But none of us is so stupid as not to be able to visualise what will happen to our freedom if we lose this war. No single one of us is so obtuse as not to see that definite, forceful and even ruthless co-ordination from above is the only thing that can produce an ordered efficiency in a task of the magnitude of that which we now have in hand.

The one thing that Canadians demand, however, is that efficiency from top to bottom and ultimate success in arms shall be the reward of present and future sacrifice.

Mr. King struck precisely the right note in his peroration. It is for Canada that he asked us all to serve and obey. We can assure him that for Canada we are prepared to offer all that we have and are.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Chroncile.

Date Aug. 21/42.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Standard.

Date Aug. 22/42.

Subject D 43353

Workers for War

FOR Canada the news of the week was important with the participation in the Dieppe raid the highlight. At the same time came the announcement of the arrival in Britain of another big convoy of reinforcements, mostly troops for the armored units. At home there was also important developments, revealed in a statement to the nation by Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

The Premier's announcement dealt with the disposition of the Dominion's manpower and womanpower, to provide the fullest possible effort in the drive for victory. In this positive policy it was announced that the call-up of men for both the military forces and war industries would be centralized under the Director of Selective Service, Elliott M. Little. The increasingly acute shortage of labor made the necessity of the new program obvious, a program which called for a far tighter control over jobs. According to the Premier, firms will be required to provide a list of those employed since April 1, while in the future any person wishing to change employment will have to give written notice, a notice which will be submitted to the regional employment office.



King

A sharp restriction and ultimate elimination of non-essential jobs, brought about through the War-time Prices and Trade Board, was also forecast by Mr. King, thus providing additional workers for the key war industries and men for the services. A special registration of women and continuing surveys of the labor situation were also announced as part of the program.

One factor which will affect every citizen of Canada was the decision to use only the minimum in fuel, materials, transportation, etc., to maintain essential home services.

In carrying out this broad program the Prime Minister appealed for the support of every Canadian as an essential to its success. Every citizen, Mr. King asserted, must regard his or her services as vital to the country's war effort.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Manpower and Total War Effort, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1942	D 43235 - D 43353	
70		"Three Years of War", Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1942	D 43354 - D 43437	
70		Welcome to Clement Attlee, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Sept. 1942	D 43438 - D 43466	
70		"Comrades in Arms", (United Services Feature Broadcast), Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Oct. 1942	D 43467 - D 43477	
70		Broadcast to Australia, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Oct. 1942	D 43478 - D 43496	
71		Labour and the War, American Federation of Labour, Convention, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	9 Oct. 1942	D 43497 - D 43738	
71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

(Not to be released before delivery
9:00 to 9:30 p.m.)

D 48354

Three Years of War

National Broadcast, September 10th, 1942
by
Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King

Today, Canada enters upon the fourth year of war. Three years ago, it was difficult for men and women anywhere to believe what was told them of the probable duration of the war. Much less were they prepared to believe that Hitler's aim was world conquest. I doubt if peoples whose countries have not been invaded even yet appreciate the magnitude of the enemy's designs. Only those who themselves have been the victims of Nazi or Japanese deception, terrorism and violence have begun to comprehend the real issue.

At the time of Britain's entry into the war, speaking of the attack upon Poland by the armed forces of Germany, I said, in a nation-wide broadcast: "The fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation are the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict." Referring to Hitler's methods and aim, I added: "It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world which is the real cause of the war that today threatens the freedom of mankind." Those words may have seemed extravagant at the time they were used three years ago. I question, however, if today any intelligent person

D 43355

will dispute their truth. That the war today "threatens the freedom of mankind" is abundantly clear.

I should like to draw a distinction tonight, as I did three years ago, between the cause of the war, and the real issue in the war. The cause, as I then said, was the lust for conquest - world domination. The real issue, however, goes even deeper. More than world domination is involved. Domination need not be wholly evil. You have heard it said that the best type of ruler is a benevolent despot. To have the world controlled by benevolence, however absolute the control, might not be an unmixed blessing. But a world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form - it would be an unmixed curse. Yet, that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the United Nations.

In three years of war, we have become only too familiar with the evidences of the satanic power of the enemy. Our minds have recoiled from the horrors, brutalities and atrocities which, since Poland was attacked have been recorded day by day. They, however, are but surface indications of something deeper and more malevolent. The Nazi purpose is to destroy every belief, and to subvert every institution which, from childhood's days, men and

D 43356

women of the free countries of the world have been taught to reverence. Their aim is the total destruction of Christian civilization. Some time before the invasion of Poland, Hitler himself said: "Whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos". "Nothing but chaos,"! - that represents the sum of what Nazi Germany, thus far, has contributed to the world.

I have seen nowhere a truer statement of the real issue in this war than one by Miss Audrey Alexandra Brown, a young Canadian whose name and writings are, I am sure, familiar to many of you. Miss Brown completely rejects the idea that nothing is happening now which did not happen in the dark ages, or under earlier despotisms. She defines the issue in these words: "Certainly, brutality and force are not new among men. It has always been true that, as the Psalms have it, 'the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.' Men who are little more than savages can be expected to behave as beasts. But never before in history has a nominally civilized, a nominally Christian nation deliberately made the profession, 'Evil, be thou my good'. This war is unlike all other wars, for the deformed monstrosities that sheltered in darkness have crawled out of that darkness and openly challenged the world

D 43357

for the possession of its soul. They no longer fight under cover, they flaunt in steel. For Germany to win this war would not mean merely a re-drawing of boundaries or a shift in sovereignty. It would mean the destruction of the free spirit of man."

I wish those words, inscribed on parchment, might be framed and hung upon the walls of every home.

The aim of Nazi Germany and her militarist Japanese partner is not merely the conquest of territory, not even world domination in itself. The forces of evil, incarnated in the Axis powers, are seeking to possess the world's soul, and to destroy the free spirit of man. They will accomplish this evil purpose unless they themselves are totally destroyed.

The consequences of this conflict no living man or woman can possibly hope to escape. As the outcome of this war, mankind will either revert to a condition of barbarity and savagery resulting from world chaos; or, by release from bondage, humanity will rise into a new order of social justice and world security. Three years of war have made the issue clear to the peoples of the Old World, in Europe and Asia alike. To each one of us in the New World the issue must become equally clear. As individuals and as nations, we must realize the need to make the utmost

D 43358

contribution of which we are capable to ensure the defeat of the enemy, and the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause.

I am stressing again tonight the real issue of the war for two reasons. The first is to bring home to every one just what is at stake in this world conflict. The other is to make us appreciate, at its true value, the sacrifice of human life involved in the conflict. Already many of the bravest of our land have given their lives in mortal combat against the evil forces that have been loosed upon the world. We may be sure that those who have given their lives in so great a cause have not failed of their eternal reward. It is well, however, that those who have been bereaved should appreciate the sacrifice of their loved ones at its true worth.

It was not merely to prevent the barbaric forces from beyond the waters of the Atlantic and of the Pacific from invading our shores and gaining possession of our land that young Canadians who fought at Hong Kong and at Dieppe, and in the skies over many lands, and upon the waters of many oceans, have given their lives. They have fought, and their lives have been sacrificed, that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness; that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil, instead of

D 43359

good, may not be exalted in our midst for generations to come. Many of them may not have been fully conscious of how great was the cause for which they went forth to fight. I question if they thought of any call save that of duty. But something immortal had been stirring in their breasts. It impelled them to action. We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God.

How, in three years of war, has Canada, as a nation, responded to the call? That is something, I am sure, of which you will expect to hear me speak tonight. In so doing, I should like you to think of Canada as a nation of the New World. Now that it is everywhere recognized that the war is a global war, a universal war, in that light alone can our contribution to the war effort of the United Nations be adequately appraised. We are told so often that so little publicity has been given to Canada's war effort, that I may be forgiven if I venture to say that, as a people, we can and should take a legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the New World in the past three years.

Canada was the first to see the real issue and the first to make the decision to fight.

We were the first nation of the New World to support and to strengthen Britain when she alone stood

D 48360

between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent. The period following the disastrous campaign in the west of Europe and the collapse of France, has been described as Britain's finest hour. It will, I believe, detract nothing from Britain's honour to say that no period in the war reflects greater credit on Canada.

While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything we possessed, that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion. Canadian destroyers were sent to British waters, leaving our own coasts perilously exposed. Though greatly needed here, what air squadrons we had available were sent to Britain. Aircraft, required for training in Canada, were turned back in mid-Atlantic. All available small arms and ammunition were sent overseas to help fill the gap left by British losses in France. The despatch overseas of the second division was accelerated. Air training was intensified. Canada's faith in Britain's ability to hold out never wavered for a moment. The proof of it was given in action.

Just before French resistance collapsed, Canadian troops had actually landed in France, ready to go into battle. After the fall of France, ships of the Canadian navy assisted in the evacuation of British, Canadian and

D 43361

Polish soldiers from French territory. In these operations, the Canadian destroyer Fraser was lost off Bordeaux. The rescue of the survivors of the Fraser by the Canadian destroyer Restigouche was one of the most daring exploits of the evacuation.

For a full year, from June 1940, to June 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. It was no exaggeration, when Mr. Churchill told the world in September 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained. It should never be forgotten that if that resistance had crumbled, freedom might have perished from the earth.

In addition to what we sent to Britain in the dark months of 1940, Canadian troops were despatched to Newfoundland, the West Indies and Iceland. For more than a year, Canada was the keeper of the Western approaches, to the Northern bridge of islands, between North America and Europe. When, in the summer of 1941, the United States began to share that task with us, we specially welcomed their support, both because it added strength to the common cause, and because it enabled our forces to move to still more advanced positions.

D 43362

Canada was the first of the nations of the New World to take part in the war in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Engineers of the Canadian army have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar. For many months Canadian airmen, numbered now in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East. Our fighting men - soldiers at Hong Kong, and airmen in India and Ceylon - were the first organized fighting forces from the New World to serve in Asia. At Dieppe, the other day, Canadian soldiers made up five-sixths of the forces that landed on the continent of Europe. Since 1940, our airmen have had a large and steadily increasing place in the bombing of Germany and occupied Europe.

We have just been afforded a striking example of the prowess our fighting forces have attained, and of the calibre of the men themselves. Having dropped their bombs on Saarbrucken at the early hour of two o'clock on Wednesday morning of last week, the entire crew of one of the bomber planes arrived here in our Capital city, at midnight of the same day. In that short interval of time, they had not only returned to their base in Britain, but had also made a brief stop at a Canadian airport near Montreal.// Their average age is 23½ years.// They all enlisted in the Canadian Air Force in 1940,/ and all went overseas during 1941./ These young airmen served together in more than twenty raids over

D 43363

enemy territory, among the number being those on Emden and Cologne. It should be remembered that their endurance, as well as their achievements, have been paralleled by thousands of other young Canadians serving in British or Canadian squadrons.

The visit of these fighting airmen has helped to bring very near to us all not only the young men themselves, but all of their comrades serving in the fighting forces of our country. Their visit, too, has made us increasingly conscious of the vastness and the nearness of existing danger. Distances from the battlefields of Europe and from Japanese bases in the Pacific, can no longer be reckoned by days. From now on they must be measured in hours.

Modern war is many-sided in its nature. It calls for many-sided planning. In the first months of war we began to organize an expeditionary force, as well as an army for the territorial defence of Canada. We planned an orderly and a rapid expansion of the Canadian Navy. We planned too, even before the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proposed, a speedy and vast expansion of air training. The proposal of a joint air training plan for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom when made was immediately welcomed. The gigantic development soon outran what had been proposed.

D 13364

A few figures may help to throw light upon the effectiveness with which the plans of 1939 have been realized during three years of war. Today half a million volunteers are on active service in the three armed forces. To equal in numbers alone, Canada's voluntary armed effort the United States would require, in proportion to its population, to have on active service, in its armed forces, six million men. In Canada more than forty thousand men, in addition, are engaged in compulsory military service for the duration of the war. Tens of thousands of Canadians are also patriotically devoting their spare time to service in the Reserve Army.

In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the Navy, Army and Air Forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

Canada's expeditionary force in Britain is not simply an army corps; it is a Canadian Army. At the end of the present year it will consist of two complete corps, the second to be an armoured corps.

The progress of our expeditionary force may best be described in the words of its Commander-in-Chief. In his Christmas message of December last, General McNaughton

D 43365

said:

> "From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here, and as they have arrived the organization of our military headquarters, reinforcement units, hospitals, schools, repair establishments and many other needed facilities have been pressed forward; meanwhile our engineer and signal and forestry corps have made their contribution to the life and welfare of the community."

Speaking here in Canada at the Army Trade School at Hamilton last March, General McNaughton said:

> "I want you to know that we are operating the greatest mechanized force in the world. This is because in Canada we have progressed further along this line than has any other country..... I go back with a feeling of great confidence in what we have behind us here in Canada."

In a message to the Canadian Seamen's Union, after his return to England, the General said:

> "The Government and people of Canada are seeing to it that adequate reinforcements, and supplies of all natures of munitions and equipment, will be made available for Canada's army here."

You will have noticed that since the adjournment of parliament, two large contingents of reinforcements and new units have landed in Britain.

In an interview with a party of Canadian editors, as recently as August 27th, General McNaughton repeated his previous statement that transportation across the North Atlantic had been the only limiting factor.

D 43366

In 1939, the Canadian navy was the smallest of our three services. The navy now has well over 400 ships in operation, and a personnel of more than 40,000 men. Naval ship production is keeping pace with the supply of trained men, and an even balance is being maintained between ships and men. A day or two ago, Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty in the United Kingdom, said that the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy had been fighting the German U-boats with vigour and gallantry. This linking of the names of the British Navy and the Canadian Navy was a fitting recognition of the part the Canadian Navy has played in the task of convoying shipping across the North Atlantic, and in meeting the submarine menace.

As for the Air Force, in deciding in 1939 to concentrate mainly on air training in the early stages of the war, Canada deliberately sacrificed the immediately spectacular, for slower but greater and more effective results. Today, the results of Canadian air training are to be seen on almost every battle-front around the globe:— along both our own coasts, in Newfoundland and Labrador, in Alaska, in India, in Egypt and the Middle East, in Britain, in the skies over Germany and conquered Europe, and in Russia.

D 43367

On the economic front, as in the military sphere, Canada in this war has also led the way among the nations of the New World. We have led in the transformation from a peace-time to a war-time economy. We have been first in the field of supply, as arsenal, granary and shipyard. We have been foremost in war taxation and finance; in the conservation of raw materials; in efforts to prevent profiteering and inflation; in the control of the cost of living; and in the over-all employment of manpower. From the start, we determined to make every machine and munition of war we could make, and to produce as much of everything as we could produce. Motor vehicles, tanks, and guns have been exported on a gigantic scale. We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces. Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the Southern Pacific, and in China. The output of Canadian shipyards has become a major factor in meeting one of the most imperative of war needs. As for foodstuffs, it is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940, her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food. Canadian wheat and flour are now being sent in large quantities to Greece and to Russia. Canadian workmen and Canadian farmers are playing their full part in Canada's war effort.

D 43368

I should like to pay a tribute to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort.

The women in the nursing services have taken, as always, the pioneer role of women in wartime service. For many months, young women in the uniforms of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force have been on active service in all parts of Canada. Some are already overseas. All are performing a variety of tasks. Before many weeks, similar duties will be undertaken by the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service.

Equally worthy and equally essential work is being accomplished by the thousands of women in war industry. Their growing skill is adding daily to the mounting volume of machines and munitions of war issuing from Canadian factories and workshops. In factories, offices, shops and farms all over Canada, women, in increasing numbers, are doing work formerly performed by men.

The women who are keeping together the homes and families of our country, no less than the women directly engaged in war service, are helping to preserve the civilization our enemies are seeking to destroy.

This war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have trampled under foot one after the other of the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the war has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly, for all, it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

A few days ago, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, spoke to members of the government here in Ottawa. In the presence of the Minister of China, he said that if it had not been for the long continued resistance of the Chinese, there is little doubt that New Zealand and Australia would have suffered the fate which the Dutch and the British Colonial possessions in the Far East had suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Who will say that but for the magnificent resistance of Britain in the Autumn and Winter of 1940, and but for the heroic delaying action of Greece and Yugoslavia in the Spring of 1941 the fate of all Europe would not have been settled before Russia was attacked? Who will say that but for the tremendous resistance of Russia since June of last year, we, on this continent, might not today have been fighting for our very lives, on our own coasts and in our own cities?

D 43370

Three years of war have ~~revealed~~ revealed to the world the might of the Axis powers. The years have also revealed their plans of world conquest. Germany was to strike first; Italy next, and finally Japan. In each case, the attack was unprovoked. This, it seems to me, is most significant. It would never have occurred had the Axis powers not believed that, under their combined plan, they would be able to take on and to conquer the rest of the world. Let there be no mistake, the forces of tyranny still believe they are able to encircle the globe. Building upon their conquests in the Old World, they plan to press in upon the New. If we, on this continent, have thus far escaped invasion, either by Japanese forces from across the Pacific, or by German forces from across the Atlantic, it is because of the resistance of other nations.

To the peoples of Europe and of Asia who have been over-powered and over-run, their resistance may seem, to them, to have been in vain. I do not believe their resistance has been in vain. Every nation that resisted the foe, however short that resistance may have been, has contributed something to his ultimate defeat. Every day gained by their resistance has afforded precious time to the countries which are still free to build up their strength.

D 43371

We who are still free can never forget the debt we owe to the people of Czechoslovakia, to the Poles, to the Norwegians, to the Dutch, to the Belgians, to the resisting French, to the Yugoslavs, and to the Greeks. We know what we owe to the peoples of Britain, of China and of Russia. But for the efforts and the sacrifices of all who have resisted, we might ere this have lost the liberty we still enjoy.

~~It still remains to be seen how long it may take to stay the power of the aggressor.~~ However questioning we may have been in the past, there can no longer be any doubt that, from the first day of the war, whatever our motives, we have, in very truth, been fighting for our own preservation, for our own survival. The nations of the New World are not sending their forces to the Old, whether it be across the Atlantic or across the Pacific, to further any imperial cause. It is to destroy a common enemy, and to keep the war away from our own soil.

No one can say how long it may take to stay the ~~power of the~~ aggressor. That will depend on the effort of each and every individual, in all of the United Nations. We must gather our full strength for a supreme effort. To halt the aggressor is only the first step. To cripple his power is the work of There will still

D 43372

remain the task of liberation. We are all members one of another. It is not alone to save ourselves that we must continue to fight. Freedom must be restored to all. Those who have suffered so greatly, have resisted the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known. Till these forces are totally destroyed, there can be no enduring peace.

(Not to be released before delivery
9:00 to 9:30 p.m.)

D 43373

Three Years of War

National Broadcast, September 10th, 1942
by
Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King

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D43374

will dispute their truth. That the war today "threatens the freedom of mankind" is abundantly clear.

I should like to draw a distinction tonight, as I did three years ago, between the cause of the war, and the real issue in the war. The cause, as I then said, was the lust for conquest - world domination. The real issue, however, goes even deeper. More than world domination is involved. Domination need not be wholly evil. You have heard it said that the best type of ruler is a benevolent despot. To have the world controlled by benevolence, however absolute the control, might not be an unmixed blessing. But a world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form - it would be an unmixed curse. Yet, that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the United Nations!

In three years of war, we have become only too familiar with the evidences of the satanic power of the enemy. Our minds have recoiled from the horrors, brutalities and atrocities which, since Poland was attacked have been recorded day by day. They, however, are but surface indications of something deeper and more malevolent. The Nazi purpose is to destroy every belief, and to subvert every institution which, from childhood's days, men and

D 43375

women of the free countries of the world have been taught to reverence. Their aim is the total destruction of Christian civilization. Some time before the invasion of Poland, Hitler himself said: "Whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos". "Nothing but chaos,"1 - that represents the sum of what Nazi Germany, thus far, has contributed to the world.

I have seen nowhere a truer statement of the real issue in this war than one by Miss Audrey Alexandra Brown, a young Canadian whose name and writings are, I am sure, familiar to many of you. Miss Brown completely rejects the idea that nothing is happening now which did not happen in the dark ages, or under earlier despotisms. She defines the issue in these words: "Certainly, brutality and force are not new among men. It has always been true that, as the Psalms have it, 'the dark places of the earth aare full of the habitations of cruelty.' Men who are little more than savages can be expected to behave as beasts. But never before in history has a nominally civilized, a nominally Christian nation deliberately made the profession, 'Evil, be thou my good'. This war is unlike all other wars, for the deformed monstrosities that sheltered in darkness have crawled out of that darkness and openly challenged the world

D 43376

for the possession of its soul. They no longer fight under cover, they flaunt in steel. For Germany to win this war would not mean merely a re-drawing of boundaries or a shift in sovereignty. It would mean the destruction of the free spirit of man."

I wish those words, inscribed on parchment, might be framed and hung upon the walls of every home.

The aim of Nazi Germany and her militarist Japanese partner is not merely the conquest of territory, not even world domination in itself. The forces of evil, incarnated in the Axis powers, are seeking to possess the world's soul, and to destroy the free spirit of man. They will accomplish this evil purpose unless they themselves are totally destroyed.

The consequences of this conflict no living man or woman can possibly hope to escape. As the outcome of this war, mankind will either revert to a condition of barbarity and savagery resulting from world chaos; or, by release from bondage, humanity will rise into a new order of social justice and world security. Three years of war have made the issue clear to the peoples of the Old World, in Europe and Asia alike. To each one of us in the New World the issue must become equally clear. As individuals and as nations, we must realize the need to make the utmost

D 43377

contribution of which we are capable to ensure the defeat of the enemy, and the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause.

I am stressing again tonight the real issue of the war for two reasons. The first is to bring home to every one just what is at stake in this world conflict. The other is to make us appreciate, at its true value, the sacrifice of human life involved in the conflict. Already many of the bravest of our land have given their lives in mortal combat against the evil forces that have been loosed upon the world. We may be sure that those who have given their lives in so great a cause have not failed of their eternal reward. It is well, however, that those who have been bereaved should appreciate the sacrifice of their loved ones at its true worth.

It was not merely to prevent the barbaric forces from beyond the waters of the Atlantic and of the Pacific from invading our shores and gaining possession of our land that young Canadians who fought at Hong Kong and at Dieppe, and in the skies over many lands, and upon the waters of many oceans, have given their lives. They have fought, and their lives have been sacrificed, that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness; that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil, instead of

D 43378

good, may not be exalted in our midst for generations to come. Many of them may not have been fully conscious of how great was the cause for which they went forth to fight. I question if they thought of any call save that of duty. But something immortal had been stirring in their breasts. It impelled them to action. We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God.

Now, in three years of war, has Canada, as a nation, responded to the call? That is something, I am sure, of which you will expect to hear me speak tonight. In so doing, I should like you to think of Canada as a nation of the New World. Now that it is everywhere recognized that the war is a global war, a universal war, in that light alone can our contribution to the war effort of the United Nations be adequately appraised. We are told so often that so little publicity has been given to Canada's war effort, that I may be forgiven if I venture to say that, as a people, we can and should take a legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the New World in the past three years.

Canada was the first to see the real issue and the first to make the decision to fight.

We were the first nation of the New World to support and to strengthen Britain when she alone stood

D 43379

between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent. The period following the disastrous campaign in the west of Europe and the collapse of France, has been described as Britain's finest hour. It will, I believe, detract nothing from Britain's honour to say that no period in the war reflects greater credit on Canada.

While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything we possessed, that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion. Canadian destroyers were sent to British waters, leaving our own coasts perilously exposed. Though greatly needed here, what air squadrons we had available were sent to Britain. Aircraft, required for training in Canada, were turned back in mid-Atlantic. All available small arms and ammunition were sent overseas to help fill the gap left by British losses in France. The despatch overseas of the second division was accelerated. Air training was intensified. Canada's faith in Britain's ability to hold out never wavered for a moment. The proof of it was given in action.

Just before French resistance collapsed, Canadian troops had actually landed in France, ready to go into battle. After the fall of France, ships of the Canadian navy assisted in the evacuation of British, Canadian and

D 43380

Polish soldiers from French territory. In these operations, the Canadian destroyer Fraser was lost off Bordeaux. The rescue of the survivors of the Fraser by the Canadian destroyer Restigouche was one of the most daring exploits of the evacuation.

For a full year, from June 1940, to June 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. It was no exaggeration, when Mr. Churchill told the world in September 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained. It should never be forgotten that if that resistance had crumbled, freedom might have perished from the earth.

In addition to what we sent to Britain in the dark months of 1940, Canadian troops were despatched to Newfoundland, the West Indies and Iceland. For more than a year, Canada was the keeper of the Western approaches to the Northern bridge of islands between North America and Europe. When, in the summer of 1941, the United States began to share that task with us, we specially welcomed their support, both because it added strength to the common cause, and because it enabled our forces to move to still more advanced positions.

D 43381

Canada was the first of the nations of the New World to take part in the war in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Engineers of the Canadian army have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar. For many months Canadian airmen, numbered now in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East. Our fighting men - soldiers at Hong Kong, and airmen in India and Ceylon - were the first organized fighting forces from the New World to serve in Asia. At Dieppe, the other day, Canadian soldiers made up five-sixths of the forces that landed on the continent of Europe. Since 1940, our airmen have had a large and steadily increasing place in the bombing of Germany and occupied Europe.

We have just been afforded a striking example of the prowess our fighting forces have attained, and of the calibre of the men themselves. Having dropped their bombs on Saarbrucken at the early hour of two o'clock on Wednesday morning of last week, the entire crew of one of the bomber planes arrived here in our Capital city, at midnight of the same day. In that short interval of time, they had not only returned to their base in Britain, but had also made a brief stop at a Canadian airport near Montreal. Their average age is 23½ years. They all enlisted in the Canadian Air Force in 1940, and all went overseas during 1941. These young airmen served together in more than twenty raids over

D 43382

enemy territory, among the number being those on Emden and Cologne. It should be remembered that their endurance, as well as their achievements, have been paralleled by thousands of other young Canadians serving in British or Canadian squadrons.

The visit of these fighting airmen has helped to bring very near to us all not only the young men themselves, but all of their comrades serving in the fighting forces of our country. Their visit, too, has made us increasingly conscious of the vastness and the nearness of existing danger. Distances from the battlefields of Europe and from Japanese bases in the Pacific, can no longer be reckoned by days. From now on they must be measured in hours.

Modern war is many-sided in its nature. It calls for many-sided planning. In the first months of war we began to organize an expeditionary force, as well as an army for the territorial defence of Canada. We planned an orderly and a rapid expansion of the Canadian Navy. We planned too, even before the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proposed, a speedy and vast expansion of air training. The proposal of a joint air training plan for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom when made was immediately welcomed. The gigantic development soon outran what had been proposed.

D 43383

A few figures may help to throw light upon the effectiveness with which the plans of 1939 have been realized during three years of war. Today half a million volunteers are on active service in the three armed forces. To equal in numbers alone Canada's voluntary armed effort the United States would require, in proportion to its population, to have on active service, in its armed forces, six million men. In Canada more than forty thousand men, in addition, are engaged in compulsory military service for the duration of the war. Tens of thousands of Canadians are also patriotically devoting their spare time to service in the Reserve Army.

In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the Navy, Army and Air Forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

Canada's expeditionary force in Britain is not simply an army corps; it is a Canadian Army. At the end of the present year it will consist of two complete corps, the second to be an armoured corps.

The progress of our expeditionary force may best be described in the words of its Commander-in-Chief. In his Christmas message of December last, General McNaughton

D 43384

said:

> "From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here, and as they have arrived the organisation of our military headquarters, reinforcement units, hospitals, schools, repair establishments and many other needed facilities have been pressed forward; meanwhile our engineer and signal and forestry corps have made their contribution to the life and welfare of the community."

Speaking here in Canada at the Army Trade School at Hamilton last March, General McNaughton said:

> "I want you to know that we are operating the greatest mechanized force in the world. This is because in Canada we have progressed further along this line than has any other country..... I go back with a feeling of great confidence in what we have behind us here in Canada."

In a message to the Canadian Seamen's Union, after his return to England, the General said:

> "The Government and people of Canada are seeing to it that adequate reinforcements, and supplies of all natures of munitions and equipment, will be made available for Canada's army here."

You will have noticed that since the adjournment of parliament, two large contingents of reinforcements and new units have landed in Britain.

In an interview with a party of Canadian editors, as recently as August 27th, General McNaughton repeated his previous statement that transportation across the North Atlantic had been the only limiting factor.

D 43384

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 43385

In 1939, the Canadian navy was the smallest of our three services. The navy now has well over 400 ships in operation, and a personnel of more than 40,000 men. Naval ship production is keeping pace with the supply of trained men, and an even balance is being maintained between ships and men. A day or two ago, Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty in the United Kingdom, said that the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy had been fighting the German U-boats with vigour and gallantry. This linking of the names of the British Navy and the Canadian Navy was a fitting recognition of the part the Canadian Navy has played in the task of convoying shipping across the North Atlantic, and in meeting the submarine menace.

As for the Air Force, in deciding in 1939 to concentrate mainly on air training in the early stages of the war, Canada deliberately sacrificed the immediately spectacular, for slower but greater and more effective results. Today, the results of Canadian air training are to be seen on almost every battle-front around the globe: along both our own coasts, in Newfoundland and Labrador, in Alaska, in India, in Egypt and the Middle East, in Britain, in the skies over Germany and conquered Europe, and in Russia.

D43386

On the economic front, as in the military sphere, Canada in this war has also led the way among the nations of the New World. We have led in the transformation from a peace-time to a war-time economy. We have been first in the field of supply, as arsenal, granary and shipyard. We have been foremost in war taxation and finance; in the conservation of raw materials; in efforts to prevent profiteering and inflation; in the control of the cost of living; and in the over-all employment of manpower. From the start, we determined to make every machine and munition of war we could make, and to produce as much of everything as we could produce. Motor vehicles, tanks, and guns have been exported on a gigantic scale. We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces. Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the Southern Pacific, and in China. The output of Canadian shipyards has become a major factor in meeting one of the most imperative of war needs. As for foodstuffs, it is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940, her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food. Canadian wheat and flour are now being sent in large quantities to Greece and to Russia. Canadian workmen and Canadian farmers are playing their full part in Canada's war effort.

D 43387

I should like to pay a tribute to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort.

The women in the nursing services have taken, as always, the pioneer role of women in wartime service. For many months, young women in the uniforms of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force have been on active service in all parts of Canada. Some are already overseas. All are performing a variety of tasks. Before many weeks, similar duties will be undertaken by the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service.

Equally worthy and equally essential work is being accomplished by the thousands of women in war industry. Their growing skill is adding daily to the mounting volume of machines and munitions of war issuing from Canadian factories and workshops. In factories, offices, shops and farms all over Canada, women, in increasing numbers, are doing work formerly performed by men.

The women who are keeping together the homes and families of our country, no less than the women directly engaged in war service, are helping to preserve the civilization our enemies are seeking to destroy.

D 43388

This war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have trampled under foot one after the other of the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the war has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly, for all, it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

A few days ago, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, spoke to members of the government here in Ottawa. In the presence of the Minister of China, he said, that, if it had not been for the long continued resistance of the Chinese, there is little doubt that New Zealand and Australia would have suffered the fate which the Dutch and the British Colonial possessions in the Far East had suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Who will say that but for the magnificent resistance of Britain in the Autumn and Winter of 1940, and but for the heroic delaying action of Greece and Yugoslavia in the Spring of 1941, the fate of all Europe would not have been settled before Russia was attacked? Who will say that but for the tremendous resistance of Russia since June of last year, we, on this continent, might not today have been fighting for our very lives, on our own coasts and in our own cities?

D 43389

Three years of war have revealed to the world the might of the Axis powers. The years have also revealed their plans of world conquest. Germany was to strike first; Italy next, and finally Japan. In each case, attack was unprovoked. This, it seems to me, is most significant. It would never have occurred had the Axis powers not believed that, under their combined plan, they would be able to take on and to conquer the rest of the world. Let there be no mistake, the forces of tyranny still believe they are able to encircle the globe. Building upon their conquests in the Old World, they plan to press in upon the New. If we, on this continent, have thus far escaped invasion, either by Japanese forces from across the Pacific, or by German forces from across the Atlantic, it is because of the resistance of other nations.

To the peoples of Europe and of Asia who have been over-powered and over-run, their resistance may seem to them to have been in vain. I do not believe their resistance has been in vain. Every nation that resisted the foe, however short that resistance may have been, has contributed something to his ultimate defeat. Every day gained by their resistance has afforded precious time to the countries which are still free to build up their strength.

D 43390

We who are still free can never forget the debt we owe to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, to the Poles, to the Norwegians, to the Dutch, to the Belgians, to the resisting French, to the Yugoslavs, and to the Greeks. We know what we owe to the peoples of Britain, of China and of Russia. But for the efforts and the sacrifices of all who have resisted, we might ere this have lost the liberty we still enjoy.

[It still remains to be seen how long it may take to stay the power of the aggressor.] However questioning we may have been in the past, there can no longer be any doubt that, from the first day of the war, whatever our motives, we have, in very truth, been fighting for our own preservation, for our own survival. The nations of the New World are not sending their forces to the Old, whether it be across the Atlantic or across the Pacific to further any imperial cause. It is to destroy a common enemy and to keep the war away from our own soil.

No one can say how long it may take to stay [the power of] the aggressor. That will depend on the effort of each and every individual, in all of the United Nations. We must
[To halt the aggressor is only the first step. There will still remain the task of liberation]. For this, we must

D 43391

gather our full strength. It is not alone to save ourselves that we must continue to fight, but also to free those who have suffered so greatly in resisting the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known. Till they are totally destroyed, there can be no enduring peace.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 11 1942

D 42392

Subject

KING STRESSES CANADA'S PART AS WAR LEADER

Dominion First on This Continent to Realize Menace, He Says

CONFLICT IS REVIEWED

Prime Minister, in Broadcast, Publicizes Role Played Against Axis

(Gazette Resident Correspondent.)

Ottawa, September 10.—Taking into his own hands the task of publicizing Canada's war effort Premier Mackenzie King, over a nationwide broadcast tonight in his first address as the Minister responsible for the Wartime Information Board, told the people that Canada was the first nation in the New World to see the real issue of this war, and the first to make the decision to fight.

"We were the first nation of the New World," said the Prime Minister, "to support and to strengthen Britain when she alone stood between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent. While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything she possessed, that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion."

Premier King's address dealing with what Canada had done in three years of war made it plain he, as the Minister of Information, intended to tell Canadians and Americans what has been done here. "We are told so often," said the Prime Minister, "that so little publicity has been given to Canada's war effort that I may be forgiven if I venture to say that as a people we can and and should take legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the New World in the past three years."

"Canadian destroyers were sent to British waters," said Premier King, "leaving our own coasts perilously exposed. Though greatly needed here what air squadrons we had available were sent to Britain. Aircraft required for training in Canada were turned back in mid-Atlantic. All available small arms and ammunition were sent overseas to help fill the gap left by British losses in France. The despatch of the Second Division overseas was accelerated. Air training was intensified."

STRONGEST AXIS OPPONENT

Premier King declared that for a full year from June 1940 to June 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. He told of the despatch of Canadian troops to Newfoundland, the West Indies and Iceland; and Canada, he said, was the first nation of the New World to take part in the war in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. For many months Canadian airmen, numbered in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East, and Canada's fighting men were the first from the New World to go to the Far East.

Citing figures to show the expansion of the nation's war effort, the Prime Minister said that today 500,000 volunteers were on active service in the three armed forces, and 40,000 more were engaged in compulsory military service in Canada for the duration, while tens of thousands of other patriotic Canadians were devoting their spare time to service in the Reserve Army. Canada's army overseas would at the end of this year consist of two complete corps, the second to be an armored corps.

Canada's navy had grown to over 400 ships with a personnel of over 40,000 men. War weapons were being made and exported on "a gigantic scale." "We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces," said Premier King. They were being used in Egypt, Russia, in the Southern Pacific, and in China. Premier King paid a tribute to the work of Canadian women in the army, naval and air services, and in the making of munitions.

Salient Points in Address

Ottawa, September 10. — (CP) — Following are salient excerpts from the speech broadcast by Prime Minister Mackenzie King tonight, on the third anniversary of Canada's declaration of war on Germany:

. . . A world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form—it would be an unmixed curse. Yet that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the united nations.

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The Nazi purpose is to destroy every belief, and to subvert every institution which, from childhood's days, men and women of the free countries of the world have been taught to reverence. Their aim is the total destruction of Christian civilization.

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. . . Young Canadians who fought at Hong Kong and Dieppe and in the skies over many lands, and upon the waters of many oceans, . . . have fought . . . that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil, instead of good, may not be exalted in our midst for generations to come. . . . We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God.

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We can and should take a legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the New World in the past three years . . . Canada was the first to see the real issue and the first to make the decision to fight.

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The period following the disastrous campaign in the west of Europe and the collapse of France, has been described as Britain's finest hour. It will, I believe, detract nothing from Britain's honor to say that no period in the war reflects greater credit on Canada . . . While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything we possessed that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion.

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For many months Canadian airmen, numbered now in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East. Our fighting men—soldiers at Hong Kong and airmen in India and Ceylon—were the first organized fighting forces from the New World to serve in Asia. At Dieppe, Canadian soldiers made up five-sixths of the forces that landed on the Continent of Europe. Since 1940 our airmen have had a large and steadily-increasing place in the bombing of Germany and occupied Europe.

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In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the navy, army and air forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

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In 1939, the Canadian Navy was the smallest of our three services. The Navy now has well over 400 ships in operation, and a personnel of more than 40,000 men. Naval ship production is keeping pace with the supply of trained men, and an even balance is being maintained between ships and men.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 43393

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Today, the results of Canadian air training are to be seen in almost every battle-front around the globe: Along both our own coasts, in Newfoundland and Labrador, in Alaska, in India, in Egypt and the Middle East, in Britain, in the skies over Germany and conquered Europe, and in Russia.

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On the economic front, as in the military sphere, Canada in this war has also led the way among the nations of the New World. . . From the start, we determined to make every machine and munition of war we could make, and to produce as much of everything as we could produce... We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces. Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the Southern Pacific, and in China.

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I should like to pay a tribute to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort.

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This war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have trampled under foot one after the other of the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the war has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly, for all, it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

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No one can say how long it may take to stay the power of the aggressor. That will depend on the effort of each and every individual, in all of the United Nations. We must gather our full strength for a supreme effort.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date 1942

Subject

D[illegible]394

Mr. King Says Canada Saved U.K. From Defeat

Prime Minister King on Thursday night reviewed the first three years of Canada at war in a radio address and told Canadians they should take a "legitimate pride" in their war effort.

Mr. King said Canadian aid had saved Britain from defeat and starvation in the uncertain months after the fall of France.

He paid tribute to Russia and China, and all the nations which resisted the Axis powers and declared they had all contributed to "ultimate victory".

Picturing the horrors of defeat by the Axis powers Mr. King said domination by a "benevolent despot" might be bearable but domination by the present enemies of democracy would be "an unmixed curse".

The Prime Minister said Canada was first of the new world nations to see the real issue in this conflict and to decide to fight.

Similarly Canada had led the new world in taking steps on the economic front in provision of essential munitions and supplies, in war taxation and financing, in safeguarding against inflation and profiteering and in the conservation of raw materials.

After three years of war Canada had 500,000 volunteers in the three branches of the armed services which, he said, was the equivalent of 6,000,000 United States troops if that country had raised as many in proportion to population.

Mr. King said when France fell Canada sent "everything we possessed that had immediate military value" to help defend Britain from invasion, "leaving our own coasts perilously exposed".

Food and munitions were sent to Britain as fast as they could be transported. "It is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940 her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food."

"It was no exaggeration when Mr. Churchill told the world in September, 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained."

Mr. King paid tribute to Canadian men and women for their efforts in the armed forces and in the industrial war effort and warned that to save Canada and the world from "the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known", would demand on the effort of each and every individual in all of the United Nations.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 45395

Date SEP 1 1 1942

Subject

Text of Mr. King's Address

The complete text of Mr. King's address follows:

Today, Canada enters upon the fourth year of war. Three years ago, it was difficult for men and women anywhere to believe what was told them of the probable duration of the war. Much less were they prepared to believe that Hitler's aim was world conquest. I doubt if peoples whose countries have not been invaded even yet appreciate the magnitude of the enemy's designs. Only those who themselves have been the victims of Nazi or Japanese deception, terrorism and violence have begun to comprehend the real issue.

At the time of Britain's entry into the war, speaking of the attack upon Poland by the armed forces of Germany, I said, in a nation-wide broadcast: "The fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation are the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict." Referring to Hitler's methods and aim, I added: "It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world which is the real cause of the war that today threatens the freedom of mankind." Those words may have seemed extravagant at the time they were used three years ago. I question, however, if today any intelligent person will dispute their truth. That the war today "threatens the freedom of mankind" is abundantly clear.

Draws Distinction.

I should like to draw a distinction tonight, as I did three years ago, between the cause of the war, and the real issue in the war. The cause, as I then said, was the lust for conquest—world domination. The real issue, however, goes even deeper. More than world domination is involved. Domination need not be wholly evil. You have heard it said that the best type of ruler is a benevolent despot. To have the world controlled by benevolence, however absolute the control, might not be an unmixed blessing. But a world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form—it would be an unmixed curse. Yet, that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the United Nations.

In three years of war, we have become only too familiar with the evidences of the satanic power of the enemy. Our minds have recoiled from the horrors, brutalities and atrocities which, since Poland was attacked, have been recorded day by day. They, however, are but surface indications of something deeper and more malevolent. The Nazi purpose is to destroy every belief, and to subvert every institution which, from childhood's days, men and women of the free countries of the world have been taught to reverence. Their aim is the total destruction of Christian civilization. Some time before the invasion of Poland, Hitler himself said: "Whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos." "Nothing but chaos!" — that represents the sum of what Nazi Germany, thus far, has contributed to the world.

Quotes Audrey Alexandra Brown

I have seen nowhere a truer statement of the real issue in this war than one by Miss Audrey Alexandra Brown, a young Canadian whose name and writings are, I am sure, familiar to many of you. Miss Brown completely rejects the idea that nothing is happening now which did not happen in the dark ages, or under earlier despotisms. She defines the issue in these words:

"Certainly, brutality and force are not new among men. It has always been true that, as the Psalms have it, 'the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.' Men who are little more than savages can be expected to behave as beasts.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 11 1942

Subject

Text of Mr. King's Address

The complete text of Mr. King's address follows:

Today, Canada enters upon the fourth year of war. Three years ago, it was difficult for men and women anywhere to believe what was told them of the probable duration of the war. Much less were they prepared to believe that Hitler's aim was world conquest. I doubt if peoples whose countries have not been invaded even yet appreciate the magnitude of the enemy's designs. Only those who themselves have been the victims of Nazi or Japanese deception, terrorism and violence have begun to comprehend the real issue.

At the time of Britain's entry into the war, speaking of the attack upon Poland by the armed forces of Germany, I said, in a nation-wide broadcast: "The fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation are the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict." Referring to Hitler's methods and aim, I added: "It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world which is the real cause of the war that today threatens the freedom of mankind." Those words may have seemed extravagant at the time they were used three years ago. I question, however, if today any intelligent person will dispute their truth. That the war today "threatens the freedom of mankind" is abundantly clear.

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I should like to draw a distinction tonight, as I did three years ago, between the cause of the war, and the real issue in the war. The cause, as I then said, was the lust for conquest—world domination. The real issue, however, goes even deeper. More than world domination is involved. Domination need not be wholly evil. You have heard it said that the best type of ruler is a benevolent despot. To have the world controlled by benevolence, however absolute the control, might not be an unmixed blessing. But a world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form—it would be an unmixed curse. Yet, that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the United Nations.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

But never before in history has a nominally civilized, a nominally Christian nation deliberately made the profession, 'Evil, be thou my good.' This war is unlike all other wars, for the deformed monstrosities that sheltered in darkness have crawled out of that darkness and openly challenged the world for the possession of its soul. They no longer fight under cover, they flaunt in steel. For Germany to win this war would not mean merely a re-drawing of boundaries or a shift in sovereignty. It would mean the destruction of the free spirit of man."

In Every Home.

I wish those words, inscribed on parchment, might be framed and hung upon the walls of every home.

The aim of Nazi Germany and her militarist Japanese partner is not merely the conquest of territory, not even world domination in itself. The forces of evil, incarnated in the Axis powers, are seeking to possess the world's soul, and to destroy the free spirit of man. They will accomplish this evil purpose unless they themselves are totally destroyed.

The consequences of this conflict no living man or woman can possibly hope to escape. As the outcome of this war, mankind will either revert to a condition of barbarity and savagery resulting from world chaos, or, by release from bondage, humanity will rise into a new order of social justice and world security. Three years of war have made the issue clear to the peoples of the Old World in Europe and Asia alike. To each one of us in the New World the issue must become equally clear. As individuals and as nations, we must realize the need to make the utmost contribution of which we are capable to ensure the defeat of the enemy, and the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause.

To Stress What Is at Stake

I am stressing again tonight the real issue of the war for two reasons. The first is to bring home to every one just what is at stake in this world conflict. The other is to make us appreciate, at its true value, the sacrifice of human life involved in the conflict. Already many of the bravest of our land have given their lives in mortal combat against the evil forces that have been loosed upon the world. We may be sure that those who have given their lives in so great a cause have not failed of their eternal reward. It is well, however, that those who have been bereaved should appreciate the sacrifice of their loved ones at its true worth.

Why They Fought.

It was not merely to prevent the barbaric forces from beyond the waters of the Atlantic and of the Pacific from invading our shores and gaining possession of our land that young Canadians who fought at Hong Kong and at Dieppe, and in the skies over many lands, and upon the waters of many oceans, have given their lives. They have fought, and their lives have been sacrificed that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil, instead of good, may not be exalted in our midst for generations to come.

The Chivalry of God.

Many of them may not have been fully conscious of how great was the cause for which they went forth to fight. I question if they thought of any call save that of duty. But something immortal had been stirring in their breasts. It impelled them to action. We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God.

How Canada Has Responded

How, in three years of war, has Canada, as a nation, responded to the call? That is something, I am sure, of which you will expect to hear me speak tonight. In so doing, I should like you to think of Canada as a nation of the New World. Now that it is everywhere recognized that the war is a global war, a universal war, in that light alone can our contribution to the war effort of the United Nations be adequately appraised. We are told so often that so little publicity has been given to Canada's war effort that I may be forgiven if I venture to say that, as a people, we can and should take a legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the New World in the past three years.

Canada was the first to see the real issue and the first to make the decision to fight.

We were the first nation of the New World to support and to strengthen Britain when she alone stood between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent. The period following the disastrous campaign in the west of Europe and the collapse of France, has been described as Britain's finest hour. It will, I believe, detract nothing from Britain's honor to say that no period in the war reflects greater credit on Canada.

Sent to Britain.

While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything we possessed, that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion. Canadian destroyers were sent to British waters, leaving our own coasts perilously exposed. Though greatly needed here, what air squadrons we had available were sent to Britain. Aircraft, required for training in Canada, were turned back in mid-Atlantic. All available small arms and ammunition were sent overseas to help fill the gap left by British losses in France. The despatch overseas of the second division was accelerated. Air training was intensified. Canada's faith in Britain's ability to hold out never wavered for a moment. The proof of it was given in action.

Rescue by Restigouche.

Just before French resistance collapsed, Canadian troops had actually landed in France, ready to go into battle. After the fall of France, ships of the Canadian navy assisted in the evacuation of British, Canadian and Polish soldiers from French territory. In these operations, the Canadian destroyer Fraser was lost off Bordeaux. The rescue of the survivors of the Fraser by the Canadian destroyer Restigouche was one of the most daring exploits of the evacuation.

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D 12297

For a full year, from June 1940, to June 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. It was no exaggeration, when Mr. Churchill told the world in September, 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained. It should never be forgotten that if that resistance had crumbled, freedom might have perished from the earth.

In the Dark Months.

In addition to what we sent to Britain in the dark months of 1940, Canadian troops were despatched to Newfoundland the West Indies and Iceland. For more than a year, Canada was the keeper of the Western approaches to the Northern bridge of islands between North America and Europe. When, in the summer of 1941, the United States began to share that task with us, we specially welcomed their support, both because it added strength to the common cause, and because it enabled our forces to move to still more advanced positions.

Canada was the first of the nations of the New World to take part in the war in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Engineers of the Canadian army have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar. For many months Canadian airmen, numbered now in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East. Our fighting men—soldiers at Hong Kong, and airmen in India and Ceylon—were the first organized fighting forces from the New World to serve in Asia. At Dieppe, the other day, Canadian soldiers made up five-sixths of the forces that landed on the Continent of Europe. Since 1940, our airmen have had a large and steadily increasing place in the bombing of Germany and occupied Europe.

Striking Example

We have just been afforded a striking example of the prowess our fighting forces have attained, and of the calibre of the men themselves. Having dropped their bombs on Saarbrucken at the early hour of two o'clock on Wednesday morning of last week, the entire crew of one of the bomber planes arrived here in our Capital city, at midnight of the same day. In that short interval of time, they had not only returned to their base in Britain, but had also made a brief stop at a Canadian airport near Montreal. Their average age is 23½ years. They all enlisted in the Canadian air force in 1940, and all went overseas during 1941. These young airmen served together in more than twenty raids over enemy territory, among the number being those on Emden and Cologne. It should be remembered that their endurance, as well as their achievements, have been paralleled by thousands of other young Canadians serving in British or Canadian squadrons.

The visit of these fighting airmen has helped to bring very near to us all, not only the young men themselves, but all of their comrades serving in the fighting forces of our country. Their visit, too, has made us increasingly conscious of the vastness and the nearness of existing danger. Distances from the battlefields of Europe and from Japanese bases in the Pacific can no longer be reckoned by days. From now on they must be measured in hours.

Needs Many-sided Planning

Modern war is many-sided in its nature. It calls for many-sided planning. In the first months of war we began to organize an expeditionary force, as well as an army for the territorial defence of Canada. We planned an orderly and a rapid expansion of the Canadian Navy. We planned, too, even before the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proposed, a speedy and vast expansion of air training. The proposal of a joint air training program for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, when made, was immediately welcomed. The gigantic development soon outran what had been proposed.

A few figures may help to throw light upon the effectiveness with which the plans of 1939 have been realized during three years of war. Today half a million volunteers are on active service in the three armed forces. To equal in numbers alone Canada's voluntary armed effort, the United States would require, in proportion to its population, to have on active service in its armed forces six million men. In Canada more than forty thousand men, in addition, are engaged in compulsory miltary service for the duration of the war. Tens of thousands of Canadians are also patriotically devoting their spare time to service in the Reserve Army.

In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the Navy, Army and Air Forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

A Canadian Army

Canada's expeditionary force in Britain is not simply an army corps; it is a Canadian Army. At the end of the present year it will consist of two complete corps, the second to be an armored corps.

The progress of our expeditionary force may best be described in the words of its commander-in-chief. In his Christmas message of December last, General McNaughton said:

"From a very small beginning the Canadian Army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here, and as they have arrived the organization of our military headquarters, reinforcement units, hospitals, schools, repair establishments and many other needed facilities have been pressed forward; meanwhile our engineer and signal and forestry corps have made their contribution to the life and welfare of the community."

Speaking here in Canada, at the Army Trade School at Hamilton, last March, General McNaughton said:

"I want you to know that we are operating the greatest mechanized force in the world. This is because in Canada we have progressed further along this line than has any other country. . . . I go back with a feeling of great confidence in what we have behind us here in Canada."

D 48398

In a message to the Canadian Seamen's Union, after his return to England, the general said:

"The government and people of Canada are seeing to it that adequate reinforcements, and supplies of all natures of munitions and equipment, will be made available for Canada's army here."

Landed in Britain.

You will have noticed that since the adjournment of Parliament, two large contingents of reinforcements and new units have landed in Britain.

In an interview with a party of Canadian editors, as recently as August 27, General McNaughton repeated his previous statement that transportation across the North Atlantic had been the only limiting factor.

In 1939, the Canadian navy was the smallest of our three services. The navy now has well over 400 ships in operation, and a personnel of more than 40,000 men. Naval ship production is keeping pace with the supply of trained men, and an even balance is being maintained between ships and men. A day or two ago, Mr. Alexander, first lord of the admiralty in the United Kingdom, said that the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy had been fighting the German U-boats with vigor and gallantry. This linking of the names of the British navy and the Canadian navy was a fitting recognition of the part the Canadian navy has played in the task of convoying shipping across the North Atlantic, and in meeting the submarine menace.

More Effective Results.

As for the air force, in deciding in 1939 to concentrate mainly on air training in the early stages of the war, Canada deliberately sacrificed the immediately spectacular, for slower but greater and more effective results. Today, the results of Canadian air training are to be seen on almost every battle-front around the globe: along both our own coasts, in Newfoundland and Labrador, in Alaska, in India, in Egypt and the Middle East, in Britain, in the skies over Germany and conquered Europe, and in Russia.

On the economic front, as in the military sphere, Canada in this war has also led the way among the nations of the New World. We have led in the transformation from a peacetime to a wartime economy. We have been first in the field of supply, as arsenal, granary and shipyard. We have been foremost in war taxation and finance; in the conservation of war materials; in efforts to prevent profiteering and inflation; in the control of the cost of living; and in the over-all employment of manpower. From the start, we determined to make every machine and munition of war we could make and to produce as much of everything as we could produce. Motor vehicles, tanks, and guns have been exported on a gigantic scale. We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces. Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the Southern Pacific, and in China. The output of Canadian shipyards has become a major factor in meeting one of the most imperative of war needs. As for foodstuffs, it is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940, her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food. Canadian wheat and flour are now being sent in large quantities to Greece and to Russia. Canadian workmen and Canadian farmers are playing their full part in Canada's war effort.

Tribute to Women's Effort

I should like to pay a tribute to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort.

The women in the nursing services have taken, as always, the pioneer role of women in wartime service. For many months, young women in the uniforms of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force have been on active service in all parts of Canada. Some are already overseas. All are performing a variety of tasks. Before many weeks, similar duties will be undertaken by the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service.

Equally worthy and equally essential work is being accomplished by the thousands of women in war industry. Their growing skill is adding daily to the mounting volume of machines and munitions of war issuing from Canadian factories and workshops. In factories, offices, shops and farms all over Canada, women, in increasing numbers, are doing work formerly performed by men.

The women who are keeping together the homes and families of our country, no less than the women directly engaged in war services, are helping to preserve the civilization our enemies are seeking to destroy.

War of Survival.

This war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have trampled under foot one after the other of the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the war has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly, for all, it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

A few days ago, the prime minister of New Zealand, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, spoke to members of the government here in Ottawa. In the presence of the minister of China, he said that if it had not been for the long continued resistance of the Chinese, there is little doubt that New Zealand and Australia would have suffered the fate which the Dutch and the British colonial possessions in the Far East had suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Who will say that but for the magnificent resistance of Britain in the autumn and winter of 1940, and but for the heroic delaying action of Greece and Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941 the fate of all Europe would not have been settled before Russia was attacked? Who will say that but for the tremendous resistance of Russia since June of last year, we, on this continent, might not today have been fighting for our very lives, on our own coasts and in our own

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Three years of war have revealed to the world the might of the Axis powers. The years have also revealed their plans of world conquest. Germany was to strike first; Italy next, and finally Japan. In each case, attack was unprovoked. This, it seems to me, is most significant. It would never have occurred had the Axis powers not believed that, under their combined plan, they would be able to take on and to conquer the rest of the world. Let there be no mistake, the forces of tyranny still believe they are able to encircle the globe. Building upon their conquests in the Old World, they plan to press in upon the New. If we, on this continent, have thus far escaped invasion, either by Japanese forces from across the Pacific, or by German forces from across the Atlantic, it is because of the resistance of other nations.

To the peoples of Europe and of Asia who have been overpowered and over-run, their resistance may seem to them to have been in vain. I do not believe their resistance has been in vain. Every nation that resisted the foe, however short that resistance may have been, has contributed something to his ultimate defeat. Every day gained by their resistance has afforded precious time to the countries which are still free to build up their strength.

We who are still free can never forget the debt we owe to the people of Czechoslovakia, to the Poles, to the Norwegians, to the Dutch, to the Belgians, to the resisting French, to the Yugoslavs, and to the Greeks. We know what we owe to the peoples of Britain, of China and of Russia. But for the efforts and the sacrifices of all who have resisted, we might ere this have lost the liberty we still enjoy.

However questioning we may have been in the past, there can no longer be any doubt that, from the first day of the war, whatever our motives, we have, in very truth, been fighting for our own preservation, for our own survival. The nations of the New World are not sending their forces to the Old, whether it be across the Atlantic or across the Pacific to further any imperial cause. It is to destroy a common enemy and to keep the war away from our own soil.

For Supreme Effort.

No one can say how long it may take to stay the aggressor. That will depend on the effort of each and every individual, in all of the United Nations. We must gather our full strength for a supreme effort. To halt the aggressor is only the first step. To cripple the enemy is the next. There will still remain the task of liberation. We are members one of another. It is not along to save ourselves that we must continue to fight. Freedom must be restored to all. Those who have suffered so greatly have resisted the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known. Till these forces are totally destroyed, there can be no enduring peace.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Droit.

Date Sept. 11/42

Subject

D 43400

M. Mackenzie King a rendu un magnifique hommage à l'effort de guerre du Canada lorsqu'il a dit, hier soir, au cours de la causerie qu'il a prononcée à Radio-Canada, que notre pays, pendant les mois qui suivirent la capitulation de la France, avait sauvé la Gde-Bretagne de la famine, de la défaite et de l'annihilation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Sept. 11/42.

Subject

D 43401

A Ottawa

M. King et l'effort de guerre du Canada

Le premier ministre passe en revue ce que le Canada a fait depuis septembre 1939 — Sous le régime du volontariat

Le général Laflèche parle du service militaire de certaines catégories d'étudiants

(par Léopold RICHER)

Ottawa, 11-IX-42. — Hier après-midi, le major-général L.-R. Laflèche, sous-miinstre des Services de guerre, apportait des précisions au sujet du service militaire des étudiants en théologie, question qui faisait le sujet de rumeurs depuis quelques jours. Dans la soirée, le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King, prononçait un discours à la radio pour marquer le début de notre quatrième année de guerre au côté de la Grande-Bretagne et des autres Nations-Unies qui se sont jointes à nous depuis 1939 dans la lutte contre les puissances de l'Axe. M. King a souligné la nature et le caractère du conflit. Il a rappelé ce que le Canada a accompli depuis trois ans et montré ce qu'il y a encore à faire pour libérer le monde de la menace nazie. "Ce n'est pas seulement pour nous sauver, a-t-il dit, que nous devons continuer la lutte. Il nous faut rendre la liberté à ceux qui ont tant souffert."

Le Canada le premier

Le premier ministre a loué l'effort de guerre du pays et montré ce que nous avons fait pour aider la Grande-Bretagne. Il a déclaré ce qui suit: "On nous dit si fréquemment que l'effort de guerre du Canada a reçu trop peu de publicité qu'on me pardonnera sans doute d'affirmer que nous pouvons légitimement nous enorgueillir de l'exemple que le Canada a donné aux autres nations du nouveau monde au cours des trois dernières années. C'est le Canada qui, le premier, a su comprendre le sens réel du conflit et c'est lui qui a été le premier à décider de combattre. Notre nation a été la première du nouveau monde à appuyer et à aider la Grande-Bretagne lorsque cette dernière constituait l'unique rempart dressé entre l'Amérique du Nord et les Nazis. On a dit que la période postérieure à la désastreuse campagne de l'Europe occidentale et à l'effondrement de la France avait constitué l'époque la plus glorieuse de l'histoire de la Grande-Bretagne. Je crois ne diminuer en rien le mérite de la Grande-Bretagne en affirmant que nulle phase de la guerre n'a valu plus d'honneur au Canada.

"Au moment où presque tous les autres pays du monde s'attendaient à voir la Grande-Bretagne subir le même sort que la France, le Canada a fourni tout ce qui, parmi ses ressources, pouvait avoir quelque valeur militaire immédiate, afin d'aider la Grande-Bretagne à se défendre contre l'invasion. Il a envoyé ses destroyers dans les eaux britanniques, laissant ses propres côtes en grand péril. Malgré le pressant besoin que nous en avions, nous avons envoyé en Grande-Bretagne les escadrilles d'avions dont nous pouvions disposer. Des appareils requis pour des fins d'entrainement au Canada ont rebroussé chemin dans l'Atlantique. Nous avons envoyé outremer toutes les armes portatives et les munitions que nous avions afin d'aider à compenser les pertes subies par la Grande-Bretagne en France".

Voilà ce que nous avons fait pour la Grande-Bretagne, bien que des gens persistent à dire que nous n'avons encore rien accompli pour la cause de la liberté et de la civilisation. M. King a été bien inspiré de faire ces mises au point et de rappeler que pour égaler l'effort militaire du Canada, sous le régime du volontariat, au prorata de la population, il faudrait que les Etats-Unis eussent six millions de soldats en service actif. Et notre effort s'accentue sans cesse, comme chacun peut le constater.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Calgary Herald.

Date Sept. 11/42

D 43102

Subject

Canada Is War Leader in New World

Prime Minister King's review last evening of Canada's three years of war effort constituted one of the most effective national broadcasts he has ever delivered. Without going into statistical by-paths, always boring to radio audiences, he made some telling observations of which not only his nation-wide Canadian audience but the people of the United Nations may need reminding.

He pointed out that this Dominion has given leadership to all countries in the new world in deciding to fight against the forces of tyranny in Europe. In the dark days after the quick and abject capitulation of France, Canada gave her all to the support of Great Britain which alone of all major powers was still fighting Germany. There was never any thought of withdrawal from what many outside the Empire may have regarded as a hopeless and one-sided struggle. Canada was the first nation of all the Americas to go to war.

The prime minister pointed out that Canada has given leadership on this continent in many other matters associated with the war, particularly in the economic and taxation fields, in the erection of price and wage ceilings, and in control of manpower. And today the great proportion of the half million Canadians who volunteered for active service are fighting in many parts of the world.

For the rest, it is fair to assume that much of his address had the anti-conscriptionists of Quebec in mind. He declared that this is a war of survival and the forces of aggression are far from exhausted. He said that Canada is fighting for her own survival too. Canadian troops sent abroad, Canadian airmen and seamen, are not there to serve Imperial ends but to save this country from ultimate invasion and the loss of liberty. This is a war between free men and those who seek world domination, between the forces of evil and those who uphold a Christian civilization and the free spirit of man. An Axis triumph would plunge the world into barbarism and serfdom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator

Date Sept. 11/42

Subject

The World's Soul

While the flood tides of tyranny and conquest appear to be lessening, they have not yet begun to ebb, and the peril to the world is still great. Prime Minister King makes that fact clear in his broadcast in reviewing the part that Canada has played during the three years of the conflict.

When Hitler's legions swept into Poland on that September dawn of 1939 few persons, save the realists, believed that the war would reach its present awful proportions. To have said then that Hitler's aim was world conquest was also an alarmist viewpoint. But events soon proved that much more than Danzig and the Polish Corridor were at stake; these were merely a Nazi excuse for the wanton resort to arms. Mr. King still doubts that people whose countries have not been invaded even yet appreciate the menace that hangs over the world's freedom.

The motive behind this war is the lust for conquest and a ruthless, fanatical passion to dominate this planet. The Axis design, however, goes deeper even than world domination; it aims at oppression and slavery for all the conquered peoples and a hideous overlordship for the "master races." Appalling evidence of this is to be seen on all sides in Europe and the East. The Nazi objective, aided by Japan, is the total destruction of Christian civilization. They are seeking to possess the world's soul and crush the free spirit of man. No one can escape the awful consequences of this struggle, the outcome of which will either be a descent to naked barbarism or an ascent to a more just, more secure plane of existence. Before Hitler invaded Poland he himself said that whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos. He lit that firebrand, and his own words express better than anything else what Germany has done to the world, plunging it into woe and agony.

Mr. King takes pride in the fact that Canada was the first nation of the New World to enter the conflict at Britain's side. Many fine young Canadians have already paid with their lives, and it is fitting that their sacrifice should be assessed at its true worth. They have given their all that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness; that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil shall not supplant good and be exalted for generations to come. "We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God," he says.

In taking the course it did at the outbreak of war, Canada also gave leadership to the other nations of the New World. This Dominion helped to support Britain after the collapse of France when she stood alone as the last rampart of freedom in Europe and against a German attack on this hemisphere. Canada sent everything it possessed of military value to help defend Britain from invasion and the dispatch of a second Canadian division was hastened. To-day Canada has half a million volunteers on active service in its army, air force and navy. In addition it has more than 40,000 men engaged in compulsory military training in this country and tens of thousands who are devoting their spare time to service in the reserve forces. Canada's contribution is not as well known as it should be, and in three years of war more men are serving in the armed forces than the total number mustered by this country in the last war.

Mr. King repeats he is proud of the role Canada has played in this struggle; its men, its women and the fervour of its spirit. Much more, however, yet remains to be done. No one can say how long it will take to overthrow the aggressors; that is something that will depend on the effort of every person in all of the United Nations. But a supreme effort will be called for. To do its share, Canada must gather its full strength to help ensure that the united effort shall be successful. For until the gangster powers are vanquished there can be no enduring peace and no happiness for any one.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star.

Date Sept. 11/42.

Subject...

D 10104

Canada's Part

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his address to the people of Canada last night, said many things that needed saying. His review of the part which the Dominion has played in this war found him adopting an entirely new tone. It lacked entirely the hints of apology and timidity which have marked many of his former utterances, and he spoke as the leader of a country which stands second to none in the quality and extent of its service to the United Nations.

This is the tone Canada should adopt. Her record is something of which she has no need to be ashamed. There is no reason why anyone, either in this country or in others, should look down on the Dominion as a participant in the great struggle.

Too widely has the impression gone abroad that we are a secondary power, putting forth a second-rate effort. If only for the sake of the record, this should be repudiated.

Mr. King introduced an interpretation of Canada's role that has not been sufficiently stressed. He dealt with the concern of the New World in this global war, and he was on very sound ground when he pointed to Canada as the undoubted leader in this part of the earth.

We have taken the lead in every activity designed for the effective prosecution of the war. We were, of course, the first nation of the New World to become an actual belligerent. But even yet, with the United States actively participating, our leadership is unimpaired. As the Prime Minister pointed out, our contribution, in relation to our population, is still far greater than that of any other nation in this hemisphere. Further than that, we have held the lead in economic planning and in those other essential controls which are necessary to a full effort.

We have no desire to make invidious comparisons, but the record reveals that, even now, the great, progressive United States is following and copying many of the enactments which we long ago evolved for the complete mobilization of all our resources.

The Prime Minister touched on another significant point. When France fell, most of the civilized world looked for Britain to follow her into oblivion, to become an easy victim of Nazi aggression. Canada could have shared that belief, and adopted the cautious course of withholding the things needed for her own defence, counting on distance and her friendly neighbors in this hemisphere for aid in her self-preservation.

Instead, Britain's sudden plight was the signal for this country to speed and increase her contribution to the Old Land in men, guns, planes and ships. It was a grave and terrible decision to make, but Canada did not falter nor even hesitate. Knowing that Britain stood in dire peril, she immediately and in haste despatched there the things the Mother Country needed to replace her losses, but which might selfishly have been kept here to guard our own soil.

That confidence in Britain, that resolution to share with her whatever dangers and struggles she might have to undergo, must through all history stand to the credit of this Dominion.

There has been too much hesitation to make these things plain. There has been too much reluctance to claim for ourselves the credit due us.

Many of our people have been diffident as to our efforts and accomplishments. Worse still, many of them have condemned and belittled what we have done, and in the hearing of those in other countries. Mr. King's address should stand as a model of the proper attitude for all Canadians to adopt in respect to their country's record.

The Prime Minister himself has not been entirely blameless. He has been too reluctant to become frank and outspoken, and inevitably many people have taken their cue from him. The new note which he has now struck reflects a much better attitude, a higher Canadian self-respect. He will be doing this country much better service if he maintains this seeming new policy of positive assertion.

Name of Publication Le Droit.

Date Sept. 11/42.

D 43405

Subject

Un message dramatique de M. King

Il évoque l'héroïsme de notre peuple en trois années de guerre — L'Axe veut toujours asservir l'Amérique

"Trois années de guerre ont révélé au monde la puissance des nations de l'Axe. Trois années de guerre ont aussi dévoilé leurs plans de conquête mondiale. Car, fortes de leur conquête de l'Ancien Monde, elles veulent asservir le Nouveau.

"Nous qui habitons ce continent, devons à la résistance des nations des autres continents de n'avoir pas encore été envahis soit par les Japonais, à travers l'océan Pacifique, soit par les Allemands à travers l'Atlantique.

"Mais, qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, les forces de la tyrannie se pensent encore capables d'encercler le globe".

Voilà l'avertissement catégorique que le premier ministre Mackenzie King a donné, hier soir, au peuple du Canada dans une revue dramatique des trois premières annees du conflit mondial.

Le chef du gouvernement fédéral a affirmé sans ambages que le Canada avait été le principal allié militaire de l'Angleterre et l'avait "sauvée de la défaite" après la chute de la France.

Puis—évoquant dans un mouvement pathétique nos soldats, nos aviateurs et nos marins morts au champ d'honneur sur tous les fronts de guerre — M. Mackenzie King s'écria: "Les jeunes Canadiens qui ont combattu à Hong-Kong et à Dieppe, sont morts afin que l'âme humaine ne puisse être asservie par les puissances des ténèbres. Un souffle immortel les animait et dirigeait leurs actes. Nous les considérons tous comme des défenseurs de Dieu et ils l'ont véritablement été".

Trois années de guerre

Voici comment s'exprima le premier ministre dans son discours:

Le Canada entre aujourd'hui dans la quatrième année de la guerre. Il y a trois ans, hommes et femmes de tous les pays pouvaient difficilement croire ce qu'on leur disait quant à la durée probable de la guerre. Ils pouvaient encore plus difficilement croire que l'objectif d'Hitler était la conquête du monde. Je doute même que les populations des pays qui n'ont pas encore été envahis se rendent compte même aujourd'hui de l'ampleur des desseins de l'ennemi. Seuls les peuples qui ont été victimes de la duperie, du terrorisme et de la violence des Nazis et des Japonais ont commencé à comprendre l'enjeu de la guerre.

Au moment de l'entrée en guerre de la Grande-Bretagne, parlant de l'attaque contre la Pologne par les forces armées de l'Allemagne, j'ai dit dans une allocution radiodiffusée dans tout notre pays: "Le sort d'une seule cité, la préservation de l'indépendance d'une seule nation ne sont que l'occasion, non pas la cause réelle du présent conflit". Au sujet des méthodes d'Hitler, j'ai ajouté: "C'est cette confiance placée dans la force, cette ambition avide de conquête, cette volonté de dominer partout dans le monde, qui est la vraie cause de la guerre qui aujourd'hui menace la liberté du genre humain." Ces paroles ont pu sembler exagérées au moment où je les ai prononcées il y a trois ans. Je doute cependant qu'il se trouve aujourd'hui une personne intelligente qui puisse en contester la vérité. Il est absolument manifeste qu'aujourd'hui la guerre "menace la liberté du genre humain."

Enjeu de la guerre

Je désire établir ce soir, comme je l'ai fait il y a trois ans, une distinction entre la cause de la guerre et le véritable enjeu de la guerre. La cause, ainsi que je l'ai dit alors, était l'ambition avide de conquête, la volonté de dominer le monde. L'enjeu véritable a cependant des racines plus profondes. Il ne s'agit pas uniquement de domination mondiale. La domination n'est pas nécessairement un mal. Vous avez déjà entendu dire que le meilleur maître est un despote bienveillant. La domination du monde par la bienveillance, quelque absolue que soit cette domination, pourrait bien ne pas être un bonheur complet. Mais un monde gouverné par un tyran, qui est lui-même l'incarnation du mal, ne saurait être un bonheur, ce serait un malheur complet. Tel serait pourtant le sort du monde si l'ennemi venait à triompher dans le conflit entre les puissances de l'axe et les nations unies.

En trois ans de guerre, nous n'avons que trop constaté la puissance satanique de l'ennemi. Nos esprits se révoltent contre les horreurs, les brutalités et les atrocités qui, depuis l'attaque contre la Pologne, ont été commises chaque jour. Ces actes ne sont toutefois que les indices apparents de quelque chose de plus important et de plus cruel. Le but des Nazis est de détruire toute croyance, de renverser toutes les institutions que les hommes et les femmes de tous les pays libres du monde ont, depuis le temps de leur enfance, appris à vénérer. Ils veulent la destruction totale de la civilisation chrétienne. Quelque temps avant l'invasion de la Pologne, Hitler lui-même a dit: "Quiconque allume la torche de la guerre en Europe ne peut espérer que le chaos". "Rien que le chaos", voilà tout ce que l'Allemagne Nazie a apporté jusqu'ici au monde.

Je n'ai lu nulle part un exposé plus véridique de l'enjeu réel de la présente guerre que celui qui a été fait par Mademoiselle Audrey Alexandra Brown, une jeune femme-écrivain du Canada dont le nom et les écrits sont connus, j'en suis sûr, de plusieurs d'entre vous. Mademoiselle Brown se refuse absolument à admettre qu'il n'arrive aujourd'hui rien qui ne soit arrivé dans les temps de la barbarie ou sous les despotes d'autrefois. Voici ce qu'elle dit de l'enjeu de choses nouvelles chez les hommes. cette guerre: "La brutalité et la force ne sont certainement pas des Il a toujours été vrai, comme l'a dit le Psalmiste, "que les lieux sombres du pays sont pleins de repaires de brigands". On peut s'attendre à ce que des hommes qui ne sont guère plus que des sauvages se comportent comme des brutes. Jamais cependant, dans l'histoire, une nation prétendue civilisée et chrétienne n'a délibérément prôné que le mal était le bien. Cette guerre diffère de toutes les autres, car les monstres difformes qui se cachaient dans l'ombre en sont sortis pour tenter ouvertement d'asservir l'âme humaine. Ils ne se cachent plus pour combattre, ils se pavanent dans

D 12406

leur armure d'acier. La victoire de l'Allemagne dans la guerre actuelle ne comporterait pas seulement un remaniement de frontières ou un déplacement de souveraineté. Elle entraînerait la destruction de la liberté dans l'âme humaine".

Je voudrais que ces mots, inscrits sur parchemin, fussent encadrés et placés sur les murs de chaque foyer.

L'Allemagne nazie et ses associés militaristes japonais n'aspirent pas uniquement à des conquêtes territoriales, ni même à la simple domination du monde. Les forces du mal, incarnées dans les puissances de l'Axe, cherchent à s'assurer la possession de l'âme des peuples et à détruire toute liberté dans l'esprit humain. Elles réaliseront ce sinistre dessein à moins qu'elles ne soient complètement écrasées.

Conséquences du conflit

Personne ne saurait entretenir l'espoir d'éviter les conséquences du conflit actuel. A la suite de cette guerre, ou bien l'humanité retombera dans un état de barbarie résultant d'un bouleversement mondial, ou bien délivrée de l'esclavage, elle entrera dans une nouvelle ère de justice sociale et de sécurité mondiale. Trois années de guerre ont permis aux peuples de l'ancien monde, à ceux de l'Europe comme à ceux de l'Asie, de bien comprendre l'enjeu de la guerre. Chacun de nous qui habitons le Nouveau Monde, doit être également bien fixé sur ce point. Personnellement et collectivement, nous devons comprendre la nécessité de contribuer dans la plus grande mesure possible à la défaite de l'ennemi et au triomphe définitif d'une juste cause.

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Le Canada et l'Allemagne

Durant une année entière, de juin 1940 à juin 1941, le Canada a été, après la Grande-Bretagne, la plus forte puissance qui fut en guerre avec l'Allemagne. M. Churchill n'exagérait nullement quand, en septembre 1941, il proclamait au monde entier que, sans l'effort de guerre du Canada, la résistance de l'empire britannique n'eût pu continuer. On ne devrait jamais oublier que, si cette résistance avait été brisée, la liberté eût pu disparaître de la face de la terre.

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leur armure d'acier. La victoire de l'Allemagne dans la guerre actuelle ne comporterait pas seulement un remaniement de frontières ou un déplacement de souveraineté. Elle entrainerait la destruction de la liberté dans l'âme humaine".

Je voudrais que ces mots, inscrits sur parchemin, fussent encadrés et placés sur les murs de chaque foyer.

L'Allemagne nazie et ses associés militaristes japonais n'aspirent pas uniquement à des conquêtes territoriales, ni même à la simple domination du monde. Les forces du mal, incarnées dans les puissances de l'Axe, cherchent à s'assurer la possession de l'âme des peuples et à détruire toute liberté dans l'esprit humain. Elles réaliseront ce sinistre dessein à moins qu'elles ne soient complètement écrasées.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

mois sombres de 1940, nous avons dépêché des troupes canadiennes à Terre-Neuve, aux Antilles et en Islande. Durant plus d'une année, le Canada a été le gardien des abords occidentaux de la chaîne d'îles qui relient l'Amérique du Nord à l'Europe. Quand, au cours de l'été de 1941, les Etats-Unis ont commencé de partager cette tâche avec nous, nous avons accueilli cordialement leur appui, d'abord parce que cela accentuait la force de la défense de la cause commune, puis parce que cela permettait à nos troupes d'aller occuper des positions plus avancées.

Le Canada a été le premier des pays du nouveau monde à participer à la guerre dans la Méditerranée et dans le Moyen-Orient. Des ingénieurs canadiens ont travaillé au renforcement des défenses de Gibraltar. Des aviateurs canadiens, que l'on compte aujourd'hui par milliers, servent depuis plusieurs mois dans le Moyen-Orient. Nos combattants — soldats à Hong-Kong et aviateurs dans l'Inde et à Ceylan — ont été les premiers hommes du nouveau monde à servir en Asie. A Dieppe. l'autre jour, les soldats canadiens constituaient les cinq sixièmes des troupes qui ont débarqué sur le continent européen. Depuis 1940, nos aviateurs ont pris une part de plus en plus considérable au bombardement de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe occupée.

Exploits de nos aviateurs

Nous avons eu tout récemment un exemple frappant des prouesses de nos forces combattantes et de la bravoure de nos hommes. Après avoir laissé tomber des bombes sur Sarrebruck mercredi dernier, à deux heures du matin, l'équipage entier d'un avion de bombardement est arrivé dans notre capitale le même jour à minuit. Dans ce court espace de temps, ces hommes avaient pu retourner à leur base en Grande-Bretagne et faire aussi un bref arrêt à un aéroport près de Montréal. L'âge moyen de ces hommes est de 23 ans et demi. Tous s'étaient enrôlés en 1940 dans le corps d'aviation canadien et tous étaient allés outre-mer au cours de 1941. Ces jeunes aviateurs ont ensemble pris part à plus de vingt raids en territoire ennemi, entre autres au-dessus d'Emden et de Cologne. Nous devons nous rappeler que des milliers d'autres jeunes Canadiens qui servent dans les escadrilles britanniques ou canadiennes font preuve de la même endurance et accomplissent les mêmes prouesses.

La visite de ces aviateurs combattants a contribué à nous mettre en contact étroit non seulement avec ces jeunes gens eux-mêmes mais aussi avec tous leurs camarades qui servent dans les forces combattantes de notre pays. Elle nous a aussi fait comprendre davantage combien le danger qui nous menace est immense et proche. Les distances qui nous séparent des champs de bataille de l'Europe et des bases japonaises dans le Pacifique ne peuvent plus aujourd'hui se mesurer en jours. Elles doivent dorénavant se mesurer en heures.

La guerre moderne offre des aspects multiples. Elle exige l'établissement de plans dans plusieurs domaines. Dès les premiers mois du conflit nous avons commencé à organiser un corps expéditionnaire, ainsi qu'une armée pour notre défense terrioriale. Nous avons projeté un accroissement méthodique et rapide de la marine canadienne. Nous avons établi le plan d'une expansion vaste et rapide de l'entraînement aérien, même avant qu'on ait énoncé le plan de l'entraînement des aviateurs du commonwealth britannique. Dès qu'on a proposé l'adoption d'un programme d'entraînement aérien en commun pour le Canada, l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande et le Royaume-Uni, notre adhésion a été immédiate. L'entreprise gigantesque a eu tôt fait de dépasser le programme établi. Quelques chiffres aideront à mettre en lumière l'efficace réalisation des plans de 1939 au bout de trois années de guerre. Un demi-million de volontaires sont aujourd'hui en service actif dans les services armées. Pour égaler l'effort militaire fourni par le Canada sous le régime du volontariat, au prorata de la population, il faudrait que les Etats-Unis eussent dans leurs forces armées six millions d'hommes en service actif. Au Canada, plus de quarante mille sont en outre assujetis au service militaire obligatoire pour le temps de la guerre. Des dizaines de milliers de Canadiens consacrent aussi patriotiquement leurs loisirs au service dans l'armée de réserve.

Après trois années de guerre, abstraction faite du service intermittant, plus d'hommes sont en service ou ont servi dans la marine l'armée et l'aviation canadiennes qu'il n'y en a eu en tout pendant la durée entière de la dernière guerre, tant sous le régime du volontariat que du service obligatoire.

Notre armée d'outre-mer

Le corps expéditionnaire canadien en Grande-Bretagne n'est pas simplement un corps d'armée, c'est une armée canadienne. A la fin de la présente année, il se composera de deux corps complets, le second devant être un corps blinde.

On ne saurait décrire le progrès de notre corps expéditionnaire qu'en citant les paroles de son commandant en chef. Dans son message de Noël en décembre dernier, le général McNaughton a dit:

"Après des débuts fort modestes, l'armée cnadienne comprend maintenant plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'hommes et de femmes. Des unités, des formations et des réserves nouvelles nous sont parvenues aussi rapidement qu'on a disposé de navire pour les expédier et, au fur et à mesure de leur arrivée, nous avons hâté l'organisation de nos quartiers généraux militaires, de nos unités de renfort, de nos hôpitaux, de nos écoles, de nos ateliers de réparation et de plusieurs autres services requis, tandis que notre corps d'ingénieur, de signaleurs et de bûcherons a fourni son appoint à la vie et au bienlêtre de la collectivité.

Dans un discours qu'il prononçait ici au Canada, au mois de mars, devant les élèves de l'école des métiers de l'armée à Hamilton, le général McNaughton disait:

"Nous disposons de l'armée mécanisée la plus puissante au monde. Cela est dû au fait que le Canada a fait plus de progrès dans ce domaine que tout autre pays . . . Je retourne plein de confiance dans l'appui que le Canada peut nous accorder".

Voici ce que disait le général dans un message qu'il adressait à l'Union des marins candiens, après son retour en Angleterre:

"Le gouvernement et la population du Canada font en sorte que les armées canadiennes stationnées ici disposent de renforts suffisants ainsi que d'approvisionnements en munitions et en matériel de toutes sortes".

Vous avez dû remarquer que depuis l'ajournement des Chambres, deux forts contingents constitués de renforts et de nouvelles

unités sont débarqués en Grande-Bretagne.

Dans une entrevue qu'il accordait à un groupe de rédacteurs canadiens, pas plus tard que le 27 août, le général McNaughton répétait que nous n'étions limités dans ce domaine que par le problème du transport sur l'Atlantique septentrional.

Une marine puissante

En 1939, la marine de guerre canadienne était la plus faible de nos trois armes. Aujourd'hui, elle compte plus de 400 navires et son personnel s'élève à plus de 40.000 hommes. La construction navale marche de pair avec le nombre de marins que nous formons, et il existe un juste équilibre entre ces deux facteurs. Il y a un ou deux jours, M. Alexander, premier lord de l'Amirauté au Royaume-Uni, déclarait que la marine royale et la marine royale canadienne avaient livré aux sous-marins allemands une lutte ardue et vaillante. Joindre ainsi les noms de la marine britannique et de la marine canadienne, c'était reconnaître, à juste titre, le rôle qu'a joué cette dernière en escortant les navires dans la traversée de l'Atlantique septentrional et en combattant les sous-marins.

Dans le domaine de l'aviation, en décidant en 1939 de faire porter son principal effort sur la formation aérienne, pendant la première phase de la guerre, le Canada a délibérément sacrifié les grands effets immédiats à des résultats plus lointains mais autrement importants et décisifs. Aujourd'hui, l'efficacité de la formation aérienne donnée au Canada, se fait sentir sur les champs de bataille du monde entier: sur nos deux littéraux, à Terre-Neuve et au Labrador, en Alaska, dans l'Inde, en Egypte et dans le Moyen-Orient, en Grande-Bretagne, dans le ciel de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe conquise, et en Russie.

Initiative de notre pays

Sur le front économique de même que dans la sphère militaire, le Canada, dans cette guerre, a montré la voie aux nations du Nouveau-Monde. Nous avons les premiers transformé notre économie de paix en une économie de guerre. Nous avons pris les devants dans le domaine de l'approvisionnement en armées, en denrées alimentaires et constructions navales Nous avons été des précurseurs en matière d'impôts et de finances de guerre, dans la conservation des matières premières, dans la lutte contre le mercantilisme et l'inflation, dans la stabilisation du coût de la vie et dans l'utilisation maximum du capital humain. Dès le début, nous avons résolu de fabriquer tout ce que nous pourrions en fait d'instruments et de munitions de guerre et d'intensifier notre production en général par tous les moyens. Nous avons exporté un nombre immense de véhicules automobiles, de chars d'assaut et de canons. Jamais nous n'avons mesuré notre production aux besoins de nos forces armées.

On utilise les armes et les munitions du Canada en Egypte, en Russie, dans le sud du Pacifique et en Chine. La production des chantiers maritimes canadiens répond aujourd'hui dans une large mesure à l'un des besoins les plus pressants de la guerre. Quant aux denrées alimentaires, il est exact qu'après la perte de ses sources continentales d'approvisionnement en 1940, la Grande-Bretagne, sa population et ses forces combattantes furent sauvées de la famine par l'apport de denrées canadiennes. Le Canada expédie de grandes quantités de blé et de farine à la Grèce et à la Russie. Les ouvriers et les cultivateurs canadiens accomplissent leur large part de l'effort de guerre du Canada.

Les femmes et la guerre

Je tiens aussi à louer la part magnifique et croissante que les femmes prennent à la réalisation d'un effort de guerre total.

Les femmes que comptent nos services d'infirmières ont assumé, comme toujours, le rôle premier qui revient à la femme en temps de guerre. Depuis plusieurs mois, des jeunes femmes portant l'uniforme du corps auxiliaire féminin de l'armée canadienne et celui de la division féminine du corps d'aviation royal canadien sont en activité de service par tout le Canada. Un certain nombre sont déjà rendues outre-mer. Elles s'acquittent toutes d'une multitude de tâches. D'ici quelques semaines, leurs soeurs de la division féminine de la marine canadienne s'acquitteront de fonctions semblables.

Des milliers de femmes accomplissent une besogne également importante et essentielle dans les industries de guerre. Leur compétence grandissante accroît chaque jour la quantité de machines et de matériel de guerre qui sortent des usines et des ateliers canadiens. Dans les usines, dans les bureaux, dans les ateliers et sur les fermes du Canada entier, les femmes exécutent en nombre croissant la besogne accomplie auparavant par les hommes.

Les femmes qui maintiennent l'intégrité de nos foyers et de nos familles ne contribuent pas moins directement que les femmes employées dans les services de guerre, au maintien de la civilisation que nos ennemis cherchent à détruire.

La guerre actuelle a débuté et s'est continuée par des actes d'agression. A mesure que les agresseurs foulaient aux pieds, les uns après les autres, les peuples de l'Europe et de l'Asie, la guerre devenait pour les autres nations une lutte pour la défense de la liberté. De plus en plus, elle est devenue pour toutes une guerre de survivance. Il appartient aux Nations Unies d'en faire une guerre de libération.

La visite de Fraser à Ottawa

Il y a quelques jours, le premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande, le très honorable Peter Fraser, adressait la parole aux membres de notre gouvernement à Ottawa. En présence du ministre de la Chine, il nous a dit que si n'eût été la résistance acharnée des Chinois, il est très problable que la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Australie auraient subi aux mains des Japonais le même sort que les possessions coloniales britanniques et hollandaises de l'Extrême Orient. Qui oserait prétendre que sans la résistance magnifique de la Gde-Bretagne, pendant l'automne et l'hiver de 1940, et sans les héroïques combats de temporisation de la Grèce et de la Yougoslavie au printemps de 1941, le sort de l'Europe tout entière n'eût été réglé avant l'attaque contre la Russie? Qui oserait penser que sans la résistance formidable de la Russie depuis le mois de juin de l'année dernière, les peuples de notre continent ne seraient pas aujourd'hui à combattre pour leur propre existence sur leurs côtes et dans leurs propres villes ?

Plan de conquête mondiale

Trois années de guerre ont révélé au monde la puissance des nations de l'Axe. Elles ont aussi dévoilé leurs plans de conquête du monde entier. L'Allemagne devait frapper la première, l'Italie ensuite et enfin le Japon. Dans chaque cas l'attaque eut lieu sans provocation. Ce fait me semble

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Date.....

Subject.....

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des plus significatifs. L'attaque n'eût jamais été déclenchée si les puissances de l'Axe n'avaient pas été convaincues que ce plan concerté leurs permettrait de vaincre et de conquérir le reste de l'univers. Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, les forces de la tyrannie se pensent encore capables d'encercler le globe. Fortes de leur conquête de l'Ancien Monde, elles veulent asservir le Nouveau. Si nous, qui habitons ce continent, n'avons pas encore été envahis soit par les Japonais, à travers l'océan Pacifique, soit par les Allemands, à travers l'Atlantique, nous le devons à la résistance des autres nations.

Il peut arriver aux peuples d'Europe et d'Asie qui ont été vaincus et subjugués de penser que leur résistance a été vaine. Je ne le crois pas. Toutes les nations qui ont résisté à l'ennemi, quelque brève qu'ait été cette résistance, ont contribué à sa défaite ultime. Chaque jour de gagné par leur résistance a accordé aux pays qui sont encore libres un temps précieux qui leur a permis d'édifier leurs forces.

Pour nous, qui sommes encore libres, nous ne pourrons jamais oublier ce que nous devons au peuple tchécoslovaque, aux Polonais, aux Norvégiens, aux Hollandais, aux Belges, aux Français qui résistent, aux Yougoslaves et aux Grecs. Nous savons ce que nous devons aux peuples de Grande-Bretagne, de Chine et de Russie. Sans les efforts et des sacrifices de tous ceux qui ont résisté, nous aurions déjà perdu la liberté dont nous jouissons encore.

Quelle qu'ait pu être notre incertitude dans le passé, nous ne pouvons plus douter que, depuis le premier jour de la guerre, nous n'avons eu en vérité d'autres motifs que de combattre pour notre propre conservation, pour notre propre survivance. Ce n'est pas pour défendre une cause impériale que les nations du nouveau monde ont expédié leurs forces armées dans l'ancien, soit de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique soit de l'autre côté du Pacifique. Elles l'ont fait pour détruire un ennemi et pour éloigner la guerre de nos rives.

La durée de la guerre

Personne ne peut dire combien de temps il faudra pour abattre l'agresseur. Cela dépendra de l'effort de chaque citoyen des nations unies. Il faut que nous réunissions nos forces dans un suprême effort. Arrêter l'agresseur ne constitue que la première tâche. Restera la tâche de la libération, pour laquelle il nous faudra combattre. Ce n'est pas seulement pour nous sauver que nous devons continuer de lutter. Il nous faut rendre la liberté à ceux qui ont tant souffert. Ces gens ont résisté aux plus sombres forces du mal que le monde ait jamais connues. Tant que ces forces n'auront pas été totalemen. détruites, il ne saurait y avoir de paix durable.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Sept. 12/42.

D 43410

Subject

Good, But Still Not Enough

In his review of Canada's three years of war, Premier King pointed out that the Dominion has

Half a million volunteers on active service in the three armed forces.

Over 40,000 men in addition who are serving compulsorily for the duration of the war.

Other tens of thousands in the reserve army.

More men are serving, or have served, in the army, navy and air forces than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

The premier pointed out that Canada's 500,000 volunteers on active service are the equivalent, on a population basis, of 6,000,000 in a country as large as the United States.

In the production of war supplies Canada has also played a notable part. Said Mr. King: "Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the southern Pacific, and in China. The output of Canadian shipyards has become a major factor in meeting one of the most imperative of war needs. As for foodstuffs, it is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940, her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food. Canadian wheat and flour are now being sent in large quantities to Greece and to Russia. Canadian workmen and Canadian farmers are playing their full part in Canada's war effort."

It is well that Canada should occasionally take stock of what has been accomplished in the various fields of war endeavor, not in any spirit of complacency, but as an inspiration to renewed effort. The plain hard fact is that Canada, much as she has done, must do more. No nation can afford a complacent outlook or a self-satisfied inlook until the gangsters are beaten to their knees. As Mr. King said: "We must gather our full strength for a supreme effort. To halt the aggressor is only the first step. To cripple the enemy is the next. There will still remain the task of liberation. Those who have suffered so greatly have resisted the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known. Till these forces are totally destroyed there can be no enduring peace."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 43411

Conservative "laymen" in conference at Port Hope adopted a progressive platform of labor legislation, including the right to collective bargaining. Just what reception such a program is likely to be given by the "elder statesmen" of the party is probably indicated by what took place in the general council of the United Church this week. The board of evangelism and social service presented a resolution favorable to collective bargaining, and the chief opponent proved to be Senator J. T. Haig of Manitoba. Senator Haig is one of the leading Conservatives in the Upper house; was, in fact, mentioned as Mr. Meighen's successor as leader there—a post which finally went to Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press.

Date Sept. 12/42.

Subject

D 43412

We Do Well to Be Proud

Mr. King, in his talk to the people of Canada about this country's war effort during the past three years, made reference to Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, about Canada's contribution during what the historians of the future will hold was the most critical, the most dangerous period of the war. Mr. Churchill's exact words are worth recalling. They were spoken at a meeting in the Mansion House on September 4th, at which the Canadian Prime Minister was the chief speaker:

"The war effort of Canada during this war, happily, has not so far required the effusion of blood upon a large scale but that effort, immense in ships, aircraft, air training, in finance and in food, constitutes an element in the resistance of the British Empire without which that resistance could not be successfully maintained.

"Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world. Canada, with those relations of friendly, affectionate intimacy with the United States on the one hand and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family, a link which, spanning the oceans, brings the continents into their true relation and will prevent, in future generations, a division growing between the proud and happy nations of Europe and the great countries which have come into existence in the new world."

There is no reason for leaving it to posterity to ascertain the services rendered to the present world and to all the future generations of humanity by the British nations in the fateful twelve months between the fall of France in 1940 and June, 1941, when Hitler made his major blunder of extending the war to Russia. If British resistance had been broken during that testing time, the world of today would be Hitler's with freedom, perhaps, making its last stand in beleagured North America. The glory of that achievement, which will shine with ever-growing splendor as it is viewed in retrospect down the centuries, belongs primarily to the people of Great Britain; but Canada shares in it and in this fact there is justification for legitimate pride.

It is true, as Mr. King says, that "for a full year, from June, 1940, "to June, 1941, Canada, next to "Britain, was the strongest power "at war with Germany." Our armed forces in Great Britain shared in the defence of the southern coast, the point of greatest danger; our airmen played a part in the air victory which changed the course of history; our shores were abandoned by our naval forces which proceeded post-haste to British waters where they saw action and suffered severe casualties; and the country was swept clean of ammunition, guns, everything that could be put to use in the defence of Britain. When victory is won by the narrowest of margins, all the participants share in the honors of victory as they did in the struggle; and Canada can justly put the Battle of Britain on the roll of her achievements.

Mr. Churchill's references to Canada as "the linchpin of the "English-speaking world," are also worth recalling. Here the Canadian contribution to developments in co-operation which ultimately brought the whole English-speaking world into an alliance in defence of liberty is not at the moment assessable, but it will be put high when the factors which blocked the Axis drive for world conquest are set out in the record.

Upon these counts the Canadian people may properly be proud and may rightly avow their pride in their achievements. So far from inducing Canadians to rest on their oars and consider they are doing enough—which seems to be the idea of some who constantly disparage our contribution — this recognition of the great achievements of yesterday will but point the way to the still greater deeds of tomorrow.

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The Prime Minister

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Date Sept. 12/43.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Prince Albert Herald

Date Sept. 12/43.

Subject

D 48413

Canada's Contribution

UNDOUBTEDLY the important part Canada has played in this war had not occurred to many Canadians until they had heard Prime Minister King's radio address the other night.

When Britain stood alone from June 1940 until June 1941 with none but the members of the British Commonwealth of nations in her support, Canada, next to the Motherland, was the strongest power actually at war with Germany. We sent abroad everything we had in our meagerly stocked war cupboards to help hold the last bastion in Europe of western civilization.

A little meant much in those perilous days when Hitler had victory within his grasp. Mr. King declared that it was no exaggeration to say that that little we were able to contribute had, as Mr. Churchill declared in Ottawa, meant the difference between defeat for Britain and the continuing of a successful defensive fight until the democratic world had become mobilized, as it is today, against the Axis menace.

Casting aspersions at our war effort and at the contribution we have made for victory appears to be a favorite sport in certain quarters. When the record is examined, there is nothing of which we should be ashamed.

Mistakes have been made but that was to be expected in an undertaking as colossal as that which we have tackled. A nation of peace which has expended approximately an annual average of $14,000,000 on national defence before the war expended approximately 15 times that sum on the war in the one month of August of this year. During the present fiscal year Canada will spend more than in all the four years from 1914 to 1918 of the last war.

Out of taxes we have defrayed virtually all the costs of our contribution to the war, excluding the ordinary costs of government and the cash contributions we have made to Britain. Our national debt has been kept within reasonable bounds and at home checks on inflation have safeguarded the public from a repetition of the hardships which the unbridled advance in commodity prices in the last war brought.

Splendid as our record has been, we are not resting on our oars. We have now embarked upon the ambitious national selective service experiment which is designed to eventually employ our meagre resources of human power (man power and woman power) to the maximum possible extent.

Canada's contribution is not the government's or the Liberal party's. It is the contribution of the people of Canada. All the government has done is to provide the leadership and, at times, that leadership has been halting. To the people goes the bulk of the credit for what has been done.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald.

Date Sept. 12/42

Subject

Three Years of War

When a war is not going well people are critical. And being in a critical frame of mind they are likely to minimize their own war efforts as a nation. It was so in the Great War. It is so in this global war. Everyone remembers the criticism of the British Government in the first three years of the last war over failure to supply men in the front lines with the big guns and shells they needed. It became a first class scandal, and it was not until the last year of the war that the need was met and people began to feel pride in the war effort.

In this war Canadians have not yet come to feel the pride in their war effort which that effort warrants. We have been too busy listening to the criticisms of some phases of our war undertaking that we have tended to lose sight of the rounded effort we have been making. It is well, therefore, that Prime Minister King should have seen fit to report to the nation on the three-year effort in his broadcast on the third anniversary of Canada's declaration of war. The Prime Minister put the facts clearly before the public. He did a fine service in stressing the fact that, at one time in the war two years ago after the fall of France, Canada was Britain's strongest ally, and stood beside her at the time when Britain alone of the major nations held aloft the banner of freedom against the Axis. It was Canada's growing effort at that time which had much to do with the whole of the American continents eventually deciding to throw in their lot with the United Nations. It is a well known fact that the friendship between Ottawa and Washington had much to do with the lease-lend agreement before the United States entered the war, and with the growing aid from that sector until United States finally entered the war on December 7 last.

Canada's war effort is something to be proud of in every direction, from the great air plan right through the whole gamut of supply down to the supplying of food to Britain. How many Canadians ever think of the billion dollar gift of Canada to Britain? Canada in that gift provided Britain with a free gift of more than half as much money as we spent in the last war. Yet it is hardly ever mentioned. As for Canada's effort on the industrial front, the average Canadian has no conception whatever of it. It is beyond his imagination. And as for our actual effort in the fighting services, we have as many men in uniform today after three years of war as we had in the last war after four years and four months.

It is time Canadians quit belittling what they are doing. We will go farther and do a better job of it if we take a greater pride in the accomplishments outlined by the Prime Minister on Thursday evening.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Herald.

Date Sept. 17/42

Subject

Canada's Historic Role

THE reference by Mr. Mackenzie King, in his recent broadcast, to Mr. Churchill's statement regarding Canada's help "in what the historian of the future would hold to be the most critical, the most dangerous period of the war" has prompted discussion as to what was really the most dangerous period.

There have been many dangerous periods — the present is one of them. But undoubtedly the period to which the reference is applicable was that between the fall of France in June, 1940, and June, 1941, when Hitler was foolish enough to attack Russia.

It was three months after the latter event when Mr. Churchill made the statement Mr. King referred to. Here is what he said, speaking in the Mansion House, London, at a meeting where Mr. King was guest:

> "The war effort of Canada during this war, happily, has not so far required the effusion of blood upon a large scale but that effort, immense in ships, aircraft, air training, in finance and in food, constitutes an element in the resistance of the British Empire without which that resistance could not be successfully maintained."

* * * * *

MR. CHURCHILL followed this up with another statement in which he alluded to Canada's position as a linchpin — which is described in the dictionary as "the pin which goes through the end of the axle of a wheel, and keeps it in its place." Here is what Mr. Churchill said on this point:

> "Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world. Canada, with those relations of friendly, affectionate intimacy with the United States on the one hand and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family, a link which, spanning the oceans, brings the continents into their true relation and will prevent, in future generations, a division growing between the proud and happy nations of Europe and the great countries which have come into existence in the new world."

These are not examples of oratorical eloquence. They are historic facts that will for ever redound to the glory that is Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43416

Name of Publication Toronto Star.

Date Sept. 11/42.

Subject

CANADA'S FAITH THAT BRITAIN WOULD HOLD NEVER WAVERED—KING

Everything of Immediate Military Value Sent From Dominion to Help Old Land Survive in Its "Finest Hour" —First in New World to Fight

"IT IS NOT ALONE TO SAVE OURSELVES THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO FIGHT"

Ottawa, Sept. 11—Text of Prime Minister King's broadcast speech last night, follows:

"Today, Canada enters upon the fourth year of war. Three years ago, it was difficult for men and women anywhere to believe what was told them of the probable duration of the war. Much less were they prepared to believe that Hitler's aim was world conquest. I doubt if peoples whose countries have not been invaded even yet appreciate the magnitude of the enemy's designs. Only those who themselves have been the victims of Nazi or Japanese deception, terrorism and violence have begun to comprehend the real issue.

"At the time of Britain's entry into the war, speaking of the attack upon Poland by the armed forces of Germany, I said, in a nation-wide broadcast: 'The fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation are the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict.' Referring to Hitler's methods and aim, I added: 'It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world which is the real cause of the war that today threatens the freedom of mankind.' Those words may have seemed extravagant at the time they were used three years ago. I question, however, if today any intelligent person will dispute their truth. That the war today 'threatens the freedom of mankind,' is abundantly clear.

"I should like to draw a distinction tonight, as I did three years ago, between the cause of the war, and the real issue in the war. The cause, as I then said, was the lust for conquest—world domination. The real issue, however, goes even deeper. More than world domination is involved. Domination need not be wholly evil. You have heard it said that the best type of ruler is a benevolent despot. To have the world controlled by benevolence, however absolute the control, might not be an unmixed blessing. But a world ruled by a tyrant, himself the incarnation of evil, would not be a blessing in any form—it would be an unmixed curse. Yet, that would be the fate of the world should the enemy triumph in the conflict between the Axis powers and the United Nations.

"Nothing But Chaos . . ."

"In three years of war, we have become only too familiar with the evidences of the satanic power of the enemy. Our minds have recoiled from the horrors, brutalities and atrocities which, since Poland was attacked, have been recorded day by day. They, however, are but surface indications of something deeper and more malevolent. The Nazi purpose is to destroy every belief, and to subvert every institution which from childhood's days, men and women of the free countries of the world have been taught to reverence. Their aim is the total destruction of Christian civilization. Sometime before the invasion of Poland, Hitler himself said: 'Whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos.' 'Nothing but chaos'—that represents the sum of what Nazi Germany, thus far, has contributed to the world.

"I have seen nowhere a truer statement of the real issue in this war than one by Miss Audrey Alexandra Brown, a young Canadian whose name and writings are, I am sure, familiar to many of you. Miss Brown completely rejects the idea that nothing is happening now which did not happen in the dark ages, or under earlier despotisms. She defines the issue in these words: 'Certainly, brutality and force are not new among men. It has always been true that, as the Psalms have it 'the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.' Men who are little more than savages can be expected to behave as beasts. But never before in history has a nominally civilized, a nominally Christian nation deliberately made the profession, 'evil, be thou my good' this war is unlike all other wars, for the deformed monstrosities that sheltered in darkness have crawled out of that darkness and openly challenged the world for the possession of its soul. They no longer fight under cover, they flaunt in steel. For Germany to win this war would not mean merely a re-drawing of boundaries or a shift in sovereignty. It would mean the destruction of the free spirit of man.'

"I wish those words, inscribed on parchment, might be framed and hung upon the walls of every home.

"The aim of Nazi Germany and her militarist Japanese partner is not merely the conquest of territory, not even world domination in itself. The forces of evil, incarnated in the Axis powers are seeking to possess the world's soul and seeking to destroy the free spirit of man. They will accomplish this evil purpose unless they themselves are totally destroyed.

"The consequences of this conflict no living man or woman can possibly hope to escape as the outcome of this war, mankind will either revert to a condition of barbarity and savagery resulting from world chaos, or, by release from bondage, humanity will rise into a new order of social justice and world security. Three years of war have made the issue clear to the peoples of the old world in Europe and Asia alike. To each one of us in the new world the issue must become equally clear. As individuals and as nations, we must realize the need to make the utmost contribution of which we are capable to ensure the defeat of the enemy, and the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause.

"I am stressing again tonight the real issue of the war for two reasons. The first is to bring home to every one just what is at stake in this world conflict. The other is to make us appreciate, at its true value, the sacrifice of human life

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 43417

involved in the conflict. Already many of the bravest of our land have given their lives in mortal combat against the evil forces that have been loosed upon the world. We may be sure that those who have given their lives in so great a cause have not failed of their eternal reward. It is well, however, that those who have been bereaved should appreciate the sacrifice of their loved ones at its true worth.

"It was not merely to prevent the barbaric forces from beyond the waters of the Atlantic and of the Pacific from invading our shores and gaining possession of our land that young Canadians who fought at Hong Kong and at Dieppe, and in the skies over many lands, and upon the waters of many oceans, have given their lives. They have fought, and their lives have been sacrificed that the world's soul may not be possessed by the powers of darkness, that the free spirit of man may not be destroyed; that evil, instead of good, may not be exalted in our midst for generations to come. Many of them may not have been fully conscious of how great was the cause for which they went forth to fight. I question if they thought of any call save that of duty. But something immortal had been stirring in their breasts. It impelled them to action. We think of them, one and all, as they truly are, a part of the chivalry of God.

"How, in three years of war, has Canada, as a nation, responded to the call? That is something, I am sure, of which you will expect to hear me speak tonight. In so doing, I should like you to think of Canada as a nation of the New World. Now that it is everywhere recognized that the war is a global war, a universal war, in that light alone can our contribution to the war effort of the United Nations be adequately appraised. We are told so often that so little publicity has been given to Canada's war effort that I may be forgiven if I venture to say that, as a people, we can and should take a legitimate pride in the leadership which Canada has given to the other nations of the new world in the past three years.

"Canada was the first to see the real issue and the first to make the decision to fight.

Nation of New World

"We were the first nation of the new world to support and to strengthen Britain when she alone stood between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent. The period following the disastrous campaign in the west of Europe and the collapse of France, has been described as Britain's finest hour. It will, I believe, detract nothing from Britain's honor to say that no period in the war reflects greater credit on Canada.

"While most of the rest of the world expected Britain to share the fate of France, Canada sent everything we possessed, that had immediate military value, to help defend Britain from invasion. Canadian destroyers were sent to British waters, leaving our own coast perilously exposed. Though greatly needed here, what air squadrons we had available were sent to Britain. Aircraft, required for training in Canada, were turned back in mid-Atlantic. All available small arms and ammunition were sent overseas to help fill the gap left by British losses in France. The dispatch overseas of the second division was accelerated. Air training was intensified. Canada's faith in Britain's ability to hold out never wavered for a moment. The proof of it was given in action.

"Just before French resistance collapsed, Canadian troops had actually landed in France, ready to go into battle. After the fall of France, ships of the Canadian navy assisted in the evacuation of British, Canadian and Polish soldiers from French territory. In these operations, the Canadian destroyer Fraser was lost off Bordeaux. The rescue of the survivors of the Fraser by the Canadian destroyer Restigouche was one of the most daring exploits of the evacuation.

"For a full year, from June 1940 to June 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. It was no exaggeration, when Churchill told the world in September 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained. It should never be forgotten that if that resistance had crumbled, freedom might have perished from the earth.

Canadians in Many Areas

"In addition to what we sent to Britain in the dark months of 1940, Canadian troops were dispatched to Newfoundland, the West Indies and Iceland. For more than a year, Canada was the keeper of the western approaches to the northern bridge of islands between North America and Europe. When, in the summer of 1941, the United States began to share that task with us, we specially welcomed their support, both because it added strength to the common cause, and because it enabled our forces to move to still more advanced positions.

"Canada was the first of the nations of the new world to take part in the war in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Engineers of the Canadian army have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar. For many months Canadian airmen, numbered now in thousands, have been serving in the Middle East. Our fighting men—soldiers at Hong Kong, and airmen in India and Ceylon—were the first organized fighting forces from the new world to serve in Asia. At Dieppe, the other day, Canadian soldiers made up five-sixths of the forces that landed on the continent of Europe. Since 1940, our airmen have had a large and steadily increasing place in the bombing of Germany and occupied Europe.

"We have just been afforded a striking example of the prowess our fighting forces have attained, and of the calibre of the men themselves. Having dropped their bombs on Saarbrucken at the early hour of 2 o'clock on Wednesday morning of last week, the entire crew of one of the bomber planes arrived here in our capital city at midnight of the same day. In that short interval of time they had not only returned to their base in Britain, but had also made a brief stop at a Canadian airport near Montreal. Their average age is 23½ years. They all enlisted in the Canadian air force in 1940; and all went overseas during 1941. These young airmen served together in more than 20 raids over enemy territory, among the number being those on Emden and Cologne. It should be remembered that their endurance, as well as their achievements, have been paralleled by thousands of other young Canadians serving in British or Canadian squadrons.

Measure Distance in Hours

"The visit of these fighting airmen has helped to bring very near to us all, not only the young men themselves, but all of their comrades serving in the fighting forces of our country. Their visit, too, has made us increasingly conscious of the vast and the nearness of existing danger. Distances from the battlefields of Europe and from Japanese bases in the Pacific can no longer be reckoned by days. From now on they must be measured in hours.

"Modern war is many-sided in its nature. It calls for many-sided planning. In the first months of war we began to organize an expeditionary force, as well as an army for the territorial defences of Canada. We planned an orderly and a rapid expansion of the Canadian navy. We planned, too, even be-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

fore the British commonwealth air training plan was proposed, a speedy and vast expansion of air training. The proposal of a joint air training program for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, when made, was immediately welcomed. The gigantic development soon outran what had been proposed.

"A few figures may help to throw light upon the effectiveness with which the plans of 1939 have been realized during three years of war. Today half a million volunteers are on active service in the three armed forces.

"To equal in numbers alone Canada's voluntary armed effort, the United States would require, in proportions to its population, to have on active service in its armed forces, 6,000,000 men. In Canada more than 40,000 men, in addition, are engaged in compulsory military service for the duration of the war. Tens of thousands of Canadians are also patriotically devoting their spare time to service in the reserve army.

"In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the navy, army and air forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war.

Two Corps in 1942

"Canada's expeditionary force in Britain is not simply an army corps, it is a Canadian army. At the end of the present year it will consist of two complete corps, the second to be an armored corps.

"The progress of our expeditionary force may best be described in the words of its commander-in-chief. In his Christmas message of December last, General McNaughton said: 'From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here and as they arrived the organization of our military headquarters, reinforcements units, hospitals, schools, repair establishments, and many other needed facilities have been pressed forward; meanwhile our engineer and signal and forestry corps have made their contribution to the life and welfare of the community.'

"Speaking here in Canada, at the army trade school at Hamilton, last March, General McNaughton said: 'I want you to know that we are operating the greatest mechanized force in the world. This is because in Canada we have progressed further along this line than has any other country. I go back with a feeling of great confidence in what we have behind us here in Canada.'

"In a message to the Canadian Seamen's Union, after his return to England, the general said: 'The government and people of Canada are seeing to it that adequate reinforcements, and supplies of all natures of munitions and equipment, will be made available for Canada's army here.'

"You will have noticed that since the adjournment of parliament, two large contingents of reinforcements and new units have landed in Britain.

"In an interview with a party of Canadian editors, as recently as August 27th, General McNaughton repeated his previous statement that transportation across the north Atlantic had been the only limiting factor.

"In 1939 the Canadian navy was the smallest of our three services. The navy now has well over 400 ships in operation, and a personnel of more than 40,000 men. Naval ship production is keeping pace with the supply of trained men, and an even balance is being maintained between ships and men. A day or two ago, Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty in the United Kingdom, said that the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy had been fighting the German U-boats with vigor and gallantry. This linking of the names of the British Navy and the Canadian Navy was a fitting recognition of the part the Canadian Navy has played in the task of convoying shipping across the north Atlantic and in meeting the submarine menace.

"As for the air force in deciding in 1939 to concentrate mainly on air training in the early stages of the war, Canada deliberately sacrificed the immediately spectacular, for slower but greater and more effective results. Today, the results of Canadian air training are to be seen on almost every battle-front around the globe: Along both our own coasts, in Newfoundland and Labrador, in Alaska, in India, in Egypt and the Middle East, in Britain, in the skies over Germany and conquered Europe, and in Russia.

Supplies Shipped to Allies

"On the economic front, as in the military sphere, Canada in this war has also led the way among the nations of the new world. We have led in the transformation from a peace-time to a war-time economy. We have been first in the field of supply, as arsenal, granary and shipyard. We have been foremost in war taxation and finance; in the conservation of raw materials; in efforts to prevent profiteering and inflation; in the control of the cost of living; and in the over-all employment of manpower. From the start, we determined to make every machine and munition of war we could make and to produce as much of everything as we could produce. Motor vehicles, tanks, and guns have been exported on a gigantic scale. We have never limited our production to the needs of our own forces. Canadian weapons and munitions are being used in Egypt, in Russia, in the southern Pacific, and in China. The output of Canadian shipyards has become a major factor in meeting one of the most imperative of war needs. As for foodstuffs, it is literally true that after Britain was cut off from European supplies in 1940, her people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food. Canadian wheat and flour are now being sent in large quantities to Greece and to Russia. Canadian workmen and Canadian farmers are playing their full part in Canada's war effort.

"I should like to pay a tribute to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort.

"The women in the nursing services have taken, as always, the pioneer role of women in wartime services. For many months, young women in uniforms of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the Women's division of the Royal Canadian Air Force have been on active service in all parts of Canada. Some are already overseas. All are performing a variety of tasks. Before many weeks, similar duties will be undertaken by the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service.

Pays Tribute to Women

"Equally worthy and equally essential work is being accomplished by the thousands of women in war industry. Their growing skill is adding daily to the mounting volume of machines and munitions of war issuing from Canadian factories and workshops. In factories, offices, shops and farms all over Canada, women in increasing numbers, are doing work formerly performed by men.

"The women who are keeping together the homes and families of our country, no less than the women directly engaged in war service, are helping to preserve the civilization our enemies are seeking to destroy.

"This war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

trampled under foot one after the other of the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the war has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly, for all, it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

"A few days ago, the prime minister of New Zealand, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, spoke to members of the government here in Ottawa. In the presence of the minister of China, he said that if it had not been for the long continued resistance of the Chinese, there is little doubt that New Zealand and Australia would have suffered the fate which the Dutch and the British colonial possessions in the Far East had suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Who will say that but for the magnificent resistance of Britain in the autumn and winter of 1940, and but for the heroic delaying action of Greece and Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941 the fate of all Europe would not have been settled before Russia was attacked? Who will say that but for the tremendous resistance of Russia since June of last year, we, on this continent, might not today have been fighting for our very lives, on our own coasts and in our own cities?

"Three years of war have revealed to the world the might of the Axis powers. The years have also revealed their plans of world conquest. Germany was to strike first; Italy next, and finally Japan. In each case, attack was unprovoked. This, it seems to me, is most significant.

"It would never save occurred had the Axis powers not believed that, under their combined plan, they would be able to take on and to conquer the rest of the world. Let there be no mistake, the forces of tyranny still believe they are able to encircle the globe. Building upon their conquests in the old world, they plan to press in upon the new. If we, on this continent, have thus far escaped invasion, either by Japanese forces from across the Pacific, or by German forces from across the Atlantic, it is because of the resistance of other nations.

Tribute to Allies

"To the peoples of Europe and of Asia who have been over-powered and over-run, their resistance may seem to them to have been in vain. I do not believe their resistance has been in vain. Every nation that resisted the foe, however short that resistance may have been, has contributed something to his ultimate defeat. Every day gained by their resistance has afforded precious time to the countries which are still free to build up their strength.

"We who are still free can never forget the debt we owe to the people of Czechoslovakia, to the Poles, to the Norwegians, to the Dutch, to the Belgians, to the resisting French, to the Yugoslavs and to the Greeks. We know what we owe to the people of Britain, of China and of Russia. But for the efforts and the sacrifices of all who have resisted, we might ere this have lost the liberty we still enjoy.

"However questioning we may have been in the past, there can no longer be any doubt that, from the first day of the war, whatever our motives, we have, in very truth, been fighting for our own preservation, for our own survival. The nations of the new world are not sending their forces to the old, whether it be across the Atlantic or across the Pacific, to further any imperial cause. It is to destroy a common enemy and to keep the war away from our soil.

"No one can say how long it may take to stay the aggressor. That will depend on the effort of each and every individual, in all of the United Nations. We must gather our full strength for a supreme effort, to halt the aggressor is only the first step. To cripple the enemy is the next. There will still remain the task of liberation. We are members one of another. It is not alone to save ourselves that we must continue to fight. Freedom must be restored to all. Those who have suffered so greatly have resisted the darkest forces of evil the world has ever known. Till these forces are totally destroyed, there can be no enduring peace."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 12 1942

Subject

D 12420

Real Credit Where It Is Due

Prime Minister King's review of Canada's part in the war during the three years since 1939—as printed in full yesterday in The Citizen—gave credit where it is due. The Canadian fighting forces on active service are taking a full share of the task where it is toughest—in the face of the enemy. They are nobly living up to the tradition of Canadian valor in the last war. They are respected by British comrades in arms, and by the fighting men of the other United Nations wherever they are associated in action. Nowhere is popular regard for Canada higher than in the United Kingdom, where Prime Minister Churchill has spoken truly for the British people in generous tribute to Canada's part in the war.

Similarly on the home front in Canada, the prime minister could appropriately take the occasion—at the beginning of this fourth year—to speak appreciatively without boasting, of the Canadian war effort. He told of the leadership taken by Canada on this North American continent in the years before the United States declared war. No country has better reason than Canada to know of the growing power of the United States war machine: no country has more in common with a good neighbor than Canada has with the United States. At the same time, without invidious comparison, Prime Minister King could properly outline reasons to the Canadian people for pride in Canada's own part. He said:

> For a full year, from June, 1940, to June, 1941, Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany. It was no exaggeration, when Mr. Churchill told the world in September, 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained.

Canada's part is remembered with gratitude through the long, dark vigil when the British nation stood otherwise alone against the Nazi forces of conquest—the most destructive revolutionary challenge ever to be hurled against this civilization.

Canada's response, too, in the task of adapting industries to produce the munitions of war has been great. Goodwill on the part of Canadian workers, enterprise in management, readiness at the head to take responsibility when government decisions had to be made—the common urge to do more in Canada to win the war—is producing results. The Canadian people could well be told of Canada's substantial contribution in the productive industries, as well as in the firing line—where the war has eventually to be won.

There is more, of course, to be done. The battle is growing daily more fierce. There may be bitter trials ahead. There can be no certainty of victory without the whole power of every free nation, including Canada, being dedicated to the task. Canadian women are being marshalled, as they are in the sister nations under the British flag, to share the task with the men in every possible field of service. Together, with singleness of purpose, the United Nations can go forward: only along the path of unity is victory possible. Prime Minister King's statement of Canada's part in the war should serve as a genuine contribution to unity.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press. D 42421

Date Sept. 12/42.

Subject

We Do Well to Be Proud

Mr. King, in his talk to the people of Canada about this country's war effort during the past three years, made reference to Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, about Canada's contribution during what the historians of the future will hold was the most critical, the most dangerous period of the war. Mr. Churchill's exact words are worth recalling. They were spoken at a meeting in the Mansion House on September 4th, at which the Canadian Prime Minister was the chief speaker:

"The war effort of Canada during this war, happily, has not so far required the effusion of blood upon a large scale but that effort, immense in ships, aircraft, air training, in finance and in food, constitutes an element in the resistance of the British Empire without which that resistance could not be successfully maintained.

"Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world. Canada, with those relations of friendly, affectionate intimacy with the United States on the one hand and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family, a link which, spanning the oceans, brings the continents into their true relation and will prevent, in future generations, a division growing between the proud and happy nations of Europe and the great countries which have come into existence in the new world."

There is no reason for leaving it to posterity to ascertain the services rendered to the present world and to all the future generations of humanity by the British nations in the fateful twelve months between the fall of France in 1940 and June, 1941, when Hitler made his major blunder of extending the war to Russia. If British resistance had been broken during that testing time, the world of today would be Hitler's with freedom, perhaps, making its last stand in beleaguered North America. The glory of that achievement, which will shine with ever-growing splendor as it is viewed in retrospect down the centuries, belongs primarily to the people of Great Britain; but Canada shares in it and in this fact there is justification for legitimate pride.

It is true, as Mr. King says, that "for a full year, from June, 1940, "to June, 1941, Canada, next to "Britain, was the strongest power "at war with Germany." Our armed forces in Great Britain shared in the defence of the southern coast, the point of greatest danger; our airmen played a part in the air victory which changed the course of history; our shores were abandoned by our naval forces which proceeded post-haste to British waters where they saw action and suffered severe casualties; and the country was swept clean of ammunition, guns, everything that could be put to use in the defence of Britain. When victory is won by the narrowest of margins, all the participants share in the honors of victory as they did in the struggle; and Canada can justly put the Battle of Britain on the roll of her achievements.

Mr. Churchill's references to Canada as "the linchpin of the "English-speaking world," are also worth recalling. Here the Canadian contribution to developments in co-operation which ultimately brought the whole English-speaking world into an alliance in defence of liberty is not at the moment assessable, but it will be put high when the factors which blocked the Axis drive for world conquest are set out in the record.

Upon these counts the Canadian people may properly be proud and may rightly avow their pride in their achievements. So far from inducing Canadians to rest on their oars and consider they are doing enough—which seems to be the idea of some who constantly disparage our contribution — this recognition of the great achievements of yesterday will but point the way to the still greater deeds of tomorrow.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43422

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 12 1942

Subject

Let's Cultivate Modesty.

In his broadcast Thursday evening, Prime Minister KING said "it is literally true that in 1940 Britain's people and her fighting men were saved from starvation by Canadian food". Well—starvation is a wide term; our guess is that Britain could have held out. Mr. KING proceeded: "It was no exaggeration when Mr. CHURCHILL told the world in September, 1941, that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained." One might say thankee, thankee to Mr. CHURCHILL, who knew it was his business to please Canada with his oratory—but we'd just as soon our Mr. KING let that sort of talk alone. Mr. CHURCHILL is liable to be very florid in his language. About that same time Mr. CHURCHILL was proclaiming to the United States, "Give us the tools, and we will finish the job"—whereas everybody knows now that Britain has needed more than American tools—she has needed the whole of America, and not only America but Russia too, to have any chance of "finishing the job".

And here is our Major-General PEARKES in Vancouver telling the world that "without boasting, he could say that Canadian troops are now the finest troops in the British Isles". O, General PEARKES, hush, hush! When the Huns hear that, they may run away from the battle so fast when they see us Canadians coming that we won't be able to catch up to lambaste the beggars properly.

Seriously, we think both Mr. KING and General PEARKES are blathering; and even if they are not, we would prefer to hear some one else than Canadians trumpeting their own marvels of performance.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Victoria Times D 43423

Date Sept. 12/42.

Subject

The Prime Minister Reports

ALTHOUGH HIS REPORT ON CANada's three years at war obviously could include little not known, Mr. Mackenzie King marshaled a set of facts, in a commendably concise form, sufficient to convince those carping skeptics that this Dominion is an all-out belligerent in every sense of the term. Implacable critics of the Prime Minister, of course, steadily refuse to be impressed by any recital in detail or a general claim that this country played a strikingly important part in the defence of Britain at that stage of the war's progress when many were fully persuaded that Adolf Hitler would draw up the terms of surrender in Buckingham Palace before the first anniversary of the invasion of Poland came round. But the pessimists had not counted on the grim resolve of the British people and the valor of the men of the Royal Air Force; nor do many of our own people realize how "everything we possessed" in the shape of supplies of military materials and food were vital factors in those summer months of 1940.

The fact nevertheless remains, as Mr. King quite properly reminded his invisible audience, that for a full year, from June, 1940, until June, 1941, "Canada, next to Britain, was the strongest power actually at war with Nazi Germany." And it is not to be supposed, despite facts which are common knowledge, that critics of the Prime Minister and his government will take into account the obstacles which a vacillating cabinet in London placed in the way of this Dominion's quick conversion from a peacetime to a wartime economy. When the full story comes to be written of the long-drawn-out negotiations of the winter months of 1939-1940 we shall probably marvel that Canadian munitions production got under way as quickly and efficiently as it did. Even after the launching of the great Empire Air Training Scheme some newspapers and not a few public men could not resist the temptation to twist the truth out of all recognition. In this and other respects, however, many opinions have undergone substantial change through the pressure of actual accomplishment. The Prime Minister's address was an accounting of which Canada may well be proud.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Phoenix D 43424

Date Sept. 12/42

Subject

A Fair and Just Appreciation

Of all the speeches which the Prime Minister has delivered in the course of the war, and will no doubt have occasion to deliver in the coming years, or however long it is going to take to wind up the business, it seems fair to say that his address of Thursday was one of the happiest. It was an address which the Canadian people may well approve and, moreover, it is one which should give to people elsewhere who are not as well informed of Canada's part in the war as they should be, a fair and just appreciation of just what this country has done in the past three years. If those portions of it which seem more designed for consumption outside the borders of this country can be ascribed to the influence of the new head of the Wartime Information Board, this can be put down as his first credit.

The speech on the whole may well offer an answer, which may or may not be accepted, to those critics of this country's war effort who have been decrying it, taking every opportunity to put the worst construction on the part their country has played. The value of Canada's contribution to the defences of Britain both from a military and an economic standpoint were put in a manner which quite possibly many Canadians had not visualized before. It has, however, never been put forward in just such terms so that the critics may have a little bit of an alibi.

The lead which Canada has given to the nations of this hemisphere, one of the parts which this country has played in the war, is another angle which may have escaped the notice of people of this country as well as of the countries to the south, and, of course, the facts and figures of just what has been done here, while familiar enough to Canadians, were well worth stressing for the information of outsiders.

The Prime Minister is always forceful when dealing with the spiritual side of this conflict and his quotation from Audrey Brown, which deals with the power of evil and his emphasis on the nature of the struggle, its worldwide scope, and its fearful implications, were all in Mr. King's best manner.

As was pointed out in these columns a couple of days ago, no one will say that Canada has done all that it might have accomplished in the past three years, but considering its position and the sentiments of a very large part of its people, in the summer of 1939, it has performed what would have been considered then as a miracle, and today is something of which its people can well be proud, if not wholly content. Mr. King did well to draw attention of the world to these facts.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Sept. 12/42.

Subject

D 43425

Ni gogos ni cruches, mais CANADIENS

Dans sa revue de nos trois années de guerre, l'hon. M. King a fort justement démontré que le Canada n'a pas à rougir de sa collaboration à l'effort des Nations unies pour faire échec aux ambitions effrénées du Fuhrer. Le Premier Ministre a regretté que l'ampleur de notre effort soit méconnue à l'étranger.

D'autre part, le Ministre de l'Air regrette lui aussi que la participation de l'aviation canadienne aux nombreuses et fructueuses opérations aériennes alliées soit confondue avec celle de la Royal Air Force. Et M. Power veut la canadianisation de notre aviation. Il veut que l'on reconnaisse comme corps distinct, notre force de l'air. Voilà pourquoi, depuis deux jours, les exploits de nos aviateurs sont publiés dans un communiqué spécial.

Les Canadiens qui sont plus anglais ou plus impérialistes que canadiens, acceptent mal la politique de l'hon. Power. Par contre, le maréchal de l'Air Edwards partage entièrement les vues de notre ministre. Dans une déclaration récente, le chef de l'aviation militaire canadienne en Angleterre affirmait à Londres :

"Certaines gens profèrent un tas de stupidités crevantes à ce sujet, alléguant que l'on veut diviser l'Empire". Et comme on lui demandait quels sont les hommes ou les journaux qu'il visait, le maréchal de l'Air nomma les propriétaires de la "Gazette" et du "Globe & Mail". Il ajouta : *"Si les Canadiens veulent voir les choses de cette façon et être des cruches tout le temps de leur vie, c'est leur affaire. Mais le fondement même du moral en pareille matière repose sur le respect de l'identité de chacun... L'aviation américaine a gardé son identité; ça ne l'empêche pas d'accomplir de l'excellente besogne. La canadianisation de notre aviation n'exclut pas la collaboration étroite et efficace... avec la R.A.F. et l'aviation américaine".*

Que de telles vérités soient dites à des Canadiens de langue anglaise qui RECLAMENT un effort de guerre total, par des Canadiens de langue anglaise qui PRATIQUENT l'effort total sur le front des opérations militaires, voilà qui ne manque pas de piquant.

La verte riposte du maréchal de l'Air aux organes des "deux-cents", réjouira tous ceux qui apprécient notre participation non seulement à son ampleur, mais surtout à son efficacité, à son ordonnance. Elle plaira encore davantage à ceux qui estiment que, dans la présente lutte, le Canada doit se battre pour son compte, dans son intérêt, pour assurer sa liberté et celle des Nations unies, et non pour des fins impérialistes, comme le rappelait M. King avant-hier.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Nous ne croyons pas que l'hon. M. Power soit sans aucun reproche. Cependant, nous croyons devoir le féliciter de sa politique de canadianisation de notre force aérienne. Plus les Canadiens auront la conviction de se battre pour le compte de leur pays, plus ils auront d'élan et de courage. Toute mesure qui démontre que le Canada n'est plus une colonie, mais un pays indépendant dans le Commonwealth britannique, est une mesure salutaire. L'unité nationale sera bien plus facile quand tous les Canadiens penseront "canadien d'abord". Suivons le conseil du maréchal Edwards; cessons d'être des gogos ou des cruches.

Louis-Philippe ROY

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Louis-Philippe ROY

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Sept. 12/42

Subject

A Deserved Tribute

In his broadcast Thursday evening Prime Minister King paid a well-deserved tribute to the peoples of the occupied countries for the resistance they made against the Nazi hordes who stormed across their borders in undeclared and unprovoked war.

The peoples of those countries have not been given the credit that is their due. Partly because they could not resist successfully, nor even resist very long, and partly because the rush of events has kept world attention directed elsewhere.

But what the Poles, the French, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Greeks, the Yugoslavs, the Czechs did must not be forgotten. They dared to fight when there could be little or no hope of defending themselves; and by so doing they gained some time for the more powerful nations now ranged against the Axis to get their armies mobilized and their war factories running.

When the day of settlement comes these "little" peoples must get full justice, including the punishment of those responsible for the outrages they have suffered, and what compensation it may be possible to make. Meanwhile "We who are still free" owe them grateful remembrance, full recognition for the heroism they displayed, and anything we can do to alleviate the miseries of their captivity.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N.Y. Times

Date Sept. 12/42

Subject

D 43407-1

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT HAILED AS FOREMOST

Premier King Asserts Dominion Leads the New World

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Sept. 11—With 500,000 volunteers in active service in the three armed forces, Canada has more men engaged in this war than served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the last war, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King declared in a radio speech observing the third anniversary of Canada's declaration of war.

On the economic front Canada also has led the way among the nations of the New World, the Prime Minister said.

"We have been first in the field of supply as arsenal, granary and shipyard," he declared. "We have been foremost in war taxation and finance, in the conservation of raw materials, in efforts to prevent profiteering and inflation, in the control of the cost of living and in the overall employment of manpower."

Recording the achievements of the last three years, Mr. King placed first the decision to fight.

"We were the first to see the real issue," he said, "and we were the first nation of the New World to support and strengthen Britain when she stood alone. Canada's faith in Britian never wavered for a moment and she gave proof of that faith in action."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse .

Date Sept. 11' 42.

Subject

RECORD MAGNIFIQUE

Le premier ministre, le très honorable Mackenzie King, était mieux que personne en mesure de brosser un tableau exact et authentique de l'effort du Canada pendant les trois premières années de la présente guerre. On peut dire que le chef du gouvernement a eu une expérience personnelle des différentes initiatives prises pendant cette période, tant il s'y est intéressé, tant il a voulu voir à tout. Ce record magnifique est donc celui de M. King en même temps que celui du peuple canadien. Nous pouvons tous en être fiers.

Peu de gens, y compris les cercles officiels, savaient que le Canada a joué un rôle essentiel dans la résistance de la Grandé-Bretagne au lendemain et pendant l'année qui a suivi la chute de la France. Pour réparer les pertes énormes d'armements et de munitions subies dans cette circonstance, notre Dominion a envoyé ses troupes, ses navires, ses vivres, etc., afin d'aider à la défense du sol anglais. D'autres alliés sont venus depuis, mais le Canada était pratiquement seul aux côtés de l'Angleterre pendant ces mois critiques.

On sait à quel rythme et dans quelles proportions l'effort de guerre canadien n'a cessé de se développer. M. King a cité des chiffres. Notre armée outre-mer comprendra à la fin de l'année actuelle deux corps complets; nous avons une flotte de 400 navires servie par un personnel de 40,000 hommes; nos aviateurs se signalent sur tous les champs de bataille et ils auront sous peu leurs unités particulières. D'autre part, la production de guerre augmente à travers le pas, synchronisée avec celle de nos voisins des Etats-Unis.

Bref, après avoir entendu le discours du premier ministre, le Canada a conscience de n'avoir rien omis jusqu'ici pour assurer le triomphe des Nations-Unies. Dès le commencement des hostilités, il s'est lancé dans la mêlée de tout son coeur et avec toutes ses ressources. Il n'a pas changé de sentiment aujourd'hui; il est plus déterminé que jamais à vaincre les peuples qui menacent ses libertés et sa survivance elle-même.

M. King l'a rappelé à la fin de son discours : la guerre a d'abord été une guerre d'agression où, successivement, des pays amis sont tombés sous la domination de l'Axe, et, pour les autres, où ils luttaient pour leur existence nationale. La guerre sera désormais une guerre de libération et il appartient aux Nations-Unies de la faire telle. Le record du Canada jusqu'ici indique assez ce qu'il se propose d'entreprendre à l'avenir.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Canada.

Date Sept. 11/42.

Subject

Anniversaire de guerre

C'est une revue merveilleusement complète du Canada en guerre que le premier ministre, l'hon. M. Mackenzie King, a faite hier soir à la nation canadienne. Pas un seul élément ne lui a échappé, depuis les ressorts les plus secrets de l'âme populaire devant le plus grand péril que le monde civilisé ait connu depuis l'invasion de l'Empire romain par les barbares, jusqu'aux détails de notre organisation militaire, navale, industrielle et financière.

Certains critiques ont répété en toute occasion que "la publicité autour de notre effort de guerre est mal faite." On aurait toujours pu leur répondre qu'une nation en guerre n'est pas un boxeur professionnel et qu'elle peut se passer d'écrivains payés à tant la ligne pour faire sa réclame. Quoi qu'il en soit, nos voisins américains n'ont plus le droit d'ignorer, après l'allocution d'hier soir, l'ampleur de l'effort que nous avons fourni *sur tous les théâtres de guerre*, sur terre, sur mer, dans le ciel, à l'usine et au champ, depuis le jour fatidique du 10 septembre 1939 où nous avons uni notre sort à celui des ennemis irréductibles de la Bête fasciste.

Il fut une année — depuis la chute de la France en juin 1940 jusqu'à l'invasion de l'U.R.S.S. en juin 1941 — où le Canada fut la plus grande puissance après le Royaume-Uni, à opposer sa volonté de résistance au nazisme conquérant. C'était la lutte de David contre Goliath, mais à aucun moment il n'y eut un seul Canadien digne de ce nom pour parler d'abandonner la lutte.

Aujourd'hui, nous sommes, après trois ans de guerre, 29 Nations Unies, dont de très grandes puissances comme les Etats-Unis et l'U.R.S.S., et nous sommes indivisiblement unies par notre volonté de victoire.

Certains de nos alliés ont succombé à différentes phases de la lutte, mais comme l'a souligné hier soir M. King, c'est en prolongeant la résistance que ces malheureux peuples nous ont permis de gagner du temps et de préparer — avec, aujourd'hui, nos grands amis les Américains — la victoire de demain qui sera commune à tous les peuples qui haïssent le nazisme. Et ce jour-là, ce sera le triomphe de l'esprit de liberté humaine sur celui de l'antique esclavage. Ce jour-là, les Canadiens pourront se glorifier, comme l'a dit hier soir M. King, d'avoir "soustrait l'âme du monde aux puissances de ténèbres."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star.

Date Sept. 11/42

Subject

43430
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LOOKING BACKWARD

IN the course of a broadcast address last night in which he set forth in clear and compelling manner the main features of Canada's war effort, Premier Mackenzie King did a good public service. Due largely to a consistent campaign of deliberate belittlement, the actual achievements of this country have been widely misrepresented and misunderstood. It was therefore not only most timely but indeed important that the Premier of Canada should seize the opportunity presented by the third anniversary of Canada's entry into the war to set forth in concise terms that could easily be grasped the main features of Canada's share in the war to date.

Mr. King discharged this task forcefully and adequately. He reminded the Canadian people of a fact which few of them, perhaps, have ever troubled to think over—that Canada was the first country in the Western Hemisphere to grasp the significance of the real issue and to decide to fight, the first to support and strengthen Britain when the latter "stood alone between North America and a Nazi attack on this continent," and actually the strongest Power next to Britain at war with Germany for a full year from June, 1940, to June, 1941.

He told simply and graphically how this Dominion had denuded itself of much-needed protection, both of ships and air squadrons, and all small arms and munitions in order to strengthen Britain. He showed how Canadian military forces had been distributed from Iceland to the West Indies; how our airmen had been sent all over the world. He summed up this effort of the Services graphically as follows: "In three years of this war, without counting part-time service at all, more men are serving or have served in the Navy, Army and Air Forces of Canada than the total number who served both voluntarily and compulsorily in the whole of the last war."

No Canadian can but take a deeper pride in his country and his citizenship when he recalls, in Mr. Mackenzie King's dramatic phrase, that "for more than a year Canada was the keeper of the western approaches to the northern bridge of islands between North America and Europe." And that pride must be strengthened when we think of what our thousands of airmen have done, and of the simply amazing creation of a new navy that is now playing an all-important part in safeguarding the ocean lanes for the Allied Nations.

All Canada will heartily endorse the Premier's tribute "to the splendid and growing part which women are taking in the achievement of an all-out Canadian effort." The Canadian public has not yet come to anything like a full realization of the extent and the diversity of the duties which Canadian women are now discharging in Canada's war effort.

There was no boastfulness or vainglory in Mr. Mackenzie King's statement from beginning to end. It was a lucid, restrained statement of facts, and as such it cannot have failed to impress all who heard it with a clear conception of what Canada is doing and a realization of the magnitude of the responsibilities she has undertaken and the thoroughness and determination with which she is discharging them.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication Kingston Whig-Standard

Date Sept. 11/42

Subject

Mr. Mackenzie King on the War

Every Canadian who listened to Mr. Mackenzie King's coast to coast broadcast last evening, must have thrilled with pride as the Prime Minister told of the part Canada has played in the world war on the side of the allied nations since war broke out three years ago.

It was fitting that Mr. King should remind the Canadian people at this time of the contribution which this country has made and is still making towards the success of the Allied cause. In certain quarters there has been far too much careless talk about Canada's lack of war effort, and attempts have been made by those who are ill-informed, and who seem to think it necessary to belittle the government of the day on every possible occasion, to create the impression that this country has not been doing its share.

The people of Canada all know how busy the Prime Minister and the other ministers are in these hectic days. For that reason they have been tolerant of the failure of the members of the government to keep them better informed on the work which Canada is doing. We hope that from now on more frequent statements will be made by those in authority. We all grow a little tired of the pronouncements of bureaucrats and their subordinates, even while we humbly and without protest obey them. The address of enlightenment by the Prime Minister on the excellent contribution Canada is making came as a refreshing change.

It is pleasing to be reminded by Mr. Mackenzie King that we have been right in the war from the very first and that today we as a Dominion are doing a job of which we can all well feel proud. It must be an inspiration to every one to learn that today Canada has half a million volunteers on active service in the three armed forces in all parts of the world, and that another 40,000 are on service in Canada for the duration of the war. It is pleasing, also, if somewhat of a surprise, to learn that Canada has more men serving in the armed services now than served during the whole of the Great War. It was especially gratifying to the people of Kingston to be told that the navy over which the member for Kingston presides has today 400 ships and 40,000 men engaged in fighting the common enemy.

Here in Canada we need more addresses such as that delivered by Mr. King over the air last night. It helps our morale to be told just exactly what we are doing as a nation to help in this struggle, and it is particularly gratifying to be reminded that Canada's contribution has recently been publicly recognized by both Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty and Prime Minister Churchill.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 43432

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript.

Date Sept. 12/42

Subject

CANADA'S WAR RECORD

Justifiable pride in Canada's achievements since the war began was shown by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his review of the three years which have elapsed since this nation declared war on Germany. Canada, he pointed out, was the first in the New World to realize the gravity of the situation and the first to go to the aid of Britain in the struggle which stood this continent and invasion by the aggressors.

With that realization clear, the Dominion had proceeded to do and give everything in its power to help assure victory, and Mr. King quoted Churchill's statement that Britain could not have stood alone without Canada's aid. There were many matters in which Canada could claim first place among the nations of the New Yorld in its contributions to the war effort. The record is one which Canadians can regard with sincere pride. It is an incentive to still greater efforts.

Even those who have followed closely the story of Canada's war activities as it has been unfolded would find the summary of the achievements as they were presented by the Prime Minister deeply impressive, for probably few have comprehended fully the magnitude of what this Dominion has done.

There was no complacence in Mr. King's recital. He gravely warned of the danger that still exists and of the need for greater concentration of our resources, human and material, on the task of winning the war. The Axis Powers, he warned, still believe that they can achieve world domination, and nothing that Canada can do is too much to be done to help avert that catastrophe.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Patriot. D 46433

Date Sept. 11/42

Subject

CAUSE FOR PRIDE

All of us like to be proud of our country. But many of us are honest enough and realistic enough to want something to be proud of, some reason to express our pride in words or deeds. And there are times when propaganda of various kinds tends to make us feel that our country hasn't done so much to be proud of. Next time you feel that tendency creeping up on you, recall the words of Prime Minister Churchill when he told the world that the war would have been lost long ago if it had not been for Canada's help.

Churchill didn't say so in as many words, but in effect that is exactly what he said. As Prime Minister King recalled last night, Churchill told the world in 1931 that without Canada's war effort the resistance of the British Empire could not have been maintained.

Mr. King gave many other reasons why Canadians could be proud but no other, perhaps, strikes home with such effect as this one.

Incidentally the Americans who listened in on the speech will get the idea that we were in there fighting, and providing indispensable cooperation to our Allies, when the United States was still neutral.

We're not attempting to throw any slurs at the Americans but they have been asking for information on what Canada has done, and is doing. We're glad that our Prime Minister has told them so forcibly.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
September 8, 1942

D 43434

CONCLUSION

A word in conclusion as to what remains to be done. The war began and has continued as a war of aggression. As the forces of aggression have succeeded in trampling under foot the peoples of Europe and of Asia, it has become for other nations a war for the preservation of freedom. Increasingly it has become a war of survival. It remains for the United Nations to make it a war of liberation.

Speaking to members of the government here in Ottawa, a few days ago, and in the presence of the Minister of the Chinese Republic, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, said that if it had not been for the long continued resistance of the Chinese, there is little doubt that, in all probability, New Zealand and Australia would have suffered, at the hands of the Japanese, the fate of the Dutch and the British Colonial possessions in the Far East. Who will say that but for Russian resistance, ~~the~~ or not fate of all Europe ~~would not have been settled today, or that~~ but for the heroic resistance of Britain in the Autumn of 1940, ~~it~~ would not have been settled ere Russia herself was attacked.

Three years of the war has revealed to the world the might of the Axis powers. It has also revealed their plans of world conquest. Germany was to strike first; Italy next, and finally, Japan. In each case, attack was unprovoked. It came like a bolt from the blue. The forces of tyranny have

D 43435

sought to encircle the globe. Having effected and consolidated their conquests in the Old World, they planned, as they are seeking by their U-boats today, to press in upon the New. If we, on this continent, have thus far escaped invasion, either by Japanese forces from across the Pacific, or by German forces from across the Atlantic, it is to the resistance of aggression by other nations which, happily, we have been able to support rather than by any inherent strength of our own, that we owe the security which we still enjoy.

To the countries of Europe and of Asia which have been over-powered or over-run, much of their resistance may appear to them to have been in vain. The truth, however, is wholly the reverse. Not one of them that has resisted the foe, at however great or small a cost, but has stayed somewhat his onward march and will yet, I believe, be seen to have contributed something to his ultimate defeat. Each has helped to afford the element of time so imperative to the mobilization of the men and resources of the countries still possessing and cherishing their freedom. To them, it is we owe the preservation of the liberties we still enjoy. To them, we also owe their future liberation.

Typed by Russell

D 43436

Some Reflections Upon
Entering the Fourth Year of War

Notes for broadcast:

-- the things that have been prevented are quite as important as those that have been accomplished.

e.g. no friction between Britain-Canada; Canada-U.S; civil-military authorities

-- services of Canada's High Commissioner in London
closer means of communication with Dominions;
with United Nations; Empire relations; international relations harmonious

-- shortcoming has been to "hide our light under a bushel"
understatement, rather than over-statement
nothing to take back

-- much, of necessity has been left unsaid and cannot be said until the war is over. e.g. being blamed for not having certain munitions and supplies. Could not tell at the time that we had emptied our stores and bared our coasts to give all that we had at critical moment

-- comparision of present position Canada and U.S. --
total numbers..... preset position with last war

-- people now come to see this is not Britain's war but the defence of our own freedom; that we have not been attacked or invaded;
if so, it is because of the lives that have been sacrificed in the old world -- Russia, China, Africa -- dictator's preparations for complete world conquest

-- criticism of government - that of government not going fast enough
have kept an honourable position re conscription
and have been vindicated by the numbers that have gone over up to present (would Quebec use this as argument for no need to consider conscription now?)

-- set forth all statements made by McNaughton as Commander-in-Chief of Canadian forces

-- note process of gradualness; really a social revolution;
methods of living; women now in army, factories, etc.

D 43437

-- Canada's leadership
in war from start
have developed practical measures which have since been adopted by U.S.
Ogdensburg Agreement -- something similar between U.S. and South America, Mexico (?)
price ceiling ~~spree~~
friendly relations -- note Americans constructing roads through Canada

-- Canada not attacked or invaded because of protection of other countries
should show gratitude by readiness to make every sacrifice to back up Allies, own forces abroad

-- contributions on land, sea and air
airmen in British squadrons
incident of Canadian bomber crew picked at random from R.A.F.; trip to Canada after routine bombing of Germany; 30 times over enemy territory; average age 21
Hong Kong incident
Dieppe incident

-- no sabotaging
Japanese problem met successfully

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70		"Comrades in Arms", (United Services Feature Broadcast), Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Oct. 1942	D 43467 - D 43477	
70		Broadcast to Australia, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Oct. 1942	D 43478 - D 43496	
71		Labour and the War, American Federation of Labour, Convention, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	9 Oct. 1942	D 43497 - D 43738	
71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

JAG/
18 Sept 1942

D 43438

Government Dinner for
Rt. Hon. Clement ATTLEE, P.C.,M.P.
September 25, 1942.

Warm welcome to Mr Attlee

on his second visit to Canada within a year

(last visit to Ottawa, Nov. 1941 - after attending I.L.O. Conference in New York;

many will recall Mr. Attlee's moving address to joint meeting of Canadian Club & Rotary Club

- at that time he remarked it was over 30 years since he had last been in North America)

very glad he has found it possible to come on to Ottawa after important conversations in NEWFOUNDLAND.

SSSSS

At time of last visit, Mr ATTLEE held the Cabinet office of

LORD PRIVY SEAL

- in this capacity undertook <u>leadership in House of Commons</u>

- relieved the Prime Minister of many onerous responsibilities and acted as chief government spokesman in Mr Churchill's absence

- difficult to overestimate the importance of the conduct of Parliamentary business in wartime -

(U K House of Commons has many more members; questions extend to every aspect of the war effort; House is a real sounding board for the nation's effort.

(Mr. Attlee is himself the staunchest of Parliamentarians, and as during the war he has served both as Leader of the Opposition and as a Minister of the Crown his views carry a particular weight).

More recently (February, 1942)

Mr. ATTLEE has moved across to "the other side of Downing Street"

now is 1) Secretary of State for the DOMINIONS
2) Deputy Prime Minister
also 3) Member of the War Committee

ooooo

Increasing tempo of the WAR has given a special importance to Dominions Office as

a channel of communication to many departments of the U.K. Govt

a source of information on developments throughout the world.

Have spoken previously of the importance of constant communication and consultation -

scarcely a day goes by without some matter of importance arising

Mr Attlee has from his own knowledge of Canada's war effort, of which he has spoekn highly on many occasions, been

able to give personal and most careful attention to problems in which Canada has an interest.

Since his last visit there have been further developments of importance on our home front, about which he will doubtless wish to take back a first-hand report to Britain:

mention only a few

the greatly expanded air training plan (agreed upon at Ottawa Air Training Conference last May);

raising of two new divisions (7 and 8) for the defence of Canada

intensified training for 4th Armored Division and 2nd Army Tank Brigade - both formations expected to be on active service in Britain by the end of this year

greatly increased output of ships - merchant ships to carry food and weapons to the United Nations;
ships of war to protect convoys and vital shipping routes

FOOD for Britain on a scale never before reached.

eeeee

D 43440

Add a personal word of appreciation for the message sent by Mr Attlee after DIEPPE - my colleagues and myself much touched by his thought of Canada.

Government Luncheon, September 28,
at the Country Club
in honour of
The Rt. Hon. Clement R. Attlee

D 43441

Party -

Mr. Attlee
Mr. Jenkins
Mr. Clutterbuck
Mr. Garner

Attlee's present position

his present visit to Ottawa
previous visit

Thanks for broadcast

H. of C. opens tomorrow -
arduous duties

Welcome to Mr. Attlee - His own career

foremost world statesman of today;
career and example and inspiration
to other men;
great citizen - public service;
Oxford - law; Secretary Toynbee Hall
tutor, lecturer London School
of Economics;
Service in European war;
M.P. for twenty years;
Private secretary; Under Secretary;
Member of important commissions
Leader of Labour Party
" " Opposition
Deputy leader of H. of C.

D 43442

Holding different portfolios:
Postmaster General
Lord Privy Seal

Leader of H. of C.

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
and Deputy Prime Minister.

Very difficult position:
act for Mr. Churchill

Authpr of several books

My own sympathy and understanding of Mr. Attlee's career.

Mr. Attlee's career illustrative of tpandition through which world is passing.

From emphasis on position and property to one on social service.

Attlee's first services:
to individuals
to communities
and social settlements

Alderman and Mayor

To State:
as Minister of the Crown

To World:
global war - War Committee.

D 43443

Wish for him may serve shaping of New Order of the peace.

Has consented to speak on National Selective Service, control of cost of living, methods applied, etc.

Take back to Mr. Churchill and colleagues warmest of greetings

assurances of Canada's continuance at Britain's side to the end.

D 43444

Government Dinner for
Rt. Hon. Clement ATTLEE, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Great Britain
Country Club, Ottawa, November 17, 1945

6

Warm welcome to Mr. Attlee on his 3rd visit to Ottawa since 1941

(1941: after ILO Conference, New York;
1942: " conversations in Newfoundland)

Welcome him as Prime Minister of G.B. at a moment when responsibilities of that office have a special importance -

the war has been won
the peace has to be built

the tremendous forces which scientific knowledge and industrial progress have made possible

now have to be harnessed so that they do not menace the peace and freedom which the United Nations have now won

they can be made to contribute to the general welfare and the uplifting of a sorely-tried humanity

Mr. Attlee's two previous visits under WAR conditions -

he then held important offices in U.K.

D 43445

Government
(share in important decisions
relating to winning of the war)

1941 - Lord Privy Seal (Leader in H of C
1942 - Secretary of State for
Dominion Affairs

(own close association with
him in this office)

also Deputy Prime Minister
and Member of War Cabinet

(continued as member of U.K.Government
until June, 1945);

In General Election, 1945 (July)
returned at head of Labour Administration
and sworn in as Prime Minister.

During 1945

important part in international
conferences

SAN FRANCISCO (United Kingdom delegation
to United Nations Conference on
International Organisation) -

(own association with him there,
renewing discussions last had
with him in London in 1944)

POTSDAM (July-August, 1945)
accompanied Mr. Churchill when this
meeting opened;
returned after general election to
conclude proceedings

WASHINGTON (November)
discussions on the future of atc
energy and other matters

Gatheringtonight an interesting demonstration and a tribute to
of

D 43446

the strength of our Parliamentary institutions

here present, members of Government of Canada

leader of opposition and
members of other groups in the H of C;

representatives of the people who have shared in the planning and direction of the war effort of Canada

now devoting thought and effort to the tasks of reconstruction and the constructive side of peace-making and peace-keeping.

also present are

the official representatives in Ottawa of the nations of the British Commonwealth

the "parliamentary" link is a strong one in all these nations -

a common model for governmental machinery

adapted to the needs and customs of each separate part

Our chief guest (Mr. Attlee) is himself a distinguished Parliamentarian -

both as Leader of the Opposition and as Minister of the Crown

has had a lengthy experience

This experience was never more valuable,

the more so because, in Mr. Attlee's case, it reflects

a constant concern for social welfare

a highly-developed appreciation of the place of the SOCIAL services in the business of government today.

(In Mr. Attlee's own career, in addition to legal training which was his profession, he served as Secretary of Toynbee Hall, tutor and lecturer in social science at London School of Economics

member of the Fabian Society for nearly 40 years

served in local government and on various government commissions before entering Parliament in 1922.

6

The Government which he now heads is faced with tremendous responsibilities -

at home - demobilization
housing and re-building of war-damaged cities
industry for export trade

abroad - the organization of peace
the welfare of dependent peoples
working towards self-govt
expanding commerce upon wh[ich]
the livelihood of Br[itain]
depends

D 43447

Mr. Attlee needs no added assurance

of the interest which Canada has in the upbuilding of Britain

the heavy load which Britain shouldered through nearly 6 years of war

the physical dangers which beset her whole peopulation, and which were faced with courage and resolution throughout

the calm temper and sober realism with which Britain now is tackling the greatest peacetime responsibilities in her history

all of these have aroused the admiration of Canada, and will continue to command the sympathetic understanding of all thinking Canadians.

Would like Mr. Attlee to know that as he returns to London after mementous discussions with the President of the United States

he carries with him the united good wishes of my colleagues in the Govt and myself, the Parliament of Canada, and the people as a whole.

D 43448

MR. ATTLEE'S VISIT

lwp-

D 43454

Points which might be mentioned either in Parliament or at the dinner.

1. Mr. Attlee was a soldier with a fine record of service in the first great war. He knows the horrors of war at first hand. He has also a good practical knowledge of military matters.

2. Mr. Attlee's connection with social settlement work imbued him with an abiding determination to work increasingly for human welfare and social progress. Whatever may be our differences as to the methods to be pursued, our aims are the same.

3. Mr. Attlee has always been an internationalist, in the best sense of that term. He has kept before him at all times the realization that "Over all nations is humanity."

Robertson draft

D 43455

Introduction of Rt. Hon. Clement Attlee, P.C. M.P.

Joint Session of the Senate

and the House of Commons.

November 19, 1945.

Mr. Speaker, honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I have the honour this afternoon to welcome the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Clement Attlee. We have welcomed Mr. Attlee to the country and to this city on previous occasions, but we have now an added pleasure in doing so, since our welcome extends to him, not only in his person, but as leader of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. We are very glad that he has been able to visit Canada at this time and especially grateful that he has felt able, while in our capital, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

It was almost four years ago, Mr. Speaker, in one of the darkest periods of the war, that we welcomed to this House Mr. Attlee's predecessor, the Right Honourable

Winston Churchill. Since that time the evil forces that were intent on the destruction of civilization have themselves been destroyed. We have emerged from the darkness of that time, but not yet into the full light, and it is Mr. Attlee's task as the head of the government of one of the great powers in the world to-day to lead in the solution of the great problems before us. We have yet to restore and make safe a civilization that has been shaken to its foundation. The world needs leadership as it has never needed it before - leadership, and understanding and goodwill - and I think I can speak for all members here assembled, and for the people of Canada, in saying that we have the utmost confidence in the contribution that Mr. Attlee will make in this difficult period.

More than six years ago in these Houses of Parliament we made our decision to stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. We knew that stand to be right then, and it is clear to all the world now that but for the determined fight of Britain and the other nations of the British Commonwealth, there might have been no United

D 43457

Nations, no victory, and no freedom. With our warm affection and admiration for Britain, we are proud of the stand she made, and we are proud to have been associated with her throughout this vast struggle. The Commonwealth does not stand alone now. The free and peaceful nations of the earth are united in the determination to mould a new and better world, and we are convinced that Britain, under the leadership of our honoured guest of to-day will contribute as mightily in that effort as she did in the struggle now ended.

Mr. Attlee, the people of Canada know that the hope of the world depends no less upon what we do now, than upon what we have done. The peace is not yet won, and the leaders of to-day have an onerous task in achieving that victory. We, in Canada, confident in your vision and wisdom, wish you divine guidance in the great tasks that are yours.

JWP D 43458

INTRODUCTION OF MR. ATTLEE

Alternative Opening Paragraphs

It affords me great pleasure on my return to Parliament after an absence of seven weeks, to be accompanied by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honourable Clement Attlee. Mr. Attlee and I have come from a week of almost continous conversations with the President of the United States. This is not the occasion to report upon our discussions, but it is no secret that they have related to a problem fraught with most momentous consequence not only for our three nations, but for the whole of humanity. The use of atomic energy is capable either of destroying mankind or of adding vastly to man's happiness. There is no greater problem of statesmanship today than the decision as to its use and control. The government of Canada has been deeply conscious of the heavy responsibility we are sharing with our greater partners, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Before returning to this continent I had an opportunity of seeing at first hand something of conditions in post war Britain and of discussion with Mr. Attlee and his colleagues some of the very difficult problems, both domestic and international, with which the British government is confronted. In the light of that experience

D 43459

I am more greateful than ever that Mr. Attlee should have found it possible to pay a brief visit to Ottawa, where we know him well from previous visits. This time he comes and we welcome him as the newly chosen Prime Minister of his country.

D 43460

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D 43461

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file re

November 19, 1945

D 43462

Canada is much honoured by the presence in our capital today of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Rt. Hon. Clement R. Attlee. When, in the course of my recent visit to England, I learned from Mr. Attlee that he had accepted the invitation of the President of the United States, Mr. Truman, to visit him at Washington, I expressed to Mr. Attlee the hope that he might also find it possible, before his return to Britain, to pay a visit to Ottawa. I was delighted to receive an immediate acceptance of this invitation.

I mentioned to Mr. Attlee our hope that, while in Ottawa, he would be willing to address the members of both Houses of Parliament. This suggestion, he assured me, he would also be pleased to meet. Mr. Attlee is with us this afternoon in fulfiment of his promise. The address is being broadcast to all parts of Canada. and Great Britain

I have already, on behalf of the Canadian people, extended to Mr. Attlee, as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, a very warm welcome to Canada. I should now like, on behalf of the Parliament of Canada, to express to him the great pleasure it affords the members of both Houses to have the honour of meeting him, and of being addressed by him this afternoon.

Perhaps, before I call on Mr. Attlee to speak, he will permit me to say how pleased I am to be again with my fellow members of Parliament after an absence of seven weeks, and especially after the memorable visits I have just made to England and to the United States.

I should like immediately to express to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom my warm appreciation of the many courtesies extended to me by him and by other members of the British government during my sojourn in London. The exceptional opportunities afforded of conference with Mr.Attlee and his colleagues, as well as with members of the Opposition, and with others, enabled me to gain a much wider knowledge of existing conditions in the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe, and of today's world problems. For Britain and for the people of Britain my visit has given me a greater admiration than ever. The courage and determination they displayed throughout the long years of war, have never been surpassed. Their fortitude and endurance in seeking today to overcome the privations caused by the devastation of war, and to meet situations resulting from its horrors, are equally heroic, and evoke feelings of the deepest sympathy and respect.

I should like also to say to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, how much it meant to me, as Prime Minister of Canada, to share with him in the conferences with the President of the United States

President of the United States on atomic energy, and problems which this discovery has presented to the world.

It is too soon to say more than a word of the agreement reached at Washington. I believe the initiative taken by the representatives of the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy to see that the new discovery shall be used for the benefit of mankind, and not as a means of destruction, should go far towards creating conditions of mutual trust which alone can rid the world of its worst fears, and secure for nations an enduring peace. I am more than ever convinced that in the continued close co-operation between nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States, which meant so much to the preservation of the world's freedom at a time of war, will be found the surest guarantee of world security in these post-war years.

I need not remind hon. members of the many causes with which, over the years, Mr. Attlee's life has been identified, nor how outstanding are the contributions he has made to the public life of our day. He has always been an earnest student of social and industrial problems, imbued with an abiding determination to work increasingly for human welfare and social progress. As a soldier in the first Great War he

D 43465

had a fine record of military service. He has been a member of the Labour Party of Britain ~~from its inception~~ for nearly forty years, and its leader for more than ten years. Though still with the promise of many years before him, he has already lived to see fulfilment of some of the great purposes of his life.

Few men have had a comparable political career. Mr. Attlee has been a member of the Parliament of the United Kingdom for twenty-three years. During that time he has held many high offices of state which he administered with ~~great~~ rare ability and the utmost fidelity. As Leader of the Opposition he joined in forming the Coalition, at the greatest crisis of the war. During the period of the Coalition he held, after 1942, the office of Deputy Prime Minister. He combined this difficult position with the continued leadership of his party. He is today head of the administration and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. This is a record of personal achievement, political success and public service which will ever hold exceptionally high and honourable place in the history of ~~Britain~~ British statesmanship.

It has fallen to the lot of few if any statesmen to be faced with greater problems than those by which Mr. Attlee is faced today. In the discharge of his grave responsibilities, I should like to assure the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of the understanding and co-operation of the government of Canada. I am speaking, I know, for all Canadians when I ask Mr. Attlee

D 43466

to take back to the people of Britain the renewed expression of our admiration and affection. With this expression of admiration and affection, I ask him also to carry back the assurance that the people of Canada are united in their resolve to do all they can to help Britain in meeting the pressing needs of her people, realizing not only the magnitude of their sacrifice, but also our own country's interest in the welfare and prosperity of Britain, and indeed, of all nations.

I have much pleasure in calling upon the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable Clement Attlee.

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71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

kef D 43467

"COMRADES IN ARMS."

(UNITED SERVICES FEATURE BROADCAST)

DRAFT OF PROPOSED ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

D 43468

It is now a little more than three years since this war began. Never, in the history of our Dominion, has there been a period of such danger, of such change. We have, in common with our brothers in Britain, and in the other Dominions, and in common with our friends and Allies, suffered many blows and disappointments. We have seen the red tide of fury, unloosed by men of unparalleled wickedness and folly, sweep across one country after another, imposing slavery and degradation of a sort which tells us only too plainly that the age of Barbarism is not yet past, that the Rights of Man have to be worked for and fought for yet again.

But, through all these days of darkness, through the sorrow and bitter disappointment, we have held to our faith and to our principles, and we have lost no opportunity of increasing our fighting strength in materials and men. Neither have Canadians lost any opportunity of hitting back. The great and nobly-earned reputation of the Canadian fighting man - that of hitting hardest where the danger is great, and hitting true when the cause is righteous - has not suffered in this war; nor will it at any time in the future. Of that we may be sure.

To the civilians of Canada, to those who, for one cause or another, must play the waiting game, the working game, rather than the fighting game, I say this: Put your trust in our fighting men. Give them your heart, and your toil. See to it that they lack not the weapons deserved by their courage, that they hold high their courage through their knowledge of your support and trust.

Remember that there is no sacrifice that you can make that can match theirs, no toil harder than that demanded of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, no risk of the frustration of hopes for the future greater than the risk of death itself.

D 43469

To-night, out upon the high seas, our Canadian sailors - the men of that Navy which is one of this war's miracles - are daring all in their endless task of guarding the sea-lanes, and seeking out an enemy whose greatest strength is his ability to hide beneath the waters; our soldiers, flushed with the epic of Dieppe, are impatiently awaiting the striking of the next blow in that long chain of blows which will, please God, end these days of carnage; our airmen, memories of Canadian skies in their hearts, are raining destruction upon the luckless followers of the madman of Munich.

These are truths of which, after the weary months, we may be proud. These are facts which, God willing, herald better times. These are the harbingers of victory. If it has been the lot of the noble and unflinching British, and the gallant unshatterable Russians to hold the great fortresses of Freedom, let us hope fervently that it will be the lot of our Canadian boys to ride forward upon the crests of the furious waves of the turning tide, and to stand firm upon the shore in the day of Victory.

D 43470

Opening Remarks for the United Services Feature Broadcast "Comrades in Arms", by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
October 2, 1942

In three years of war, we in Canada have lived through a period of unparalleled change and of constant danger. We have watched the tide of conquest sweep from country to country, its fury extend from continent to continent. We have seen to what limits barbarity and brutality can extend.

Through all the darkness, disappointment and sorrow of these years, we have held to our principles, and to our faith. Behind our fighting strength there stands today an inflexible resolve to fight, and to keep on fighting, until the enemy has everywhere been hurled back, and his evil might destroyed.

Our confidence in this resolve is strengthened and sustained by today's announcement of 178 awards to Canadians who fought at Dieppe. You will expect me, I am sure, to make special reference to Colonel Merritt, who has been awarded the Victoria Cross, the highest reward for valour in the British Empire. Colonel Merritt would be the first to say that he was but expressing in action the spirit of Canada's fighting forces. They, one and all, have clearly seen the real issue.

During the years of war, our armed forces in the air, and at sea, have been in action in many parts of the world

D 43471

of the world. On land, our army overseas, has continuously guarded the citadel of the world's freedom. Our soldiers have also fought the enemy in Asia as well as in Europe.

From now on we shall all increasingly experience anxious hours of hopes and fears. I ask you, my fellow-Canadians, who are civilians on the home front, to support with all your power, our fighting men and women wherever they serve. I ask you to make sure that no failure of ours denies to them a single need. I ask you to see that no wavering of heart or mind ever robs them of their high courage to endure to the end.

Tonight, out upon the high seas, our Canadian sailors are carrying on their ceaseless tasks. They are seeking out an enemy who lurks beneath the waters. Our soldiers, steeled with stern resolution, are impatiently awaiting the opportunity to inflict a mortal wound upon the enemy on land. Our airmen are destroying his numbers and his resources from the skies of many lands.

These are truths which should fill our hearts with pride. They are among the heralds of victory. Wherever Canadians fight, at sea, on land, and in the air, we salute tonight their calm courage, their firm endurance, and their noble faith. We pledge to them the utmost effort of the whole Canadian people.

For release Saturday papers.

D43472

Opening Remarks for the United Services Feature Broadcast "Comrade in Arms", by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King - October 2, 1942.

In three years of war, we in Canada have lived through a period of unparalleled change and of constant danger. We have watched the tide of conquest sweep from country to country, its fury extend from continent to continent. We have seen to what limits barbarity and brutality can extend.

Through all the darkness, disappointment and sorrow of these years, we have held to our principles, and to our faith. Behind our fighting strength there stands today an inflexible resolve to fight, and to keep on fighting, until the enemy has everywhere been hurled back, and his evil might destroyed.

Our confidence in this resolve is strengthened and sustained by today's announcement of 178 awards to Canadians who fought at Dieppe. You will expect me, I am sure, to make special reference to Colonel Merritt, who has been awarded the Victoria Cross, the highest reward for valour in the British Empire. Colonel Merritt would be the first to say that he was but expressing in action the spirit of Canada's fighting forces. They, one and all, have clearly seen the real issue.

D 43473

During the years of war, our armed forces in the air, and at sea, have been in action in many parts of the world. On land, our army overseas, has continuously guarded the citadel of the world's freedom. Our soldiers have fought the enemy in Asia as well as in Europe.

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For Release Saturday papers

D 43474

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October 2, 1942

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During the years of war, our armed forces in the air, and at sea, have been in action in many parts

D 43475

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date OCT 5 1942

Subject

D 43476

ASKS CIVILIANS DO THEIR BIT FOR WARRIORS

Premier King Foresees More 'Anxious Hours of Hopes and Fears'

Ottawa, Oct. 2 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King tonight appealed to Canadians, "civilians on the home front," to support with all their power "our fighting men and women, wherever they serve."

Mr. King spoke over the national CBC network on the program "Comrades in Arms," which was inaugurated tonight.

The Prime Minister made reference to the award of honors to Dieppe veterans announced today. He said that Lieutenant-Colonel C. Cecil I. Merritt, who was awarded a Victoria Cross, was but expressing in action the spirit of Canada's fighting forces.

He forecast that from now on "we shall all increasingly experience anxious hours of hopes and fears," and he urged Canadians at home to make sure that no failure on their part denied the fighting forces a single need.

Text of Address.

Following is the text of Mr. King's speech:

"In three years of war, we in Canada have lived through a period of unparalleled change and of constant danger. We have watched the tide of conquest sweep from country to country, its fury extend from continent to continent. We have seen to what limits barbarity and brutality can extend.

"Through all the darkness, disappointment and sorrow of these years, we have held our principles, and to our faith. Behind our fighting strength there stands today an inflexible resolve to fight, and to keep on fighting, until the enemy has everywhere been hurled back, and his evil might destroyed.

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Wants No Failures.

"From now on we shall all increasingly experience anxious hours of hopes and fears. I ask you, my fellow-Canadians who are civilians on the home front, to support with all your power our fighting men and women wherever they serve. I ask you to make sure that no failure of ours denies to them a single need. I ask you to see that no wavering of heart or mind ever robs them of their high courage to endure to the end.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date OCT 3 1942

Subject

D 43477

Prime Minister Makes Appeal To Canadian People

Urges Civilians to Support Our Fighting Men and Women to the Utmost.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night appealed to Canadians, "civilians on the home front," to support with all their power "our fighting men and women, wherever they serve."

Mr. King's speech was prepared for delivery over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the program "Comrades in Arms," which was inaugurated last night.

The prime minister spoke briefly and made reference to the award of honors to Dieppe veterans announced yesterday. He said that Lt.-Col. Cecil Merritt of Vancouver, who was awarded a Victoria Cross, was but expressing in action the spirit of Canada's fighting forces.

He forecast that from now on "we shall all increasingly experience anxious hours of hopes and fears," and he urged Canadians at home to make sure that no failure on their part denied the fighting forces a single need.

Text of Speech

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Manpower and Total War Effort, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1942	D 43235 - D 43353	
70		"Three Years of War", Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1942	D 43354 - D 43437	
70		Welcome to Clement Attlee, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Sept. 1942	D 43438 - D 43466	
70		"Comrades in Arms", (United Services Feature Broadcast), Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Oct. 1942	D 43467 - D 43477	
70		Broadcast to Australia, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Oct. 1942	D 43478 - D 43496	
71		Labour and the War, American Federation of Labour, Convention, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	9 Oct. 1942	D 43497 - D 43738	
71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

D 43478

Broadcast to Australia by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada, October 4, 1942

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Rt. Hon. J. Curtin's assumption of the office of Prime Minister of Australia, and in connection with the Commonwealth Loan campaign.

I am greatly pleased to have an opportunity of speaking from Canada to the people of Australia. I am happy that the occasion should coincide with the first anniversary of the assumption of office of your present Prime Minister. I think I know something of the responsibilities of a leader of a government at a time of war. I should like, therefore, to extend to Mr. Curtin my congratulations upon so significant an anniversary.

Your High Commissioner, Sir William Glasgow, has told me that, in Australia, at the present time, a Commonwealth-wide loan campaign is in progress. Within a few days, a similar campaign will be launched in Canada. Here, as in all other aspects of war effort, our two countries, by common methods, are pursuing a common aim.

In each of our countries, the proceeds of these loans will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved. They will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the nations of the British Commonwealth. They will vastly strengthen the total effort of the United Nations.

D 43479

The conflict today encompasses the globe. Every enemy gain prolongs the struggle. Every allied victory brings it nearer to its close. For these reasons, money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

Our war loans are essential, not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership to preserve and to restore human freedom. In that partnership lies the one and only means of crushing the evil forces that threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind. Let us then continue to combine our efforts, in an ever widening circle, knowing full well that everything which free men value and cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war. But let us, above all, be inspired by the belief that for us who are still free, it has been given to further, for our own and future generations, the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

For release Monday papers
(October 5, 1942)

D 43480

Broadcast to Australia by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada - October 4, 1942.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Rt. Hon. J. Curtin's assumption of the office of Prime Minister of Australia and in connection with the Commonwealth Loan campaign.

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For release Monday papers
(October 5, 1942) D 43482

Broadcast to Australia by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada - October 4, 1942.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

For release Monday papers
(October 5, 1942)

D43484

Broadcast to Australia by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada - October 4, 1942.

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D 23486

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For Release Monday papers.

D 134486

Broadcast to Australia by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, October 4, 1942

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broadcast re D 43488

COPY

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA,
OTTAWA.

7th October, 1942.

Dear Mr. Robertson,

We have received this morning from Dr. Evatt, a cable addressed to Mr. Mackenzie King in the following terms:

"Best thanks for your most helpful broadcast".

It would be appreciated if you would convey this message to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Noel Deschamps

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

MR. KING'S RADIO
SPEECH
AUSTRALIAN LOAN
CAMPAIGN - OCT. 4/42

5166/42

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Name of Publication.....

Date..... OCT 5 1942

Subject.....

D 43489

4 PREMIERS SPEAK IN LOAN BROADCAST

Canada, New Zealand, South Africa Aid Australian Fund Campaign

NEW GUINEA SITUATION

Curtin Describes Offensive as Holding Operation Till Allies Ready for Showdown

Sydney, Australia, October 4.—(C.P. Cable)—The Australian offensive in New Guinea in which Japanese have been driven 20 miles back up the trail to Efogi in the Owen Stanley Range was described by Prime Minister John Curtin today as essentially a holding operation.

Demands of other major war fronts for men and material and immense shipping difficulties would necessitate a delay of at least six months, he said, before United Nations forces in the Australian theatre are strengthened sufficiently to launch a large-scale offensive.

The statement was made in an "austerity loan" broadcast in which three other Prime Ministers, W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada, Peter Fraser of New Zealand and Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa congratulated Curtin on completion of his first year in office.

Meanwhile, the Australians with Allied airmen were not doing badly with what they already had in New Guinea.

Army Minister Francis Forde and Air Minister A. S. Drakeford returned from a tour of the front, and Drakeford reported that the Allied forces there are enjoying air superiority for the first time on any land operation in the Pacific area.

The Japenese have been given a real hammering in the skies north of Port Morseby, he said, the effect had been so deadly that Japanese aircraft supplies had been seriously depleted.

Premier King Broadcasts

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date

Subject

4 PREMIERS SPEAK IN LOAN BROADCAST

Canada, New Zealand, South Africa Aid Australian Fund Campaign

NEW GUINEA SITUATION

Curtin Describes Offensive as Holding Operation Till Allies Ready for Showdown

Sydney, Australia, October 4.—(C.P. Cable)—The Australian offensive in New Guinea in which Japanese have been driven 20 miles back up the trail to Efogi in the Owen Stanley Range was described by Prime Minister John Curtin today as essentially a holding operation.

Demands of other major war fronts for men and material and immense shipping difficulties would necessitate a delay of at least six months, he said, before United Nations forces in the Australian theatre are strengthened sufficiently to launch a large-scale offensive.

The statement was made in an "austerity loan" broadcast in which three other Prime Ministers, W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada, Peter Fraser of New Zealand and Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa congratulated Curtin on completion of his first year in office.

Meanwhile, the Australians with Allied airmen were not doing badly with what they already had in New Guinea.

Army Minister Francis Forde and Air Minister A. S. Drakeford returned from a tour of the front, and Drakeford reported that the Allied forces there are enjoying air superiority for the first time on any land operation in the Pacific area.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date OCT 5 1942

Subject D 42490

KING SPEAKS TO AUSTRALIA ON LOAN ISSUE

Cash From Citizens Ensures New World Order After Victory

Ottawa, Oct. 4 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast to Australia today in connection with the Commonwealth's loan campaign, said: "Our war loans are essential, not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order."

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Mentioning the Australian Commonwealth-wide loan campaign, Mr. King said a similar campaign would be launched in Canada in a few days. (The Canadian campaign, which gets under way Oct. 19, is for $750,000,000.)

"In each of our countries, the proceeds of these loans will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved," he added. "They will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the nations of the British Commonwealth. They will vastly strengthen the total effort of the United Nations."

Partnership of free men throughout the world, united to preserve and to restore human freedom, provided the only means "of crushing the evil forces that threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind."

Mr. King concluded his short message by saying: "Let us, above all, be inspired by the belief that for us who are still free, it has been given to further, for our own and future generations, the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date OCT 5 1942

D 45491

Subject

Broadcast Made To Australia By Prime Minister

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast to Australia yesterday in connection with the Commonwealth's loan campaign, said: "Our war loans are essential, not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date OCT 5 1942

D 03492

Subject

Prime Minister Declares War Loans Essential

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast to Australia on Sunday in connection with the Commonwealth's loan campaign, said: "Our war loans are essential, not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order."

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Responsibility of Free Men.

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DRAFT

Broadcast by the Prime Minister in connection with Australian Loan Campaign, Sunday, October 4, 1942

D 43493

I am delighted to have this opportunity of speaking to the people of Australia upon the first anniversary of the assumption of office by your sturdy and forthright Prime Minister, Mr. Curtin. On behalf of my fellow-citizens in Canada, I should like to extend to him congratulations upon this anniversary, and to him and to you all our cordial greetings and best of wishes. We in Canada have learned to understand and admire Mr. Curtin's direct methods and pungent speech. We accept them as typical of the spirit which will carry Australia through the stern trials which lie ahead.

You will shortly be launching a Commonwealth-wide loan campaign. Like those which have preceded it, it is a campaign to help to raise, by a loan from the people of Australia, a part of the gigantic sums which are necessary to pay for the cost of the war.

Here in Canada, since the outbreak of hostilities, we have had three Victory Loans - all of them oversubscribed - and we will shortly undertake a fourth. We have a saying which has become popular throughout Canada during these campaigns. It says, quite simply, "Maximum Thrift is your Minimum Duty". The people of Australia, that sister nation in the British Commonwealth for which the people of Canada have deeprooted affection, will need no urging to make their new loan an outstanding success. They will need no appeal other than the

D 43494

unquenchable appeal which arises from a common spirit of sacrifice and unwavering effort. For in the defence of the freedom which we share and which we cherish,there is no cost we count too great. We realize, as I am sure you realize,that this very freedom is placed in jeopardy by everything for which the enemy stands. In this titanic struggle, can we afford to set limits to our effort? We must believe that every duty, well and faithfully done, is a contribution to victory. Let us, free peoples around the world,crush the enemy with the weight of our pounds and dollars and in so doing give new strength, courage and comfort to our brave sons in the fighting forces.

DRAFT

D 43495

Broadcast by the Prime Minister in connection with Australian Loan Campaign, Sunday, October 4, 1942

I am delighted to have this opportunity of speaking to the people of Australia upon the first anniversary of the assumption of office by your present Prime Minister, Mr. Curtin. On behalf of my fellow-citizens in Canada, I should like to extend to him congratulations upon this anniversary, and to him and to you all our cordial greetings and best of wishes.

You will shortly be launching a Commonwealth wide loan campaign. Like those which have preceded it, it is a campaign to help to raise, by a loan from the people of Australia, a part of the gigantic sums which are necessary to pay for the cost of the w ar.

Here in Canada, since the outbreak of hostilities, we have had three Victory Loans -- all of them oversubscribed -- and we will shortly undertake a fourth. We have a saying which has become popular throughout Canada during these campaigns. It says, quite simply, "Maximum Thrift is your Minimum Duty." As I send these words to you, I am thinking of the probable response to this appeal in our sister nation of the British Commonwealth. The people of Australia will need neither urging nor prompting from me. They will need no appeal other than the unquenchable appeal which arises from a common spirit of sacrifice and unwavering effort.

D 43496

For in the defence of the freedom which we share and which we cherish, there is no cost we count too great. We realize, as I am sure you realize, that this very freedom is placed in jeopardy by everything for which the enemy stands. The maintenance of our free institutions, the preservation of our inherent right to regard ourselves as free peoples, the enhancement of our ideals of free government and democratic progress -- all of these are at stake. In this titanic struggle, can we afford to set limits to our effort? We must believe that every duty, well and faithfully done, is a contribution to victory. Let us, free peoples around the world, ~~press on until that victory is achieved.~~ crush the enemy with the weight of our power and our will ~~and in so doing~~ find new strength, courage and comfort to sustain our ~~him~~ the fighting forces.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
70		Manpower and Total War Effort, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1942	D 43235 - D 43353	
70		"Three Years of War", Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1942	D 43354 - D 43437	
70		Welcome to Clement Attlee, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Sept. 1942	D 43438 - D 43466	
70		"Comrades in Arms", (United Services Feature Broadcast), Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Oct. 1942	D 43467 - D 43477	
70		Broadcast to Australia, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Oct. 1942	D 43478 - D 43496	
71		Labour and the War, American Federation of Labour, Convention, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	9 Oct. 1942	D 43497 - D 43738	
71		"Nothing Matters Now But Victory" Radio Broadcast (Montreal). Speeches outside Parliament	16 Oct. 1942	D 43739 - D 44018	
71		Wings Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Oct. 1942	D 44019 - D 44024	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 71, pages D 43497 - D 44034

D 43497

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

An Address to the American Federation of Labour
1942 Convention

by

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

TORONTO, OCTOBER 9, 1942

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

D 43498

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

An Address to the American Federation of Labour
1942 Convention

by

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

Toronto, October 9, 1942

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

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

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

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

Significance of the War to Labour

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

D 43499

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

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

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

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

Destruction of Freedom by Fear

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

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

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

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

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

D 43500

The Fears to be Overcome

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

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

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

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

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

The Conservation of Human Resources

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

D 43501

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

The Basis of the New Order

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

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

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

The Rights of the Community

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

D 43502

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

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

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

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

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

No Compromise with Evil Forces

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

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

D 43503

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

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

Axis New Order Based on Inequality

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

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

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

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

Significance of Labour in the War

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

43504 D

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

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

The Unknown Warrior and the Unknown Worker

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

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

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

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

D 43505

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

A Vision of the Truly Heroic

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

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

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

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

D 43506

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

The Inner Meaning of the Struggle

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

D43507

JWP/FM
5.10.42

Prime Minister's Speech to the American Federation of Labour.

Suggested Points

1. Labour's contribution to victory

The partnership of the warrior and the worker essential to victory for the common man.

The two keys to victory:

(1) The fighting of the warrior;

(2) The production of the worker.

The elements of production for victory.

(1) In the workshop:

Toil;

Skill;

Harmony and co-operation between workers and management;

Sense of participation in common task;

Pride in achievement.

(2) In the community:

Readiness to accept a share of the burdens of war in reduced standards of living; in freely foregoing ordinary peace-time rights; in whole-hearted participation in community effort; in concentration on the single objective of winning the war.

2. Two sides to victory:

(1) To preserve what humanity has already achieved;

D43508

(2) To re-open the highway to a batter future for the common man.

3. <u>What labour has to lose</u>.

In common with all other groups in society; the whole heritage of civilization:

1. the right to worship God;
2. the right to choose their own government;
3. the right to criticize and to oppose which is bound up in freedom of speech;
4. the sanctity of the family and family life;
5. the right to use leisure in their own way;
6. the right to live under the "<u>rule of law</u>".

All these may be cited as examples of those civilized rights which added together give human life its dignity and significance.

As a group in society, labour has rights of its own, such as:

1. the right to organize;
2. the right to bargain collectively;
3. the right to strive for better conditions and a batter life.

No one would pretend that labour should be satisfied with what has already been achieved; no one would pretend that a perfect society existed before this

D43509

war began; no one would deny that great evils still existed in what we now call the free world.

But take away from the free world all that men have achieved of social progress, as the Nazis have taken it away from the conquered lands, and it might take centuries to reach again the position that had been lost.

4. <u>What labour has to gain from victory</u>.

1. The defeat of the enemy is not enough - we must win the war, but we must also win the peace.
2. No enough to safeguard the achievements of the past, essential to push back the frontiers of freedom for all men of all races, creeds and classes.
3. The frontiers of freedom should be extended until we achieve freedom from fear and freedom from want for all men.
4. Fear is destructive of all freedom;
5. Three great fears:
    1. the fear of war;
    2. the fear of unemployment;
    3. the fear of death through ill-health or old age.
6. No real victory can be achieved until these fears are eliminated for all men. The defeat of our present enemies is only the first step to victory for the common man.

D43510

5. A programme for victory

1. Defeat the enemy.

2. Organize the world on a basis of human equality and human brotherhood.

3. Within each nation, use the lessons of war to end unemployment and to assure to all a steadily rising minimum of social security.

6. The lessons of war applied to the problems of peace

War has taught two lessons:

1. That it is possible to use the resources of the community to secure full employment of its manpower;

2. That the state can co-operate with labour and industry to increase production on a vast scale once agreement is reached on the objective.

Until the war is won, manpower and resources must be devoted to the purposes of war -- there can be only one objective.

When the war is over, the same techniques of co-operation between the state and labour and industry can be used to promote the well-being of the common man.

That well-being must be defined in concrete terms. In other words, there must be agreement about objectives.

Without being final or dogmatic, may I suggest some objectives:

D43511

1. Useful employment for all who are fit for employment.

2. Decent housing for the whole population.

3. Improvement of standards of nutrition.

4. Social insurance against the perils of ill-health and old age.

5. Development of national resources for the benefit of the whole community.

In war, the preservation of the existence of the community must be placed before the interests of individuals or groups.

Here, too, is a lesson for meeting the problems of peace.

By placing the well-being of the whole community before the interests of individuals or groups; by social control in which government, labour and management all share, we can hope to increase the welfare of each and all far beyond what can be achieved for all save a very few by the pursuit of selfish interests.

We have seen, on a world scale, what happens when a small group, drunk with power, seek to dominate their fellow-men. The desolation, destruction and death they have visited on other peoples are coming to be shared increasingly by their own people. In the end it will come to the tyrants themselves.

D 43512

As it is on the world-wide stage, so it is in each national community. The way of privilege, of monopoly, of unrestricted power is the way of desolation, destruction and death.

The road to victory for the common man is the road of equality, of co-operation, of brotherhood among men.

Just as a partnership of the warriors and the workers is essential to victory in war, so is a partnership of workers on the farm, in the forest, in the mine, in the factory and the shop, of workers with hand and with brain, for the common weal, essential to the building of a new society in which the old but threatened freedoms: religious, political and personal, will be joined to the new freedom which will banish fear and want from men.

That is the victory for which we must fight and work. Nothing less can give us the will to bear the burdens, to accept the hardships and to make the effort which are required to place our feet firmly on the highway to a better future at this crossroads of humanity.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
October 6, 1942

D 43513

Notes for A. F. of L. speech

Fighting forces and working forces.

The unknown soldier and the unknown worker.

Two brotherhoods - of fighters and workers.

(See last Labour Day speech.)

(Also see statement re Dieppe)

The unmentioned man and the unknown.

B/Jas

Point out where we would be if war were a stalemate - Labour must remember this war has got to be fought to a finish. If it is not, and comes to a stalemate - if settled only with regard to Europe - then we would be in for a generation of totalitarian living. This continent would be reduced to the same position as all of Europe is in today - nothing but regimentation. Freedom would be gone.

Remember totalitarian business in on both sides - standards of Asia as well as standards of Europe - being imposed under the law of competing standards.

Added danger of war itself which reduces our standards - young people in army - women in industry.

(See Philip Murray's speech).

Re: CONTROLS:

C/Jas

Control where labour would be represented as well as capital.
Bring out as: breaking of old order.
If we are going to have a change, have to get it now.
New order must be on the way.

Central point: recognition of joint control.

(See "The Four Parties to Industry").

Must realize we are passing through a great change.

In war, have to work with old system while trying to get the new.

D 43514

C

Admit frankly we have not got far enough along the road.

One of the great transitions is this joint control and the shaping of policy.

All industry is organized today on old system.

We are fighting a war - cannot change whole system at once.

One of great achievements is we can clearly see there is a beginning.

Where it does exist, it is proving its worth, e.g. national selective service.

(See Wallace's address on "The Common Man")

D/ Jas

Would like to go after propagandists.

Counsel you against demagogues.

<u>Test your friends as you do steel</u> -

Look over their records - see where they stood in the past. See where they stand now. Don't measure them by their words - judge them by their lives.

Labour has to test its friends and not be carried away by demagogues.

Appeal to men and women to recognize what Labour is doing today, and what fighters are doing.

See that when war is on, support is given to those who are saving their lives. Reference to farmers, men in back concessions, etc.

NEW ORDER places emphasis on Social Service rather than on position and property.

One great hope is that social worker is really coming to have a large part in the government.

Relations in Industry and relations in the State are the same. Due to the same causes.

Pm/A

Real test of all progress is elimination of fear.
See notes re

D 43515

Make reference to half slave and half free -- also alternate standards

Vision behind the work -- not merely to be doing things with eyes and hands but behind it always is the vision of how far-reaching everyone's work is

to give the spiritual background -- that is very essential

At the end of the last war men came to honour the unknown soldier. That was only half the story. We will have at the end of this war a monument also to the unknown worker.

The unknown soldier -- the men who have sacrificed their lives will have the first place.

Re FEAR
Never forget that the Nazis have realized this as no other people have. The most destructive thing of all is fear. They have demonstrated that when they began their war as a war of nerves. Even before outbreak of hostilities there were continual threats.

In this world today there are men who are trying to break down the constructive effort all the way through. In this class men who are trying to undermine the war effort by creating prejudices, et cetera, are in league with the other.

W. L. M. K.

WLMK/Z
5-10-42

D 43516

The war is an expression of a world scale of conflicting forces.

These conflicting forces are:

human well-being vs. material gain.

The same forces are at work in the relations of industry:

forces serving selfish interest -

material power creating fear (German);;

forces serving human well-being -

spiritual power creating struggle (United Nations).

Whom do ye serve?

God or mammon?

True or false gods?

The handicap of United Nations.

The guarantee of ultimate victory.

Test to what end powers directed.

Industry and Nationality may be our servants or our masters.

Industry to serve Humanity, not humanity industry.

Nationality to serve Humanity, not humanity nationality.

The same in that each is

(a) a World problem,

(b) a Human problem.

WLMK/Z
5-10-42

D 43517

Confusion or progress in Industry -
presence or absence of fear;
Confusion or progress in Nationality -
presence or absence of fear.

Test of progress = absence of fear.
Test of freedom = absence of fear.
Slavery = controlled by fear.
Re ½ slave and ½ fear - on world scale
(see speech to Canadian Club 1941).
Cannot continue - must be fought out to finish.
Law of competing standards.

Peace - Work - Health
underlying all in elimination of fear -
serving ends of human well-being, not material gain.

How effect - elimination of fear?
(1) in industry
(2) in nationality.
Get rid of monopoly of control -
representation in industry,
government vs. industry controls.

Education and Opinion - the test - whom do we serve?
re press, propaganda (German lying), christian truths -
test can it endure?

D 43518

New Order must be based on human rights,

not rights of property, position, power.

New Order must be a world order.

New Order must be a spiritual interpretation of life

not on a material interpretation.

Old order has been based on fear, on ~~fear~~ conflict.

New Order must be based on faith, on co-operation:

of parties in ~~industry~~

of nations in the world.

Test of Atlantic Charter in light of above,

e.g.

showing resources -

4 years, etc.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
October 3, 1942

D 43519

Notes re A. F. of L. Address

Decide on theme - points to be kept in mind.

Great things are very simple -

If not easily understood, that is evidence that they are not right, e.g., good-will and ill-will.

See Edward Grey as to the cause of the last war.
The war could have been prevented -
it was not prevented because there was no good-will.

The most necessary things of life have been provided in abundance by a bountiful Creator, e.g., air, light, sunshine, resources, human companionship, etc., etc.

These have been provided for all and should be brought within the reach of all. Not blotted out by overcrowding of cities, slums, etc.

The great battle is won between <u>fear</u> and <u>faith</u> -

the relations in industry and the relations in the State.

These are basic.

Note the parallel in relations between the parties in In dustry and relations between different States.

This is what makes the Labour problem so important.

See "Industry and Humanity" re this parallel -

Our international peace is the outcome of industrial peace.

Both a question of attitude.

North American attitude in international relations has become one largely of good-will and faith.

The European and Asiatic attitude - one of ill-will and fear.

D 43520

Work our another point:

Material wealth and power versus personality;
worship of golden calf equals wealth and power;
worship of false gods.

Bring out the matter of the value of the individual:

Labour - not hands, but human soul.

Interpretation of personality:

in terms of a true conception of life

personal versus material.

After this re matters connected with decorations, honors, etc.

(See statement given press re Dieppe raid)

Work out theme of the "unknown soldier" being the glorified man at the end of the last war.

It is the unknown worker that we want to come into his own today.

Also note importance of Labour having control of policy as well as of matters nearly related to industrial conditions.

Not seeing other man's point of view.

<u>Material to be secured and looked at:</u>

(1) Atlantic Charter
(2) Wallace's address re "the common man".
(3) Mbe Hull's address on the war (of recent date).
(4) Speech made by Mr. Attlee at Newfoundland.
See letter from Burchell.
(5) Our Order-in-Council re.
(6) Possibly Bryce Stewart and Little might have some suggestions; also Humphrey Mitchell.

D3521

Prime Minister's Office - Press Notice - October 2, 1942.

Commenting upon the the Defence Department's announcement that honours had been conferred upon 178 Canadian soldiers for bravery at Dieppe, the following statement was issued today by the Prime Minister; Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King:

"The announcement of honours conferred upon 178 Canadian soldiers for bravery during the combined reconnaissance operations at Dieppe will bring a glow of pride to the hearts of all Canadians.

Mingled with our deep sorrow over the heavy casualties among Canada's gallant sons was our keen realization of the honour their bravery had reflected upon our country. They, one and all, had been chosen to be the spear-head of one of the most difficult military tasks of the war. The honours announced today constitute an official recognition of what we all so deeply feel. It will be but a part of the larger recognition which has now added the name "Dieppe" to the imperishable list of battle honours of Canadian forces.

The honours' list does not begin to cover all who on that day proved themselves heroes. In the heat and fury of battle, much gallantry and self-sacrifice inevitably passes unnoticed. Moreoever, no gallantry, however great, can equal

D43522

the sacrifice of life itself. We are fully conscious of this, as we pay our special tribute to the brave officers and men whose names have been selected for s ignal honours. Of all we are profoundly proud.

We express our pride more particularly to Lieut. Col. Charles C. Is Merritt, of Vancouver, that heroic officer who, for bravery and gallant leadership, has been awarded the Victoria Cross. Colonel Merritt made sure, says the report of the day's events, of the safety and well-being of all ranks, except himself, and twice wounded, is now believed to be a prisoner in thehands of the enemy. As the first Canadian to win, in this war, the highest award for valour, his name will always hold a proud place in our country's history.

October 2, 1942 D 43523

The following statement was issued by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King today in commenting upon the Defence Department's announcement that awards had been made to 178 Canadian soldiers for bravery during the combined operations at Dieppe.

The announcement of honours conferred upon 178 Canadians for bravery at Dieppe will kindle a new flame of pride in the hearts of all Canadians. Gallant sons of Canada were chosen to be the spearhead of one of the most difficult military tasks of the war to date. Mingled with accents of sorrow over heavy casualties there will now be, for all time, a proud remembrance of bravery and devotion.

The announcement of these honours is the official recognition of what we all feel so deeply in our hearts. It will be but a part of the larger recognition which has now added the name Dieppe to the imperishable list of battle honours of Canadian forces.

It is our duty also to remember that some of the heroes of that August day will never come back. In the heat and fury of the battle, much gallantry and self-sacrifice ~~must have~~ passed unnoticed. In paying our special tribute

D 43524

to t hese officers and men, whose names have been selected for signal honour, we pay a silent tribute also to those who counted no sacrifice too great and whose names are now known only to God. To all of Canada's soldiers who took part in that bitter struggle we render the homage of a nation's admiration.

The Victoria Cross has been awarded to Lieut.-Col. Charles C. I. Merritt, of Vancouver, for bravery and gallant leadership. He is the first Canadian to win in this war this highest award for valour. We salute him with a single voice and a proud heart. To his mother and his wife we extend the heartiest wishes of Canada.

The report of the events of August 19th says that Colonel Merritt made sure of the safety and well-being of all ranks except himself. Twice wounded, he is now believed to be a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. It is a source of general regret that such great gallantry should have to await the war's end for the personal recognition his fellow-Canadians would wish to accord him. Wherever he is, he must know that he enjoys the very highest regard and esteem of us all.

Mr S to fill please

Prime Minister

D 43525

Speech Material on Post-War Aims

Mr Handy has passed on to me a verbal request. In this folder are the chief recent speeches by

Cripps
Hull
Wallace
Welles

I will watch for other useful material on this subject.

J.a.g.

The unknown man
the common man

Worship of false gods

AF of L

D 43526

2/10/42

13

October 21, 1942



2) Toronto Speech 28/9

Statement at bgng of Cat B1

What we have at stake

D 43527

Attlee Speech 27/9

ask Gamscliffe if copy of text available

AF of L

Atlantic Charter

removal of fears

I + II

What is the essence of this thing

removal of fear

of invasion

want

D 43528

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D43529

MEMORANDUM

Speech by Hull ✓
Wallace ✓
Atlantic Charter ✓
Oil of principles & policies ✓

Speech re Sept 1, 1940
CCF policies for victory & peace

Dieppe excerpt
death & sacrifice

C4

D 43530

Extract from "Industry and Humanity" (Original edition) pages 486-7:

William James has given us the underlying cause of industrial and international unrest. Let him disclose something of the sympathy whereby our human blindness is to be removed. We shall need our vision of the heroic in days of reconstruction. His words may help to unite in a true perspective the sacrifices of the soldiers in the field and the patient service of all who toil:

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

"As I awoke to all this unidealized heroic life around me, the scales seemed to fall from my eyes; and a wave of sympathy greater than anything I had ever before felt with the common life of common men began to fill my soul. It began to seem as if virtue with horny hands and dirty skin

Extract from "Industry and Humanity" (Original edition)
page 487:

"were the only virtue genuine and vital enough to take account of. Every other virtue poses; none is absolutely unconscious and simple, and unexpectant of decoration or recognition, like this. ~~These are our soldiers, thought I, these our sustainers, these the very parents of our life...~~

"In God's eyes the differences of social position, of intellect, of culture, of cleanliness, of dress, which different men exhibit, ~~and all the other rarities and exceptions on which they so fantastically pin their pride,~~ must be so small as practically quite to vanish; ~~and all that should remain is the common fact that here we are, a countless multitude of vessels of life, each of us pent in to peculiar difficulties, with which we must severally struggle by using whatever of fortitude and goodness we can summon up.~~ The exercise of the courage, patience, and kindness, must be the significant portion of the whole business; ~~and the distinctions of position can only be a manner of diversifying the phenomenal surface upon which these underground virtues may manifest their effects.~~ At this rate, the deepest human life is everywhere, is eternal. And, if any human attributes exist only in particular individuals, they must belong to the mere trapping and decoration of the surface-show.

D 43532 (3)

Extract from "Industry and Humanity" (Original Edition)
page 487:-

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

D 43533

War of Nerves — fear
Prejudices — elements of fear

New fears

slander
vituperation } propaganda
hate &c } press

~~Loyalty a supreme virtue~~

"a good thing to remember
and a better thing to do,
is to work with the constructive gay
and not with the wrecking crew"

See the vision
when eyes are working
when hands }

Mind as well as hands to
work

How long are in these years genus responded to the cases.

D 43533-1

D 43534

Re: A. F. of L. Speech

I should like to strike right into the heart of the whole discord of our day -- international strife and industrial strife, and their roots in the effort to maintain monopoly of control -- one of national and the other of industrial policy -- property, position, and power.

I must make the thesis one which shows that the causes creating differences between nation and nation, and the parties to industries are fundamentally the same.

See this note in "Industry and Humanity."

A.F. of L.

D 43535

The eternal conflict of good and evil

In opening my address I should like to quote two sentences from the Labour Day Message addressed by your President to the Toronto District Labour Council. Mr. Green said:

"We must fight but we know that we fight for peace and therein lies the fundamental difference between our aims and the objectives of our foes. We do not seek to conquer but to free and will not stop our crusade short of liberty for all the conquered people of the world."

These words go to the very root of the conflict which has been spread out like a great panorama across the face of the world. It is the eternal conflict between good and evil for the possession of the soul of man. On the one side are the evil forces which seek to dominate and end only in destruction; on the other, the life-giving force of freedom without which there can be no enduring social construction.

A. F. of L.

JWP/JMC
6.10.42.

D 43536

Freedom: the Elimination of Fear.

It is a commonplace to say that we are fighting this war for freedom. I sometimes think we take freedom too much for granted. We do not stop to think about what it really means.

Many would define freedom as the absence of restraint - the right to do as we please. I do not think that is a satisfactory idea of freedom. It is at once too negative and too selfish. It leaves out of account any idea of law and order as an aspect of freedom.

I prefer to define freedom as the absence of fear. In my view, man is only free when he has eliminated fear.

I believe the Nazis owe much of their success to an understanding of this great truth. They have perverted it to serve the cause of evil. For them, fear and the exploitation of fear - has been used systematically as the instrument of domination.

By exploiting men's fears, Hitler and his gang seized control of Germany. With one class, they used the fear of communism to destroy their freedom; with another class, it was fear of unemployment and want that was the Nazi weapon; for others it was fear of physical violence or attacks on their families that brought them into subjection.

D 43537

Once in control in Germany the same weapon: fear was used to gain their ends in other countries. The fear of revolution, the fear of war, the fear of social change, the fear of other classes and other races, all these fears have been exploited to weaken the freedom and, with it, the powers of resistance of other peoples.

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

Today our freedom, as nations and as individuals is menaced by the over-powering fear of domination by the evil power of Fascism and racism. There is only one way to destroy that fear. That way is to destroy its cause by destroying the Fascist powers which are striving to enslave and dominate all peoples on all continents.

But the war for freedom will not be won when Fascism is destroyed. That is only the first step. On it we must concentrate our energies until it has been accomplished. But we must never lose sight of the larger and more positive goal. Freedom will not be secure until

D 43538

all the legitimate fears of mankind have been removed. The determination to fight a total war for total freedom will help us and give us strength for the present bitter struggle against the great over-riding fear of world domination which threatens all peoples.

No compromise with the forces of domination.

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

None of us would do anything to aid a Nazi victory over the nations that are still free. There is, however, a more subtle danger. The propagandists of Nazi Germany are now spreading the idea that Germany cannot win the war. They seek to suggest that the war must end in a stalemate - in some kind of compromise.

This is a very dangerous idea. It exploits many of our deepest fears: our fear of the bloodshed and horrors of war, our fear of the loss of our loved ones, our fear of the sacrifices, of the burdens, and of the hardships of war.

It is a subtle appeal to the old spirit of isolation so strongly rooted in the early traditions of this continent. It is the old idea that we are not our brothers' keepers; that what happens in other continents need not be our concern. It hints at a compromise between slavery in

D 43540

the old world and freedom in the new. You who are Americans have but to turn back the pages of your own history to know that such a compromise cannot endure. The compromise nearly destroyed the American union. To attempt such a compromise would, in the end, be no less fatal to the future of the world.

Consider what it would mean. At most, it would be an armistice while both sides prepared to renew the struggle. This continent would have to remain an armed camp. All the burdens, all the hardships, all the restrictions which are accepted cheerfully as a temporary necessity would become a permanent feature of our lives. The greater part of our energies, our wealth and our resources would have to be devoted to the building up of armaments; our standards of life and human well-being would gradually be dragged down by bitter competition to the levels which Germany and Japan are imposing on Europe and Asia. Without the hope of a better future which now sustains us, the burden would become unbearable. It would lead, in the end, either to internal dissention which would open the way to the totalitarian conquerors from overseas, or it would lead to repression and domination on this continent little better than the Fascism from abroad which threatens us today.

There can be no compromise with the evil forces of domination. The world cannot endure half-slave and half-free.

D 43541

This war must end in a complete victory for the forces of freedom or it will inevitably lead to the domination of the whole world by the forces of evil now loosed upon the world.

A.F. of L.

D 43542

The Opposing Conceptions of Humanity

Hitler boasts of his new order. What is the foundation on which the Nazi order is to be established. Essentially it has one basis and one basis only: INEQUALITY AMONG MEN. In the Nazy system, the Germans are a master race, all other men are slaves or mere brutes. Hitler goes so far as to deny the very humanity of the coloured races. Even the so-called master race itself is not a band of equals. It is divided sharply between leaders and led; between the glorified party and the despised masses. For the leaders all privileges are reserved: power, position, material advantage. The mass of men exist only to serve their masters and to fight and die to impose their will on the whole world.

What is the Nazi system but the old order, in all its worst aspects, seen through a magnifying glass.

The essence of a genuine new order can only be an ever-larger emphasis on EQUALITY AMONG MEN. The hope of the future is the universal recognition of our common humanity; a sense of brotherhood among men of all races, colours and creeds; a determination to destroy all those distinctions of class and position which divide men and set one group against another.

By equality among men I do not men that men must be all exactly similar like so many ball bearings. Equality does not mean identity; it means community. It means a legitimate

D 43543

pride and satisfaction in the worth and the achievements of our fellow-men when that worth and those achievements contribute to the common weal.

The other day, honours or decorations were conferred upon 178 of the Canadian soldiers who fought at Dieppe. The Canadian people were proud of those honours, not because they marked these men off from their comrades, but because they recognized what all the fighting men at Dieppe had achieved in co-operation and unity of action.

One man, Colonel C. C. Merritt, received the Victoria Cross. It is our highest award for valour and fittingly it is open to every man in the fighting services from the humblest to the highest. I like particularly the words with which Mrs. Merritt received the news of the honour to her husband. She said: "I am proud of my husband.....but I am also proud of the fine men who went up the beaches with him. I think that every man who went up to the beaches won a Victoria Cross." Those words embody the true spirit of brotherhood: they symbolize the equality among men on which alone an enduring order can be established.

This ideal of brotherhood among men - the ordinary men who fight and toil without thought of personal advantage to be gained at the expense of their fellows has found noble expression in the words of the great philosopher, William James. His understanding and his vision of the heroic will help to give us the

D 43544

vision needed for the great tasks which face us. His words unite in a true perspective the sacrifices of the fighting men and the patient service of all who toil.

I should like to repeat those words to-day:

(Quote: William James)

N.B.- This might be followed by the section on

Labours contribution to the War

which contains the references to

the unknown warrior and the unknown

worker.

A. F. of L.

D 43545

Labour's contribution to victory.

I have not come to this convention to lecture you or to tell you what to do to make your fullest contribution to victory. I want rather to help to interpret to the world what the workers are doing to save the freedom of mankind and to help to interpret the rights of Labour.

At the close of the last great war, the unknown soldier became the symbol of humanity's struggle for freedom. To my mind that symbol told only half the story. You, I know, would be the first to object if I failed to pay their due and filling tribute to your comrades in the fighting forces. Whatever burdens and hardships may fall to our lot, we know that nothing can compare with the readiness to sacrifice life itself which the soldiers, sailors, airmen and merchant seamen accept as the condition of their service. But the men in the fighting forces - the vast majority drawn from the ranks of the workers - would wish me to pay tribute to the men and women on the farms and in the fisheries who keep them fed, to the men in forest and mine whose work is the foundation of industry, to the men and women in factory and workshop who fashion their weapons and make their munitions, to the men and women in transport and in all the services of supply of a modern

D 43546

nation at war, to the great host of workers whose toil and skill and devotion are essential to keep the armies in the field, the ships on the sea, and the planes in the air on all the fronts of a world-encircling struggle.

The key to victory is the unbroken and unbreakable partnership of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the machines, the munitions, the supplies and the food produ ced in ever-growing volume by the worker. The freedom of the world depends upon the combined efforts of the fighting brotherhood of warriors and the producing brotherhood of workers.

By their toil, the free workers of the world are helping to forge a new symbol of a new and broader freedom in which the hand of the unknown warrior will clasp the hand of the unknown worker in a unity which itself will symbolize t he brotherhood of free men everywhere.

But symbols themselves are not enough. Your sweat and your toil; the burdens and hardships you are bearing today are earning for the great mass of workers - for the common man - what your brothers-in-arms are fighting to preserve: the right to a better and a happier future in which the darkness of fear will vanish in the light of freedom.

A.F. of L.

JWP/PM

D 43547

SOCIAL CONTROL IN WAR AND PEACE

The utmost production of the workers is vital to success in war. That is one lesson we have learned in the course of the struggle. We are also learning that production must be directed and controlled to the desired end. That end today is the defeat of the Axis.

If production is one of the keys to success in war, surely we should begin to see that production rather than restriction of putput, abundance rather than scarcity, is one of the keys to a peaceful future and a better life for all.

In the past, capital and labour alike have too often sought security through monopoly and privilege at the expense of the rest of the community. Let us take to heart the lessons of war and come to see that the social direction and social controls we have developed to help defeat the Axis can be transformed into social direction and social controls to be used to defeat the fear of insecurity and poverty which haunts the minds and spirits of men. In a total struggle for total freedom we cannot afford to await the outcome of one campaign before beginning to plan the next.

D 43548

I have said before, in this very city that if a new order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. A new world order cannot be worked out, at some given moment, and reduced to writing at a conference table. It is not a matter of parchments and of seal. That was a part of the mistaken belief at the end of the last war. It is born, not made. It is something that lives and breathes; something much closer to the soul of man; something that needs to be worked out and prepared in the minds and the hearts of men. It expresses itself in brotherhood, in good-will, and in mutual aid.

Today our social controls are directed to the one end of devoting all available resources, both human and material, to the purposes of war. They involve burdens and hardships for all. But let us not make the mistake of blaming the controls for the hardships and the burdens. War itself is to blame for them. The controls are intended to distrb distribute the burdens and hardships fairly.

You will be told that these controls, in many cases, represent the old order; that they stand for the old idea of monopoly, and the old domination of management; that the workers and the primary producers are not represented or are not given an adequate voice.

I admit frankly that much of this criticism is true. The social controls are much less representative and

D 43549

much less democratic than I would wish them to be. Far too largely they mirror the old order which is passing and with which we must work while creating the new.

But progress is being made. With each new step in control; the workers and the producers are being given a larger voice. The principle of the partnership of management, of workers and the community is making steady progress. Where it is tried, it is proving its worth. It is only by fully realizing and accepting this partnership that the necessities of industry can be harmonized with the hopes of humanity.

A. F. of L.

D 43550

The false friends of Labour

True social control, as I have said, depends upon the acceptance of the principle of a partnership of management, of workers, and or the community. Its aim is to substitute co-operation for industrial strife. It cannot be achieved without a struggle.

In industrial relations as in international relations there is a conflict between domination and freedom. The old order in industry is characterized by a dictatorial attitude in management, by the treatment of works as "hands" rather than as men, by a striving for monopoly. Its spirit is domination for the sake of material gain. It is without a sense of social responsibility either to the workers or to the community. Happily, in many industries, this spirit had begun to pass away long before the outbreak of war; in others, it is unhappily all too prevalent.

No one should expect the industrialists of the old order to surrender their irresponsible power, their positions of dominance and privilege willingly. I do not need to tell this audience how pwe powerfully entrenched these interests are or how influential are their instruments of propaganda. They lose no opportunity of sowing the seeds

D 43551

of fear, suspicion and dissension in the ranks of labour. They seek to pit one group of workers against another; to encourage in the urban workers suspicion and fear of the designs of the farmers; and in the farmers fear and suspicion of the legitimate rights of organized labour.

Nor do these propagandists hesitate to pose at times as the friends of the workers when they believe it will serve the ends of their masters. In his great speech to the Free World Association, Mr. Henry Wallace has warned all free men against these false friends, these demagogues who arise to prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends or the ends of those they are serving. Such demagogues may be the agents of wealthy men who seek to use them to protect their power and their privileges. That was the early history of Hitler. These false friends of the common man - these demagogues - are the curse of the modern world. They beguile with easy promises only to get the power to destroy all the freedom and all the rights of common humanity. There is no greater danger to the cause of labour than these false prophets of a new order.

This is above all a time when the workers should test their friends as they would test steel. Look over their whole record: see where they stood in the past. Do not measure them by the words they use today - judge them by their whole lives. The true friends of labour are those who proved their friendship when the going was hard , not

D 43552

those who seek "to climb on the band wagon " when the workers by their labour and the warriors by their courage are keeping the highway of social progress open for the common man.

The true friends of labour are those who at all seasons have worked for a partnership in industry, for social security for all rather than privilege and wealth for the few. The keynote of the new order is social service and social security rather than position and property. The growing importance of the place of the social worker in government is one of the greatest hopes of the new order. It is out of a background of life-long devotion to the welfare of the common man that have come the true friends of the workers.

A. F. of L.

D43553

Winning the Peace

I have said that we must make theis war a total struggle for total freedom. Until the enemy is defeated we must bend all our energies to the elimination of the one great fear of world domination and world slavery. But this is only the first stage in the building of a new order - merely a clearing of the ground on which the structure of the new order will rest.

The new order itself will only be achieved when all the legitimate fears of mankind have been removed. The new order cannot be built in one country alone. It must be a world-wide order governed by a universal rule of law. Only so, can the greatest of all man's fears - the fear of recurring war - be eliminated.

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

I believe the war has taught us that the obstacles to full employment were not real obstacles; that the

D 43554

partnership of management if workers and of the community can make useful work available for all who need or want to work in peace no less than in war.

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

But the work of repairing and restoring the ravages of war will not be enough. We have also learned that the only limit to our productive capacity is the limit of our resources and our will and skill to use them to satisfy human needs instead of human greed.

Before the war, we heard much about the conservation of natural resources, but unhappily much less about the conservation of human resources - the lives and health and happiness of men and women and children. Today our aim is total mobilization of resources and of manpower for the waging of total war. When the war is won, we must learn to devote our natural and material resources to conserve our human resources - to promote the health and happiness of all the people. Our resources of land, of sea, of forest and of mine were meant by an all beneficent Creator toserve

D 43555

a real purpose. They were given by Him for the preservation and not for the destruction of life. They must be used for the protection of the unknown workers against occupational or other diseases which help to undermine the strength of a nation. The people of no country can be made happy, contented and prosperous except by safe-guarding the lives and welfare of the many and by protecting from injustice and ill the homes of the humble in the land.

The fear of unemployment, broadly considered, is only one aspect of a wider fear of insecurity and destitution. Insecurity and destitution may equally result from ill-health, from low wages, from accidents and misfortunes, and from the death of the head of the family. The war for freedom will not be won until all these fears have been eliminated, not in one nation only, but throughout the world.

The new order, the era of total freedom, can only be achieved when social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations. Social security and human welfare must be defined in concrete terms. There must be the same agreement about the objectives to be attained as exists today as to the one supreme objective.

D 43556

It is not my purpose to attempt to give a blue-print of the new order, but you will expect me to give some examples of the kind of objectives I have in mind:

1. Useful employment for all whoare fit for employment.
2. Decent housing for the whole population.
3. Improvement of standards of nutrition.
4. Social insurance against the perils of ill-health, old age, and the death of the breadwinner.

In war, the preservation of the existence of the community must be placed before the interests of individuals or groups.

Here, too, is a lesson for meeting the problems of peace.

By placing the well-being of the whole community before the interests of individuals or groups; by social control in which government, labour and management all share, we can hope to increase the welfare of each and all far beyond what can be achieved for all save a very few by the pursuit of selfish interests.

We have seen, on a world scale, what happens when a small group, drunk with power, seek to dominate their fellow-men. The desolation, destruction and death they have visited on other peoples are coming to be shared

D 43557

increasingly by their own people. In the end it will come to the tyrants themselves.

As it is on the world-wide stage, so it is in each national community. The way of privilege, of monopoly, of unrestructed power is the way of desolation, destruction and death.

The road to victory for the common man is the road of equality, of co-operation, of brotherhood among men.

The doctrine of social justice, whereby the economically strong share the burdens of the economically weak, is the antithesis of the doctrine of Force. It is founded on a conception of Right in contrast to a belief in Might. It signifies brotherhood, not fratricide. It does not proceed upon the theory that the economically strong are necessarily the fittest to survive, or that the economically weak are necessarily the weak unfit. In estimating fitness, it looks to character and personality, not toppossessions.

Just as a partnership of the warriors and the workers is essential to victory in war, so is a partnership of workers on the farm, in the forest, in the mine, in the factory and the shop, of workers with hand and with brain, for the comm weal, essential to the building of a new

D 43558

society in which the old but threatened freedoms: religious, political and personal, will be joined to the new freedom which will banish fear and want from men.

That is the victory for which we must fight and work. Nothing less can give us the will to bear the burdens, to accept the hardships and to make the efforts which are required to place our feet firmly on the highway to a better future at this crossroads of humanity.

J. A. G.
8.10.42

F. Winning the War and Saving the Peace

D 43559

This war is being fought, not just for today or for next week, but for generations yet unborn. Even if we win a military victory in a short space, the energies which have been mobilized throughout the United Nations will be needed for an even higher service. In the silent tribute of remembrance which we pay to those whose lives have been laid down upon the battlefronts, we must remember also those who served on other fronts, and whose labours helped to make safe our lives and our homes. We shall have to work for an enduring peace, not as an antidote to the brutality of war and the fear out of which it springs, but as the ordinary standard and condition of a civilized existence. We shall have to work for that kind of peace because we understand what it means. It cannot be static, as much of our thinking of peace after the xxx World War was static. It must be a dynamic, growing thing, gathering up in its growth all the enlightened forces which we recognize in our society. Instead of being but a glimmering will-of-the-wisp of actuality, these forces must become the beacon light for all humanity.

If we are but resolved to seek this peace, then many things may be added unto us. There must be a new social emphasis in all our thinking, individual and corporate. There must be a new determination to root out and to destroy forever the human fears which spring from social evils. It must be

D43560

our task to replace insecurity by certainty, not only in satisfying human wants and needs, but in planning for the orderly use of our resources, human and material alike. There must be no more poverty in the midst of plenty, no more fear that arises from isolation or the submerging of human personality.

This is a goal for humanity in which all can share. The cost may be heavy, even as we measure the cost of material things. It is a task that will take many years of patient effort. Certainly it will not be a time for entrenching ourselves behind barriers of defeatism or of prejudice. Rather will it be a time for holding out our hands for co-operation all around the world, for summoning up and making real "a glad spirit of acceptance which constantly carries in itself the giving out of the best that we have".

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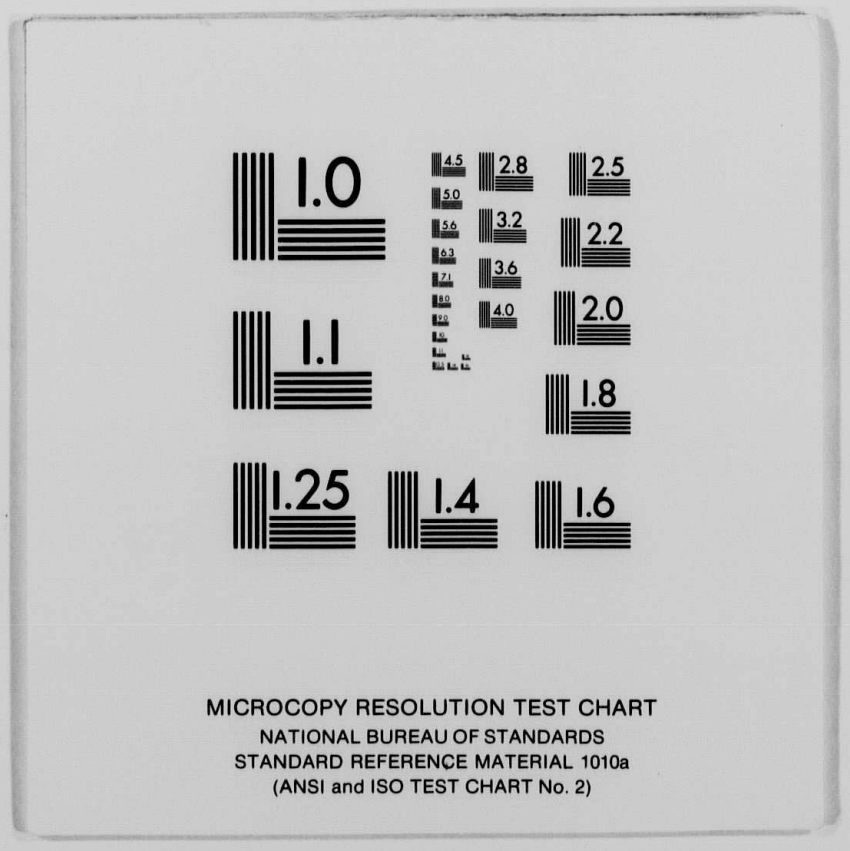

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