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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Memoranda, notes and some correspondence are found in this series, arranged in subject files within four chronological periods (1887-1921, 1922-1932, 1933-1939 and 1940-1950), with additional material at the end. A complete file list is available in a separate bound finding aid, on microfiche and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.
Volumes 1-409 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1953 to C-1983, C-2475, C-2475A, C-2476 to C-2480, C-2575 to C-2576, C-2622 to C-2626, C-2693 to C-2731, C-4253 to C-4289, H-1471 to H-1562.

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

This series contains speech notes, drafts, printed copies, newspaper reports and comments. The material is arranged chronologically. A list giving subject, date and place of each speech is available in a separate bound finding aid and on microfiche.
The speeches from 1899-1932 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1984 to C-1988, C-2788 to C-2800

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

This series consists primarily of King's correspondence from members of his family. The letters are arranged chronologically up to the end of 1917 and after that by name of correspondent. A file list is available in the finding aid and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.
Also available on microfilm, reels H-2244 to H-2270

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

Première série de correspondance. Série J1. Original, 1889-1950, 44.700 m. (Vol. 1-447).
Cette série comprend un choix des lettres les plus importantes des dossiers du cabinet du premier ministre et des dossiers de la maison Laurier. La correspondance est classée par ordre alphabétique d'auteur pour chaque année avec pièces jointes et réponses réunies à la lettre principale et numérotées consécutivement. Il existe un index des auteurs et des matières pour la correspondance antérieure à 1921. L'index des auteurs est sur fiches et l'index des matières consiste en une liste alphabétique des sujets. L'index des matières est également sur microfilm (bobine C-4591 à C-4593). Pour la période 1922-1950, un index détaillé est disponible sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.
Une liste de conversion des numéros de bobines de la série est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiches. Parce que la correspondance de la série J1 pour les années 1922 à 1932, volumes 69-193 (bobines C-2242 à C-2331) a été reboîtée après le microfilmage, les numéros de volumes apparaissant dans les entêtes des microfilms sont inexacts. Il faut donc vérifier la liste de conversion pour avoir le bon numéro de volume.
Aussi disponible sur microfilm, bobines C-1901 à C-1952, C-2242 à C-2331, C-3672 à C-3695, C-3723 à C-3751, C-4566 à C-4576, C-4860 à C-4872, C-6804 à C-6814, C-7034 à C-7060, C-9871 à C-9887, C-9166 à C-9181, C-11035 à C-11055, C-4632.

Correspondance du Cabinet du premier ministre. Série J2. Original, 1921-1930, 1935-1948, 52.000 m. (Vol. 1-520).
Cette série comprend les dossiers-matière non compris dans la première série de correspondance. La liste des dossiers est disponible dans deux volumes reliés séparément ainsi que sur microfiches.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA
BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
86		Speeches outside Parliament 1944	19 Jan. 1944 to 19 Nov. 1944	D 55425 - D 55516	
87		Notes of Speeches, 1945	5 Jan. 1945 to 24 Nov. 1945	D 55517 - D 55582	
87		Speeches outside Parliament - General	27 Apr. 1945 to 11 June 1945	D 55583 - D 55774	
87		Notes of Speeches, 1946	5 Jan. 1946 to 23 Dec. 1946	D 55775 - D 55909	
87		Speeches outside Parliament, 1945	25 Feb. 1945 to 26 Nov. 1945	D 55910 - D 56133	
87		Speeches outside Parliament, 1946	10 Jan. 1946 to 11 Dec. 1946	D 56134 - D 56273	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1947	3 Jan. to 17 Nov. 1947	D 56274 - D 56409	

D 56291

In prayer for peace, men and women of all faiths can join together. If there is any aspiration which men and women of all nations share today, it surely is that peace may become the common possession of all.

With Tennyson, I firmly believe:

"More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of .....
.....
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

Having spoken of the efficacy of prayer, I should perhaps say a word about something else which is essential to the preservation of peace: that is the need to supplement prayer with action. I cannot do better than recall the words of the Apostle James, that "faith without works is dead". As one who has had some experience in government, may I say that, in these critical times, "the watchful eye and the strong arm" are, I believe, more than ever necessary to protect us from injustice and wrong.

D 56292

Need to affirm fundamental principles of Christianity

In March last, I was invited by Members of the House of Commons and Senate who belong to the United Church to join in a welcome which they were extending to the newly elected Moderator of the United Church of Canada. The welcome took the form of a luncheon in one of the rooms of our Parliament Buildings. I was careful to let those present know that I was still "a continuing Presbyterian". At the same time, I was anxious to assure them that I was at one with them in support of the crusade which their Church was undertaking to have men and women of Canada, and of other countries as well, affirm anew the fundamental ideals of Christianity.

What I said on that occasion, I should like to repeat this afternoon. We stand today at the cross-roads of the world. The release of atomic energy marks the opening of a new age. Whether the new era will be one of unprecedented progress in human welfare, or of unparallelled destruction, depends, more than all else, on whether the affairs of nations are to be based on a Christian or a pagan philosophy. In many parts of the world, under the strain and stress of two world wars, the spirit of Christianity has been crushed and its place usurped by an atheistic materialism. This is a terrible menace. If we cease to be Christian countries we are doomed

D 56293

doomed. The atomic bomb will settle nothing. It can mean the end of everything. What mankind needs most to learn is that ours is a moral, not a mechanical universe; that true progress will be made, not through a material interpretation of life, but through a spiritual interpretation. Unless we have the spirit of brotherhood, and that spirit is made to prevail among nations, there can be no hope of lasting peace.

Centenary of the Diocese of Ottawa

In concluding, may I say to Archbishop Vachon, the citizens of Ottawa would find these few remarks seriously lacking in one particular were I to fail to remind all present that this year marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Diocese over which you preside. You have undertaken a great task in seeking to mark this centenary by bringing to the Capital of Canada representatives of your Church from many countries. You are contributing to the ideal of human brotherhood by seeking to turn the minds of men towards the aspiration of peace.

Common ground of Church and State

The common ground of Church and State is the bringing into being of a world order based on Justice and Peace. In these times of social unrest and general disturbance throughout the world, a union of minds and forces is necessary to the accomplishment of this great end.

The Mexican Congress has chosen another theme.

D 56294

The Marian Congress has chosen as its theme the restoration of peace, and the security of nations against the horrors of another world conflict. Whatever their religious and political affiliations may be, all men of good-will can surely unite in seeking to further this mighty task.

Original from which read at morning meeting
6/

D 56295

Meeting between Delegates from the
National Convention of Newfoundland and
Representatives of the Government of Canada

Opening Statement by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
Parliament Buildings, Ottawa - June 25, 1947

8.

Mr. Bradley and members of the delegation from the National Convention of Newfoundland:

I am very happy to extend to you, on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, a warm welcome to Ottawa.

In welcoming you, we welcome neighbours and kinfolk who, with us, owe a common allegiance to the Crown, and whose countries are members of the British Commonwealth. History and Geography have given us much in common. We enjoy with you the heritage of British freedom and the even older heritage of Christian civilization. We have shared together the perils and sacrifices of two world wars. Side by side, we face the uncertainties of the post-war world.

Newfoundlanders are no strangers to Canada, nor are Canadians strangers to Newfoundland. From Newfoundland many have settled in our country and become Canadian citizens; some have made distinguished contributions to

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REPEAT
REPETITION

the development of Canada as a nation. During recent years, an increasing number of Canadians have come to know Newfoundland at first hand. Business and professional relations occasion frequent visits of Canadians to the island. During the long years of war, many of our young men and women saw service in many parts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and enjoyed your generous hospitality. We are pleased that many of your sons and daughters served the cause of liberty and humanity in the Canadian forces. These are but a few of many interchanges which, with the years, have brought us more closely in touch with each other.

When, over eighty years ago, the plan of union of the British colonies in North America was drafted at Quebec, the representatives of Newfoundland took an active part in that historic conference. The British North America Act expressly reserved a place for Newfoundland in the union. In 1867, four provinces of British North America became federally united into one Dominion under the British Crown. Newfoundland, however, in 1869, decided, as she was in every way entitled to do, not to join the union. Again in 1895, union with Canada was discussed between the governments of our two countries. An acceptable basis for

D 56297

union was, however, not found at that time. In a historical sense, the discussions we are entering upon today are a continuation of those which began over eighty years ago.

You, gentlemen, have come as a delegation from the National Convention of Newfoundland, to consider and discuss with representatives of the Canadian Government whether, from Newfoundland's point of view, there is a fair and generally acceptable basis for federal union with Canada. We are naturally equally concerned that any basis of union should be of mutual advantage. At a later stage, the Convention, I understand, is to make recommendations to the United Kingdom Government as to possible forms of future government to be put before the people of Newfoundland in a referendum.

We have been told that, during the past few months, the Convention has made exhaustive inquiries into the economic and financial conditions of Newfoundland, its needs and future prospects. You are, therefore, especially qualified to examine the question of federal union with Canada from the Newfoundland point of view, Moreover, as

D 56298

you come from widely separated communities, and are of different walks of life, the delegation as a whole will be in a position to inform our representatives on many matters on which we shall require information, and to discuss, with special knowledge, many problems which will have to be explored.

On our part, we shall be glad to furnish you with the fullest information possible. When our Government learned that the Newfoundland Convention had decided to send a delegation to Ottawa, we at once had our officials prepare such information as was most likely to be required. In the discussions, the appropriate officials will be at your disposal.

I have asked the following members of the Government to act as a Committee to meet with the delegates from Newfoundland: The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs; The Right Honourable J.L. Ilsley, Minister of Justice; The Right Honourable C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction and Supply; The Honourable Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; The Honourable D.C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; The Honourable J.J. McCann, Minister of National

D 56299

Revenue; The Honourable H.F.G.Bridges, Minister of Fisheries; and the Honourable W. McL. Robertson, Leader of the Government in the Senate.

It may well be that much of the information sought will be most conveniently obtained from officials of the several departments of the Government, and that you will not wish to have Ministers present at all the discussions, particularly on matters of detail. Where desired, other Ministers of the Crown will be only too ready to meet with members of the delegation. The Government is anxious that every possible assistance, as well as courtesy, should be extended to the delegation during its stay.

The procedure to be adopted is a matter to be arranged between members of the delegation and the Ministers.

An atmosphere of mutual friendliness and understanding will, I am sure, characterize the forthcoming discussions. There will be many phases of this important matter which will call for very careful exploration. It might be well were we to realize, at the outset, that however close the association of our

two countries may be, and however much our two peoples may have in common, union is not a course to be undertaken lightly by either side. It would involve for both Newfoundland and Canada far-reaching administrative and economic changes. For each of our peoples it would involve some alteration in their traditional outlook. I do not suggest that these and other problems which may arise are obstacles to union, but rather that they merit serious and unhurried examination by both sides. The matter of union can only be rightly approached from the broad standpoint of whether, for Newfoundland and for Canada alike, union would be mutually advantageous. This, of course, does not exclude careful consideration, as well, of the position of both our countries as members of the British Commonwealth.

Let me in conclusion repeat what I have already said to our parliament, namely that the question of Newfoundland's future form of government is ~~of course~~ one for the people of Newfoundland themselves to decide. It is not a matter in which either the people of Canada or the Government of Canada would wish to interfere. Should the question become a matter of referendum, whatever the decision might be, it would be received by the Government

and Government and people of Canada with understanding and good-will. On the part of Canada, no final decision would, of course, be taken without the approval of Parliament.

Before questions of procedure are ~~taken up;~~ shall and and the most practical way of carrying on the discussions is considered, I have no doubt that you, Mr. Bradley, will have some observations which you would like to make on behalf of the delegation concerning its mission.

I am sure all present would be delighted to hear from you.

D 56302

Radio Address by the Prime Minister

on the Second Anniversary of the

Surrender of Japan - August 14, 1947.

Two years ago, the world rejoiced at the acceptance by Japan of the Allied terms of surrender. On that day, years of world encircling warfare came to an end. Speaking at that time to the people of Canada, I said our first thought should be one of thankfulness, to Providence, for deliverance from the evil forces of aggressor nations. The past two years have served to emphasize how much we have to be thankful for. Only now is it possible to comprehend how perilously near, in those years of war, our civilization came to annihilation. This anniversary is surely an occasion for renewed dedication to the cause of peace.

The very character of our times, marked as it is by a growing interdependence between all nations, makes it imperative that we strive to the utmost to fashion a structure of enduring peace. In this atomic age, the failure to achieve peace may well mean the complete destruction of civilization. On the other hand, with peace secured,

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7.

REPEAT
REPETITION

the harnessing of atomic energy presents the world with an unparalleled opportunity to go forward into a brighter era than has ever been known before. Such is the promise and the reward of peace.

During the war, the Canadian people played an important part in meeting the challenge of world domination by Force. They are now equally prepared to play their full part in the endeavour to shape a new world order. It is the confident hope of the people of Canada that a world community may arise, enlightened by the conscience of free peoples, and maintained by the peaceful agencies of Reason, Justice and Good-will. In a world of co-operation and good-will, the peoples of all nations may hope to enjoy, in ever increasing measure, the fruits of man's new knowledge.

The victory two years ago over the forces of destruction manifested the existence of moral laws which inevitably link evil with disaster. The same laws continue to operate today. They are time enduring, and world pervading. Under the agencies of Reason, Justice and Good-will, they may be made, to cause the desert places of the world, to blossom as the rose.

Release to Press.

D. 56304

Address by the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, at the official opening of the Canadian National Exhibition - Toronto, August 22, 1947.

May I express, at once, to you, Mr. President, and to your fellow directors, my warm appreciation of your invitation to be the guest of the Canadian National Exhibition, on this its Opening Day. I thank you, Mr. Scythes, most sincerely for the words of welcome you have so cordially extended, and for having invited my friend, the Honourable Albert Matthews, to join with you in that welcome. I am most grateful also to Mr. Matthews for his all too generous words.

It is indeed pleasant to be reminded of the many associations I have with the City of Toronto. I especially value the kindly feelings which continue to be expressed by many of those who, for ~~some~~ ten years, I was privileged to regard as fellow citizens. In recent years, there have been occasions when it has not always been so easy to discern, here in Toronto, the note of cordial good-will so manifest in the welcome given me this afternoon. Today's welcome is, I assure you, all the pleasanter for that.

It will always be a source of pride to me to know that when Toronto was incorporated as a city, it was my mother's father who was elected as its first mayor; that he selected for the city its coat of arms, and chose as its motto, the words:

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REPEAT
REPETITION

"Industry, Intelligence, Integrity". What better words, Mr. President, could be applied to this Exhibition? I like also to think, this afternoon, of my undergraduate years at Toronto University, and of the close association also enjoyed by my father with the University, and with the Law School at Osgoode Hall. It was in this city, as well as in the town of my birth, that I was privileged to know the joys of home and of family life. To these influences, more than aught else, most men will be prepared to attribute whatever success in life they may subsequently achieve.

The years, ~~Mr. President,~~ are flying all too quickly by. It is difficult for me to believe that fifty-six years have passed since I entered the University as an under-graduate. I am glad that, while I am still in public life, so favourable an opportunity has been afforded me to make some acknowledgment of what, in my heart, I feel I shall ever owe to the city of Toronto.

It is pleasing also to recall, as you, Mr. ~~President~~ Speaking, have done, that twenty years ago, I was accorded by the then President and Board of Directors of the Canadian National Exhibition, the honour, which it is mine to enjoy again today, of being their guest, invited to open the Exhibition. It is no small compliment that, having acted in that capacity once,

I should have received a second invitation. Were it not for other invitations which, unhappily, I was unable to accept, I might be inclined to believe that the time was so long ago, that those then present had fortunately forgotten all about the previous visit. I must confess that under the strain and stress of the intervening years, I had forgotten what I had spoken about on that occasion. When the proceedings were brought to my attention, I was amazed to find that, in one short speech, I had attempted to cover so much ground. 1927 was the year of Canada's Diamond Jubilee. My theme was none other than the growth and expansion of Canada over 300 years. From its early beginnings, associated with Indian tribes and their primitive habitations, I traced our country's development to the group of colonies it had become at the time of Confederation, and, more particularly, its growth during the subsequent sixty years, to the full status of a nation within the community of British Nations.

I had some thought of attempting, this afternoon, a review of Canada's development ~~only~~ in the twenty years that have elapsed since that address was delivered. Such a task would be impossible. It is possible, however, to give, in a word, the most significant development of that period.

That development, in a word, has been from Canada - a Nation, to Canada - a World Power. The emphasis has shifted in the past 20 years, from Canada's national status to Canada's international status. It is no longer as a nation, concerned almost wholly, or even mainly, with domestic affairs, that we, the citizens of Canada, can afford to view our national activities. Canada, today, is among the foremost of the lesser world powers.

Look for a moment at what the last twenty years have witnessed: the rise of Canada to a foremost rank among nations in industrial capacity; her swift ascent as a trading nation, gaining for her, during the war, second place among world exporters; in war itself, fourth among the allied powers in contributions to victory and world freedom.

In the course of six years of war, out of a population of less than twelve millions, more than a million of her manpower served in the army, navy or air force; another million were engaged in war production. Canada throughout held her high place as a great agricultural country and producer of raw materials. Foodstuffs in larger quantities than ever came from her fields and fisheries; as munitions, on a scale almost beyond belief, poured forth from her workshops and factories.

Those six years of war witnessed the increase of the army from less than 5,000 to almost half a million; the Navy, at the outset, little more than a name, at the close, third in strength among the United Nations; the Air Force, expanded from

small beginnings

D 56308

small beginnings, serving over every battlefront and every ocean; a merchant fleet of sizeable proportions, built in Canada, and manned by Canadian seamen; an air-training plan which made Canada, in President Roosevelt's words "the aerodrome of democracy". It was the achievements of our fighting forces, their skill and their gallantry which, more than all else, earned for our country the proud place it enjoys in the world today, and an effective voice in world affairs.

It is just twenty years since the first Canadian diplomatic mission was opened in Washington. Canada now has thirty-two missions in other countries. These include Embassies, Legations, Offices of High Commissioners, Consulates, and the Special Missions in Germany and Japan. At present, there are in Ottawa thirty missions from different countries. In the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations, Canada's part was a leading one. At the United Nations, and in international conferences, her voice has become increasingly welcomed, and her counsel increasingly helpful.

It is as a country mightily affected by, and concerned with what happens in other countries, and, in particular, with the doings of the great powers, that we find our position in the world arena of today. Whether we like it or not, Canada's opportunities and responsibilities have ceased to be mainly national. They have become largely international.

National trade has become increasingly a part of international trade, national progress a part of world progress, national peace and security, a part of the security and peace of the world.

This shift in emphasis from a national to an international outlook is, it seems to me, what, above all else, is exemplified in this year's Canadian National Exhibition. As they view here, in miniature, the picture of the industrial and commercial life of our country, its educational and cultural contributions, what our own citizens and visitors from far and near will see portrayed

is not so much Canada - a Nation

is not so much Canada - a Nation, it is Canada - a World Power.

Here may I be permitted to join with you, Mr. President, in extending a word of congratulation to Mr. Hughes and the Executive Staff on the vision they have displayed in depicting ~~the~~ this development of the past twenty years, and bringing its possibilities and responsibilities home to the imagination of our people.

Insert When I spoke here on August 27th, 1927, one province only had its permanent buildings on these grounds. In concluding my address, I said:

"I believe in time we shall see in these "grounds permanent buildings, not for Ontario only, "but for all of the Provinces, and buildings not for "our Dominion only, but for Great Britain and for all "of the Dominions. We shall see special exhibits "of the British colonies and possessions not alone from "Bermuda and Jamaica as shown to-day, but from all "other parts of the British Empire, and increasingly "we shall come to realize what an inheritance we have "in our Empire citizenship."

I went a step further. Touching upon the international character of the Exhibition, which was then just beginning to make its presence known, I added these words:

"I believe that some of us who are present
"at this gathering will live to see the Exhibition
"representative not only of the Provinces, the Dominions,
"and the British Empire, but of all the countries of
"the world."

And that, ~~Mr. President~~, is very close to what we have today. Upon this achievement, and upon the successful re-opening of our great National Exhibition after the lapse of five years, I should like, in my own name, and on behalf of the government, to extend to you, Mr. President, and to your fellow Directors, heartiest congratulations upon a service to all Canada. It is a service which, at this time of international reconstruction, is not without significance to the entire world.

The re-opening of this Exhibition, after a lapse of five years, marks an important milestone in Canada's return from the stress of war to the ways of peace. As such it is radiant with hope and promise to other countries as well as our own.

Let us admit at once that the two years that have elapsed since hostilities ceased have not witnessed the progress for which we had all hoped in the settlement of the world's ills. The world is still in a troubled state. To repair the ravages of war is proving ~~is proving~~ an even longer and more arduous task than had been

anticipated ~~to repair the ravages of war.~~ One could have hoped, too, for a more rapid advance in the development of ~~the~~ means to avoid the threat of war. ~~Apart from war itself, the fear of war is the greatest barrier to the development of trade, and to the well-being of the peoples of the world which is so dependent upon international trade.~~

Granted that there are dark clouds on the horizon, that there are difficulties to be met and obstacles to be overcome, may Canada's progress in the redirection of our efforts to peacetime pursuits not be, at this of all moments, a beacon light, to cheer and to guide nations less fortunate than our own!

At the peak of our wartime activity, out of the total of five million Canadians gainfully employed, almost two million were either in the Armed Services or engaged directly in the production of war materials. To-day the whole of our working force, the whole of the nation's economic effort, is directed to the filling of peacetime needs.

In the past two years, Canada has been able to contribute, in important measure, to the needs of war-torn countries. At the same time, we have sought to lay the basis for a widening of our foreign trade. Canada's trade is now surpassing all previous peace-time records. It is

D 56313

rapidly mounting toward the all-time high set in 1944. Nothing, however, is clearer than that the future of our trade is largely dependent upon the restoration of stable markets in Britain and Europe. We, in this country, now enjoying high levels of employment and production, can hold and sustain our own prosperity only in so far as success attends the immense efforts that must be made to restore the economic health and vigour of Great Britain and other countries overseas. With their recovery, our own welfare is inseparably linked. The problem is a world problem, and one which can be met only by international co-operation. In the light of the existing world financial situation, great patience and understanding of the problems of all nations will be required in working out a solution. Having made sure that we continue to do what lies within our power, we can only hope that means may be found whereby the high level of our international trade may be maintained.

The re-opening of this Exhibition is evidence of the progress we have made, and are making, in the re-establishment of the conditions of peace. Let me mention only three respects in which the Exhibition is making a real contribution to what the world needs most today. The Exhibition is an outstanding demonstration of material progress. It shows the developments in material things of which a country is capable where its skills

can be turned

can be turned to peaceful pursuits. Here are displayed the skill of Canadian Labour, the ingenuity of Canadian industry, the advances in industrial processes applied to the field, the forest, the mine and the factory, as well as in communications, and in transport by sea, land and air. Is there not in all this, something to turn the minds of other nations from the pursuit of war to the arts and blessings of peace?

The Exhibition is, however, more than a display of the wares of merchants, and of the expansion of trade and commerce. It is also a display of achievements in the arts and in the sciences. It speaks, moreover, of a form of enjoyment to which millions of persons, young and old, may come for relaxation and diversion from their daily tasks to share innocent amusements and inspiring entertainment. Here, all may see some contribution which each may make to human well-being and happiness.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the Exhibition affords a vivid illustration of our Canadian way of life. More may be seen here in a day than might be learned from books in a month. The Exhibition draws visitors, not only from all parts of Canada but as well, and increasingly, from other countries. Few things are so desirable, in the promotion

of peace, as that the peoples of the world should come to know one another. It is not sufficient that one country should be known to other countries only through the eyes and ears of official representatives, or through the press. It is the actual intermingling of peoples that counts. There is no end to the means by which this Exhibition may be made to portray the Canadian way of life. Increasingly its gates are being opened to men and women of all lands. In this freedom of access to all phases of our national life, the Canadian National Exhibition is rendering a service, and setting an example, to all countries of the world.

I have now the honour, Mr. President, to invite the people of Canada and visitors from other lands to view the Canadian National Exhibition, and, to that end, I now declare the Exhibition to be open.

Mr. Chairman

Prime Minister D 56316

Remarks by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King at official ceremony opening the British Section of the Canadian National Exhibition, under the auspices of the British Empire Overseas Branch of the Toronto Board of Trade.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Sir Sydney, distinguished ~~guests~~ guests Ladies & Gentlemen

You were right, Mr. Chairman, in describing the present as an historic and memorable occasion. I should regard it as such, not only for the British Empire Overseas Branch of the Toronto Board of Trade, as you so modestly confined your reference, but for all Canada. It is not often that, even by the magic of radio, we have the good fortune to hear, at any one time, the voices of the leaders of government of the United Kingdom and the several Dominions, or the like good fortune to see assembled, in any one place, the distinguished representatives in our own country of the Nations of the Commonwealth. Tonight, at this hour and in this place, we have both.

I should like to join with you, Mr. ~~Chairman~~ Andrews, in welcoming to this platform, and in thanking for their presence, the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom and the corresponding representatives of other nations of the Commonwealth. As this is the first occasion, since India, with full equality of status, has been represented in Canada at a gathering such as the present, I should like to say how warmly we all welcome her representative to this family circle, and how cordial and sincere are the wishes we extend for the future of his country. We equally welcome India's neighbour, Pakistan, to the community of British Nations.

56316

Remarks by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King at official ceremony opening the British Section of the Canadian National Exhibition, under the auspices of the British Empire Overseas Branch of the Toronto Board of Trade.

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On behalf of the government and people of Canada, as well as on behalf of the Overseas Branch of the Toronto Board of Trade, I should like to thank the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the other Prime Ministers and Ministers of the Commonwealth for the addresses to which we have just been listening. Their addresses have helped, as the spoken word so ~~x~~ well can do, to make us conscious of the vastness of an inheritance we share in common.

What has impressed me most, in the several addresses we have heard tonight, is not merely the note of good-will which was sounded so clearly, but the emphasis placed upon common interest and mutual helpfulness. I liked, too, the understanding sympathy expressed for Britain in her present anxieties. As you, Mr. Chairman, have said, if there remains a wound in the side of Britain today, it is there because of the gallant part she played, together with the Dominions, while other forces of freedom continued to muster their strength.

It is only beginning to be realized that ~~the~~ economic wounds, which become fully exposed only when actual warfare has ceased, are almost as cruel in their effects, and almost as difficult to heal, as the shocks and blows of war itself. The damage of war is now becoming visible in its true magnitude.

I firmly believe that both the security and the well-being of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and

D56318

the security and well-being of all peace-loving nations will depend ~~on~~ upon the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth, and of our nearest neighbour, the United States, to continue to give world leadership by setting an example of peaceful co-operation and mutually profitable trade between peoples of many nationalities, of many races, and of many tongues. Throughout the war, we all marched side by side united in the defence of our ideals of freedom and the democratic way of life. In these unsettled post-war years, we must continue to march together, not by ourselves, and for ourselves only, but as part of a larger company of nations united in the service of mankind.

In conclusion, Mr. ~~Andrews~~ Chairman, I must extend a word of congratulation and thanks to yourself and your fellow officers on this auspicious reopening of the British Empire Building with its splendid exhibits of British Commonwealth products. It would be difficult to find means to disclose more effectively the importance of inter-Commonwealth trade, than the ceremony of this evening, supplemented as it is by this Exhibition.

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Some Thoughts on Canada and The World of Today

Speech by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister

At the Rural Field Day of the Waterloo County Federation of Agriculture

Waterloo Park, Waterloo, Ontario
September 8, 1947

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I wish I could tell you how much I have looked forward to today. I cannot say how delighted I am, after a lapse of several years, to have again the opportunity to visit the scenes of my childhood, and of my boyhood days. Particularly, do I welcome the chance of talking again with friends whom I have not seen for years; of meeting members of their families; and of recalling incidents and interests of the past which have continued to be a source of happiness and inspiration along life's way.

It is difficult for me to realize that I am now in my 73rd year. But let me say, at once, that I feel as young in heart today as I did when, on many occasions in the past, I attended the fairs and ~~field days~~ exhibitions of the towns and villages round about. I am not so sure that I do not feel a little more at ease. There can no longer be the suspicion that I am trying to outdo some political opponent. I seek one thing only. It is to continue to enjoy your friendship and confidence for the remainder of my days.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Do you wonder I have found it difficult to decide what it might be best for me to speak about this afternoon? I know, of course, that we are met together under the auspices of the Waterloo County Federation of Agriculture. No doubt there are those who may feel that for this reason, I should say something about farming. But I am too wise for that. So far as Agriculture is concerned, I have come here to learn, not to teach, or to preach. I know that nowhere in Canada will be found a finer agricultural community than right here in Waterloo County. I know, too, that, nowhere in Canada, will be found a more prosperous industrial community.

I can vouch for all this because I was born in this County. It was here I received the beginning of my education. It was from this County I went to Toronto to enter the University as an undergraduate. This step led to post-graduate studies in other countries. It was as Member for North Waterloo that I entered Parliament. And it was while Member for North Waterloo that I first became a Minister of the Crown. Each of these successive steps afforded larger opportunities, and gained for me, I trust, a wider vision.

Before I entered parliament, I was for eight years in the Civil Service of Canada as deputy minister of Labour. After the defeat of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration in 1911, I continued, though not in parliament, to take an active interest in public affairs, and to pursue a further study of industrial problems. In 1919, as you may recall, I re-entered parliament, this time as leader of my Party. In all, I have had over thirty-one years in parliament. In length of membership, I am now the oldest member of the House of Commons. So today, I claim the right to speak with some authority on the position which certain communities enjoy in our national economy.

It may seem unpardonable to have enumerated at such length what, after all, are but so many milestones in one's life's journey. It is not by length of service, or by place or position, that the worth of service is to be measured. There are those, I know, who will say that it might have been better for Canada, if my years in office had been fewer. Be that as it may, I have said what I have, deliberately. I have wished to let my many friends in Waterloo County know something of what I feel I shall ever owe to this County for what it afforded me in the way of early opportunities of public service. I am pleased

to acknowledge this in the presence of the young people whom I am delighted to see here in such numbers, and who have their futures before them.

I have felt that what I should like to speak to you about this afternoon is "Canada and the World of Today", or more accurately, "Some Thoughts concerning Canada and the World of Today". Now this is a very large subject. I should hardly have ventured upon such a theme had I not felt that, out of an experience in national affairs which few men in our country have been privileged to enjoy, I could speak with some degree of appreciation of the feelings of the Canadian people in their present anxieties, and of their desire to be of assistance in the solution of the vexed problems of today. Moreover, it is hardly probable I shall again have an opportunity to speak to so many ~~of you~~ with whom my early life was closely associated, or to your children. I am anxious that my words may carry with them some thoughts which may be worthy of your remembrance, as we pursue our way through the vast uncertainties of our times. Though the subject I have chosen may be a very large one, I shall deal with only one or two aspects of it. They will be the ones to which I attach most importance. It is to the younger generation, who have the future to face, that I wish especially to speak this afternoon. I shall strive to make what I say as little involved as possible.

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With the world what it is today, I know that, like myself, you are troubled about the future. What I am thinking about is the future as it is related to war or peace. I am not referring to local conflicts in distant lands. I am thinking of the kind of war through which we have just passed, and which, should it ever come again, might bring devastation to every continent.

We are apt to believe that because war reached the dimensions it did in the last war, with its frightful atrocities, that a like war will never again take place. But let us not forget that that is exactly the way we all felt after the first world war. Let us remember that there have been two world wars within the lifetime of many here assembled. We know that, through amazing developments in transportation and communication, each part of the world is being brought daily much closer to every other part. We also know that scientific discovery has made possible the devastation and destruction, in no time at all, of entire nations.

It is the recurrence of another world war that, at all costs, we must all do our utmost to prevent. But you may say to me: "How can I help? Were I in your position, I might be able to do something; but, situated as I am, I am powerless to do anything. I have no influence of any kind."

Now that is just where all who think and speak and act under any such belief are certainly mistaken. There is no individual, however limited his circumstances and position may be, who may not play his part in world affairs.

But, you will ask, how can any influence of mine extend to world affairs?

Let me say a word about the place of the individual in national and international affairs. It is not of what governments can do that I wish to speak. It is of what you and I can do. I want you to see what the influences are that really count as we seek to help save the world from another war, and to make peace an enduring possession of mankind.

I do not intend to touch today on the problem of defence where, of course, ~~the~~ government, as well as the individual, has an all-important part to play. Until all nations are prepared to substitute Reason for Force in the solution of international differences, Canada, in common with all freedom-loving nations, will have to make her full contribution to the means to be taken to thwart agression on the part of any nation. I ~~speak this afternoon only of the method~~ shall confine my remarks this afternoon to a course of conduct which, if followed by nations generally, would put an end, even to aggression, and would lead to a durable peace. You will see in a moment what I mean.

I am sure that, at one time or another, each one of you has stood at the edge of a pond, and has enjoyed throwing pebbles into its still waters, and watching the ripples widen in a series of expanding circles. You have noticed how the circles continue to expand until, one after the other, they touch the opposite shore, or are lost beyond the range of sight.

No illustration could better serve as an image of the working of influences which control the destinies of nations. In this image, you may find a true picture of how wars originate and spread. Wars do not originate because men and women want to kill and be killed. Wars come about because some evil thought, some false idea, some suspicion or hate, cast into the mind of a people is allowed to spread its influence in ever widening circles. When the impression thus created is deep enough, and the range of its influence has become wide enough, acts of hatred and violence burst forth, which, sooner or later, usher in war. One has only to look at the lives of some of the dictators of our own day to see how enmities and hatreds early engendered have helped to breed the most terrible of wars.

Fortunately for all of us, the image of the expanding circles affords an equally true picture of how wars may be prevented. A good thought, a true idea, cast

into the pool of world opinion is as certain as an evil thought or a false idea to have its influence from centre to circumference. At the least, it will neutralize the power of some evil influence; if strong enough, it will overpower the evil influence and continue to spread. A kindly approach, an attitude of friendship and good-will cultivated by men and women in the relationships of everyday life, will soon make themselves felt among nations as well as among individuals. It has been truly said that "The character and ideals of a country are the character and the ideals of the individuals who inhabit it. Hence the responsibility of individuals".

It is not to governments, but to individuals, that we must look, if nations are to be spared further conflict. Governments may be despotic or they may be democratic. Which they are likely to be will depend upon the influences which shape a nation's development. Let me put it this way. As between governments and individuals, in the shaping of a nation's development, the <u>first</u> word lies with the individual, the <u>last</u> with government. It is the first influence, the early influence, which counts for most.

Someone has said that "nations are gathered out of nurseries". But that is only part of the quotation,

and not its most important part. Let me give you the quotation in full. It reads: "The tiniest bits of opinion sown in the minds of children in private life, afterwards come forth to the world and become a public opinion, for nations are gathered out of nurseries, and they who hold the leading strings of children may even exercise a greater power than those who hold the reins of government."

The words of this quotation throw a strong light upon the power, in matters of government, of parents in their homes, and of all who have to do with the care and education of children.

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I hope, tomorrow, to see again the home of my boyhood days. As I visit "Woodside", I know that many happy memories will be revived. I know also that I shall experience anew feelings that, more than half a century ago, lay deepest in my nature. I know I shall think again many of the thoughts that were mine in those formative years of ~~my life~~. I thank God that while, with the passing of the years, much has changed and gone, the power of the influences by which I was then surrounded has never wholly left me. The responsibilities, the strain and stress, of six years of war let me see how strong may be the sustaining power of the influences which surround one in childhood and youth.

x> You will be able to gather, I am sure, what at this moment I have most in mind, as I reflect upon the words of this quotation, and recall the influences which have been strongest in ~~the shaping of my own career~~. my life

Of the influences of early years, those of home are ~~generally~~ the strongest and most enduring. For most of us, fortunately, it would be difficult to think of home apart from school and church, and their associations. Schools and churches are centres of life as well as of thought. Here friendships are formed and interests developed which later bring us into touch with the larger life of the community, both social and political. Community life, however circumscribed it may be at the outset, soon expands into the life of the nation, and into an interest in the affairs of the world.

What I value most, as I look back upon the associations of early boyhood days, is that, in this community, we knew little or nothing of rigid class distinctions, nothing whatever of special privilege. Almost everyone knew everyone else. The attitude towards all, on the part of each, was an attitude of good-will, of mutual helpfulness and kindliness. At least it now so appears to me, as I look back athwart the barricades of hatred, and the barbed wire entanglements of suspicion and distrust which are so conspicuous in our present day world.

Here in Waterloo County, we had our differences of origin, differences of race, differences of religious affiliation, and differences of occupation. Our community

was a goodly mixture of all sorts of persons and of all kinds of interests, but there existed, on all sides, a noticeable spirit of tolerance. We placed the emphasis not so much on our differences, as upon the things we had in common. This, as I recall, except for short intervals during elections, was true even of differences in political opinion.

What I am saying of Waterloo County might be said of Canada as a whole. We are not a people who seek to foster class distinctions, or special privilege. We are prepared to live and let live. Our ambition is not to rule over other nations, nor do we wish to be ruled by any of them. We love freedom, and we seek for all who comprise our Nation, an ever larger measure of equality of opportunity.

All this is of the very essence of democracy. The emphasis is upon the individual, and upon the freedom of the individual. It is not upon the State and upon regimentation. It is upon unity, but not upon uniformity. It is a unity which, in human relations, as in Nature, delights in diversity.

Now this is exactly what the whole world most needs today. Human nature everywhere is very much the same. There is something in the human heart which responds

D 56330

to frankness and tolerance, to friendship and good-will. The problems which baffle countries and continents are much the same. In a contracting world, nearly all countries are faced with the problem of how peoples of different origins, occupations, races and creeds can learn to live together. We in Canada have solved that problem, or very nearly so.

If in the management of our own internal affairs, we in Canada can preserve that spirit of tolerance, of understanding and good-will among men and women of different origins, occupations, races and creeds, which has become a recognized characteristic of the Canadian way of life, we will do as much for the advancement of good relations throughout the world, as it would be possible for us to do in any other way. There is no force like the force of example. This is as true of Nations as of individuals.

The growth of Waterloo County as an important agricultural, industrial and trading community has been due, from the outset, to the quality of its settlers. Too great emphasis cannot be placed on the value they attached to the simple virtues, on what they displayed of initiative and self-reliance, and on what, as individuals, they achieved. As the early settlers, and their descendants prospered as individuals, so the entire community prospered.

D 56331

Here again will be found a parallel between this county and Canada as a whole. The sturdy pioneers who laid the foundations of settlement and government in our country did not look to some outside authority to further their interests. They looked to themselves. In the growth and development of Canada, individuals and industries have, for the most part, retained the widest freedom of initiative. The State, of course, has had its place. Neither individuals nor industries could be left wholly unrestrained. The State, so to speak, has prescribed the rules of the game. Also, where there have been essential services of a character too great to be carried on by individuals, the State has rendered assistance. Today, as a means of ensuring a wider measure of equality of opportunity, and of social security, the State is taking the necessary steps to secure for all a national minimum standard of living and human well-being, ~~for all~~. This is being done a step at a time, as the need for State action becomes apparent. There has been no attempt to change a social order which we have developed along lines which have served us well over the years, and which experience has shown makes for progress.

In a closing word, let me warn you to beware of change, in national affairs, just for the sake of change; or, what is even more dangerous, against accepting at its face value any proclaimed panacea for social ills, real or imaginary. Be sure that conclusions drawn from conditions as they exist in other parts of the world, follow logically from conditions as we know them in our own country.

I was much interested, in reading a day or two ago, the report of a nation-wide broadcast by one of Canada's leading parliamentarians. Let me give you a quotation from the broadcast, as it appears in the press. Here it is: "Any student of world events recognizes that there is a terrific struggle going on today between the forces of dictatorship and those of democracy. In Europe and Asia, the old capitalist imperialist system is dead. It failed to save the world from depression and war. It has proven completely incapable of restoring the economic well-being of war-ravaged countries. Everywhere, therefore, the people are seeking a new way and a new social and economic system."

Now nothing could be truer than the statement that there is a terrific struggle going on today between the forces of dictatorship and those of democracy. This is the strongest reason why we who enjoy democratic

institutions, and are the exponents of democracy, should seek at all costs to preserve our institutions and be careful to see that we do not permit any form of dictatorship to gain the least foot-hold in Canada. But is it true, as the quotation I have read would have you believe, that because some totalitarian order in Europe and Asia has been proven a failure, and to appearances at least, is dead, and that countries which have suffered from dictatorship are now seeking a new order, that ""Everywhere the people are seeking a new way and a new social and economic system"? That is a strange sort of sequence. ~~This might~~ be true of the people of Europe; it ~~might~~ be true of Asia, but it certainly is not true of Canada. How easy it is to generalize, but to what fatal errors generalization often leads! Would it not have been nearer the facts to have said that when the war was started by totalitarian forces in Europe and Asia, it was the free democracies, Canada among the number, which saved freedom wherever it exists in the world today? This surely is no argument for introducing into Canada some new and untried system!

As an appreciation of the struggle in the world today, I prefer the view recently expressed by a well-known Canadian writer on economic and social problems, when he says: "The real division in the world today is not between

socialism and capitalism, it is between freedom and totalitarianism."

I have frequently said that ~~what~~ all the world needs ~~is~~ a new social order based on human freedom. But that is very different from saying that we, in Canada, are seeking or require "a new social and economic system", especially where the system referred to is based on ideas which, in some countries, have been found to lead to dictatorship and totalitarianism. In Canada, up to the present, there has been no trend towards dictatorship or Imperialism. The whole trend has been away from both. We have become increasingly democratic. Neither have we sunk nor lost our identity in any Imperialist system. Nor can it be said that Canada today is the victim or the exponent of any system:- Capitalism, Imperialism, Socialism, Communism, or any other "ism". It is generally conceded there is no happier or more prosperous nation in the world today than our own. Why then indeed should we seek any "ism", new or old? Is not our way, our Canadian way of life, based as it is on freedom, on initiative, on opportunity, on tolerance, on co-operation and on good-will, deserving of a further trial before we risk our happiness and prosperity by taking on something that is new and untried. Let us not be too ready to forsake some at least of the old and tried

paths. Let us in our national life, and in our relations with other nations "Prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good".

Might I leave with you this last thought on Canada and the world of today. The Canadian nation is composed of peoples with origins in every country of Europe and many other parts of the world. In building a nation in the new world, we have sought to leave behind us the enmities and hatreds of the old world. In that, we have largely succeeded. In no other country will you find today greater tolerance, wider understanding or more good-will than our people manifest towards one another. Instead of seeking to import new systems from other lands, might not the giving, by example and otherwise, of more of our own Canadian way of life to other countries be the highest contribution Canada can make to the well-being of mankind?

And so I bid farewell to you, the agriculturists of my native County. May you continue to cultivate not only the soil of this Canada of ours, but may you ever emulate the sterling qualities of its pioneers, rejoicing in the ability to work, and in the power given to you to help in this great world. While seed time and harvest endure, and you continue to minister to the world's needs for bodily sustenance, may you also continue to sow the seeds of

character which, alone can satisfy man's moral and spiritual needs. In that sowing, all can make some contribution. I can express no higher wish than that we may all come to know how blest a land is ours in which to live and work; how great a thing it is, in any quarter of the globe, ~~to say~~: I am a Canadian.

D 56337

Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister
to the newly admitted Barristers-at-Law
at a
Meeting of Benchers of The Law Society of Upper Canada in Convocation
Osgoode Hall, Toronto, September 18, 1947

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It is, I understand, one of the time-honoured customs of the Law Society of Upper Canada that, when students have finished their courses, and have been called to the Bar, they are addressed by the Treasurer, who out of experience gained through years of practice gives to them some words of "advice and admonition". These are the Treasurer's words, not mine. I have been asked by the Treasurer if I would assume that duty on this occasion.

You, ~~gentlemen~~ who have just graduated in law, will not be surprised that, having, like yourselves, only just been admitted to the Bar, I should have greatly hesitated before assuming so grave a responsibility. The Treasurer, however, mentioned two circumstances which caused me to accept his courteous request. He said there would be disappointment if I did not speak; and added, that as the time was limited, my remarks would necessarily have to be brief.

who have just graduated in law,
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REPEAT
REPETITION

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Invitation of Benchers - Gray's Inn and Osgoode Hall

But I have, also a confession to make which may help to excuse my venturing, however briefly, to address a gathering of Barristers, when I myself am without any experience whatever at the Bar.

The letter I received from the Treasurer in June last, advising me that a resolution had been passed at a meeting of the Benchers of the Law Society of Upper Canada, inviting me to become an Honorary Bencher of the Society, mentioned that honour only. The letter said nothing whatever about admission, as well, to the Bar of Upper Canada - and that without being called upon to pass any examinations!

I had assumed that the office of Honorary Bencher of our Law Society was similar in all respects to that of Honorary Bencher of one of the English Inns of Court. A little over a year ago I had the honour of being elected an Honorary Master of the Bench of Gray's Inn, in London, England. This involved acceptance of the honour, but nothing more. Had I known, at the time I received the Treasurer's invitation that I was also to be admitted to the Bar and that I would be speaking this morning as a Barrister-at-Law, I would certainly have hesitated even longer than I did before undertaking to give my fellow-barristers words of advice and admonition.

Appreciation of two-fold honour

Perhaps you will allow me before I attempt to comply with the Treasurer's request, to express, in a very few words, my deep appreciation of the two-fold honour of which I myself have been the recipient.

In his letter advising me of the invitation to become an Honorary Bencher, the Treasurer mentioned that two matters were in the minds of the Benchers: one, my long tenure of office as Prime Minister; the other, the long association of my father with the Law Society. Referring to my father, the Treasurer said, "many of our older men have very pleasant recollections of our student days under his teaching".

Association with Osgoode Hall

Nothing I can think of could afford me more true happiness than that members of the legal profession in this province - the older members in particular - should have still in mind my father's long connection with Osgoode Hall. It touches me very deeply to know that so large a number have continued, over the years, to cherish so kindly a remembrance of his association with their student days, and should have desired, in the presence of his son, to pay some tribute to his memory.

D 56340

I know that my father, though he seldom alluded to it, must have experienced some disappointment at heart when, after I had received degrees in Arts and Law from the University of Toronto, I made known to him my wish to pursue post-graduate studies in political economy and political science, instead of qualifying as a member of the legal profession. I know he had much looked forward to my attending Osgoode Hall, being articled to him through my years as a law student, and, later, being in partnership with him in the practice of Law. Instead, I decided to pursue post-graduate studies at universities in the United States and abroad, with a view to an academic career. My interest, even in early years, was primarily with social problems. My university studies heightened that interest. Had I, at that time, been thinking primarily of a political career, I should certainly have sought to become a barrister. Without starting out to seek either a career in politics or admission to the Bar, I have at last come to possess both, and, as well, the enviable distinction of being an Honorary Bencher of the Law Society of Upper Canada.

Tribute to father's memory

As a tribute to the memory of my father, to what his life has meant to me, and to not a few of the judges and

barristers in our country, I cannot be too grateful to the Benchers of the Law Society of Upper Canada for the honour they have done his son in conferring on him the degree of Barrister-at-Law, and the distinction of Honorary Bencher of the Law Society. I accept the two-fold honour, thus conferred, with feelings of truest pride, but in deep humility. I know that nothing could have afforded my father more in the way of happiness than to have had my name find a place along with his on the long and honourable roll of members of the legal profession of Ontario. I thank the Law Society of Upper Canada for this exceptional tribute to my father's memory.

Long tenure of office as Prime Minister

The other reason mentioned by the Treasurer, for the honour being conferred, was my long tenure of office as Prime Minister.

When I was made an Honorary Bencher of Gray's Inn I was quick to recognize that the honour had come to me through a desire on the part of the legal profession in England to express, in a manner appropriate to the profession, appreciation of the all-important part which Canada, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, has taken in the development of Commonwealth Relations, and in the preservation of freedom. Today, I am happy to recognize,

in the honour conferred, a desire on the part of the legal profession of this Province, to accord recognition to the importance of public service in our halls of Parliament, and in the government of our country.

That the Law Society of Upper Canada should have viewed in such a kindly way my many years of office, and deemed me worthy of this expression of their good-will, is something which I cannot too gratefully acknowledge, or for which I cannot thank its members too warmly. It is, indeed, a tribute to our public life that occasions, such as the present, are not infrequently found where the heat of ancient controversies is forgotten, and the sound of faction stilled, in a desire to emphasize the importance of public service. In words I recently used on another memorable occasion, in speaking to my fellow-members of all parties in Parliament, I venture the hope that the memory of this occasion will serve to lend a glow to public life, and to reveal the richness of the rewards of public service.

Association with the Law and Lawyers

Before I essay the task the Treasurer has assigned me, may I give, if not by way of apology, at

least in explanation, some reasons why I am so bold as to address any words to members of the legal profession.

At Home I have, throughout my life seen a great deal of, and had much to do with lawyers. I cannot speak as a practising lawyer, but I can speak as a member of a practising lawyer's family. There are few associations that I look back upon with greater pride and pleasure than those which my father's library afforded. There, the rows upon rows of law books, with the beautiful coloring of their bindings, seem still to lend a kindly background to one's early life. There, from day to day, conversation was almost certain to touch upon something that had to do with the law, something of/Court trials, something of assizes; and, later, much of lectures and examinations at Osgoode Hall. There, too, were friendly meetings with students, with eminent counsel, and with members of the judiciary. In later years, it was a source of particular pleasure to me as I went about in this province and in the provinces of the west, to meet lawyers and judges who had been my father's students here at Osgoode Hall.

In Parliament Parliament, and more particularly the House of Commons and the Cabinet, provided increased opportunities

for constant and, indeed, a most intimate association with members of the legal profession. All through my political life, I have been accustomed to dealing with lawyers, and I think that I have gained some familiarity with their way of looking at things. In the years I have been leader of my party, I have had as opponents, not a few of the ablest members of the profession in Canada, among the number Sir Robert Borden, The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, The Hon. Hugh Guthrie, and Lord Bennett.

Law Making May I make this further plea: While I have not engaged in the practice of law, I may claim, I think, at least in the matter of time, to have had more to do with the making of laws in Canada than any other member of the legal profession. I have had, as well, to do with the elevation to the Bench of a goodly number of members of the Bar. It has been my duty, as well, to tender advice on matters of State to no fewer than five of Canada's Governors General.

Association with illustrious Members of Profession Nor do I forget, at this moment, and in this company, to recall that the steps by which I gained my early opportunities in public life have their association with three of the most illustrious names in the legal profession, Sir William Mulock, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Allen Aylesworth. It was Sir William Mulock who, in 1900, invited me to enter

the public service of Canada, and recommended me for the position of Deputy Minister of Labour. It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier who, in 1909, invited me to become a member of his administration, and to whom I owed my first appointment as a Minister of the Crown. It was Sir Allen Aylesworth who, ten years later, at the convention of 1919, placed my name in nomination for Leadership of the Liberal Party in succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. With all three, I have been privileged to enjoy, not only the closest of associations, but the most precious of friendships. I should like to add that, for most of the years I have been Leader of my party, I have shared my desk in the House of Commons with two outstanding members of the legal profession, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe and the Rt. Hon. Louis St.Laurent, each of whom, as Minister of Justice, has brought high honour to the profession as well as to himself.

Words of "advice and admonition"

Having, I trust, made out a case for my right to address you, may I now in a very few words, seek to fulfil the task I have been assigned. And here, based upon long and close observation of lawyers, and their influence in and out of Parliament, may I say at once that it is not by the amount of advice given, but by its inherent worth - not volume but quality - that its real value is to be judged.

D 56346

There are many things I might say to you this morning. I prefer, instead, to say only one or two things which I pray may, throughout life, be a source of strength to you in the practice of the Law, and which, at the close of life, may have helped you to bring honour alike to yourselves and to the profession.

The Influence of Character and Maintenance of Standards

When my father, on account of blindness, was obliged to retire from active connection with the Law School, the Benchers conferred upon him the honour of Lecturer Emeritus. He was presented by the Principal and other Lecturers with an address in which kindly reference was made to the advantage he had taken of the great opportunities, which his long tenure of office had conferred, to influence, by his character, as well as by his teaching, the ethical as well as the legal training of members of the Bar. It is that influence I should like to see made uppermost in each of your lives, the influence of character; the maintenance of high standards of conduct, and of lofty precepts in the practice of your profession.

Need of men to enforce Right, Truth and Justice

Believe me, there is no force in the world greater than the force of example. The world has never been more in need than it is today of men who will uphold the Right, and who will battle for Truth and Justice.

Never forget that as Burke has said, "Justice is the common concern of mankind". Increasingly all parts of the world are being drawn together into a single community which is one and indivisible. Your profession makes you special

custodians of the rights of all men, and/of Justice in the relationships of Nations as well as of individuals. You have a special mission to do all in your power to see that the rule of Law - based upon Reason, not upon Coercion - is maintained in communities and between nations.

The Importance of Accuracy and Avoidance of Offensive Words

You no doubt are aware that my father wrote a treatise on the Law of Defamation - Libel and Slander. I am told it is still much in demand. I have sometimes thought that he must have foreseen that some member of his family, sooner or later, would be ~~active~~ a subject of attack in politics. Be that as it may, speaking as one who knows something of the effects of political controversy, I would advise all young men whose callings necessitate much of speaking in public, whether in courts of law, in parliament or from the pulpit, to cultivate the habit of accuracy. I would counsel a spirit of tolerance and of moderation and restraint in expression. I would urge one and all to guard as strongly as may be possible against what, in language, may be offensive to others. It is language that provokes controversies, and controversies that beget wars. The radio even more than the press, becomes all too easily an instrument to engender hatred. Fortunately it may also be made a powerful instrument for peace. The habit of accuracy will do much to avoid discord. As Cicero said, the Truth, of itself, easily defends itself.

One's Debt to One's Profession

But is was not for opportunity to express this word of counsel that I made mention of my father's book on the Law of Libel and Slander. It was to bring to your attention a paragraph which appears at the end of its preface. The paragraph reads: "It would be presumption to say that the book is free from errors and imperfections; but for these the writer may fairly claim the indulgence which is generously given to anyone who seeks to repay, however inadequately, the debt which he owes to his own profession."

"Seeks to repay the debt which he owes to his own profession". I like those words. They afford a noble incentive to life and to work. That is what I should like you to keep before you as you advance in your profession, and gain prominence in your careers.

Opportunities the Legal Profession Affords

To be a member of the legal profession is to belong to a highly honourable company, one which, of itself, lends a note of distinction to its every member. The profession of Law opens the door to opportunities of personal advancement, and of public service which few, if any, other callings or professions afford in equal measure. It gives an entry into many homes; and it affords a welcome into many lands. To members of the profession and to members of their families, it gives a recongized position in all communities, and To their descendants, if

they are true to its traditions, it bequeathes a worthy name.

How can one seek/ in too many ways, to repay so great a debt? Again I repeat there is no force like the force of example. Exemplary conduct in all the relationships of life will bring honour to any man; it will also adorn the profession to which he belongs.

Walk worthy of your Vocation

So, ~~gentlemen~~ my young friends, all that I can give you in the way of "Advice and admonition", all that I would wish to give, may be summed up in five words "Walk worthy of your vocation".

If you succeed in that, you need have no fear either for yourself or your profession, and no doubt of the honour you will bring to both.

Canadian Club of New York City
Presentation of Award and Medal
October 31, 1947

D 56350

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MACKENZIE KING

Mr. Jackson, Mr. How, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I wish I could say how delighted I am to have this opportunity of meeting many old friends, also, I trust, of making many new ones this afternoon, especially among those who, though residing in the United States, are keeping a close association with the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. Jackson has alluded to the fact he and I have had a considerable correspondence. I owe him a great debt of obligation for his kindness in inviting me to come to New York to be present at this meeting of the Canadian Club to receive the award and the medal with which I have been presented this afternoon. Also may I say how great my obligation will always be for the scroll, with its exceptionally generous inscription, which Mr. How has just presented to me.

It is true I was invited by Mr. Jackson as long ago as January last to come to New York to a dinner to be given in the evening. From that time to this, I

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REPEAT
REPETITION

have been watching for a chance to get away from Ottawa, to express my thanks for the great honour this Club has just now conferred, as well as to enjoy the dinner. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that it is even more pleasant to me to have the opportunity of meeting in this informal way all who have so generously gathered here this afternoon.

On the way to the hotel, I mentioned to Mr. Jackson that during the last few weeks we have been working under such pressure at Ottawa that any remarks I might make this afternoon would necessarily have to be very much, so to speak, of the moment. Fortunately, the words to which I have just been listening make it comparatively easy for me to express the thanks I feel.

You, Mr. President, have been kind enough to say that this award was due to an interest which I have had in furthering international friendships between the United States and Canada, and between the United States, Canada, and the other nations of the British Commonwealth. In accepting the award, which I do with the warmest thanks and greatest possible appreciation, I would have you

believe that I do so in a representative capacity. I cannot imagine any Canadian, who is interested in public affairs, and responsible in his attitude and objectives, who has other than the keenest desire to see the closest possible relations furthered between our country and the United States, and between our two countries and all parts of the British Commonwealth. In that objective, you, of the Canadian Club of New York, have given expression to ideals and aims and ambitions held in common by all Canadians. In so doing you have helped to express Canada's true voice. I accept this award with very sincere thanks indeed. I accept it as one Canadian citizen representing his fellow citizens, and as one who, throughout his life, has sought to further the friendliest possible relations between the countries of which we are speaking.

Ladies and gentlemen, as we look at the world today, I need not ask if we do not all feel the fulfilment of that great objective to be one of the highest services to mankind. I can think of nothing more important than that the peoples of Canada and the United States should

continue to share, as they do, not merely common ideals, but like means of furthering international friendship, and like methods of dealing with international questions as they arise. I cannot think of anything more important than that, unless it be a widening of the circle so that the friendship between our two countries on this continent may extend to all parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In that way, we are not merely developing a sense of security which could not possibly be obtained in any other way, we are also setting an example to the world, an example which the world needs more than any other at this time. I cannot wish too sincerely that the members of the Club may continue through the years to come, as they have throughout the past, to follow and to further that great ideal.

You have been kind enough, Mr. How, to refer to the many years I have been in public life, to my many years of office, and to speak in that connection of the direction of the Nation's affairs as Canada has gone forward into complete nationhood. It is true I have now had a good many years in public life and in office; but if I have had any

success in the position which I am privileged still to hold, it has been due, I can assure you, to what others have done for me, and to what they have given by way of guidance and direction rather than to any special merit of my own.

The more one shares in public life, the more one learns that the secret of any enduring success lies in the associations of a life, and, particularly, in the nature of those associations. I have been especially fortunate, perhaps no man in public office has been more fortunate, in having as immediate associates true and loyal and able colleagues. Looking back over the years, I recall that when I first came to hold office I was the youngest member of the government. Today, I regret to say, I am the oldest member. To all the members who have been my colleagues I feel, to each one individually, a debt of special obligation. It would be difficult to say what I feel I owe to their collective judgment and wisdom. There are, of course, also hosts of friends throughout the country. I do not wish to touch on politics today, but I must say that I am very grateful to all of those who have been wise enough and good enough to support the policies of the present

administration over the years, (laughter) That is a debt I shall always be prepared gratefully to acknowledge.

There is one group of persons of whom I should like to make special mention this afternoon, in just a word. They are the officials of the public service. I feel that far too much credit is given to the few of us who are in the limelight, and that far too little credit is given to those who fill the office of advisers to the Ministers, and who have to do with the work of the administration; and that far too little is known of the services they render.

I do not believe there is another country in the world with a better Civil Service than Canada, or a finer diplomatic service. We may not have the largest public service in the world, but I believe that in quality our service is not surpassed. I can say that because of the knowledge which has come to me through observation over the years. I can say it, also, because of what I have heard and learned from others. It should be a matter of tremendous pride to all who have any association with Canada, when visiting the United States, the United Kingdom, or any other country, to be told, as I have been told

repeatedly, that members of governments of these countries have not seen, among those who are carrying on work in international fields today, the superiors of the men and women in the Canadian public service. (applause) One has only to visit the United Nations to see that, among those who are participating in its discussions, whether it be among the trained diplomats or those who are present merely as representatives, our small Canadian contingent can hold its own with any corresponding group.

My purpose in speaking of public officials is not only because I feel so strongly that such success as I myself may have had over the years is due in such large measure to their abilities, but because I believe this to be true of much of the success of government itself. I do not mean party government; I mean the kind of democratic government it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain in the world at this time.

I have great hope, strong faith, and a firm belief that Canada, through her administrative and diplomatic services, is going to be one of the really

powerful influences in the furtherance of world peace; and this, increasingly so,as the years go by. Perhaps we should not have the opportunity we have, nor the scope we have, were it not that we in Canada are living at the side of this great country; and that, as a consequence, our officials are constantly sharing experiences, and exchanging views and opinions, with officials of the United States. Our ministers are continually meeting ministers of this country. I believe it is true of international negotiations, as between the United States and Canada, that our public men and officials have come to know each other so completely that the attitude which prevails, once negotiations are under way, is one of well-nigh complete confidence and trust. That is not equally so between most other nations. As a matter of fact, in most negotiations, those representing other countries feel that they have constantly to be on the lookout for something hidden, for something being sought in an indirect way, something not revealed when negotiations themselves were begun.

I have followed closely the international relations of our two countries over a good many years. I am happy to

recall this afternoon thatit was the administration of which I had the honour to be head that made the first appointment of a Minister, and, later, of an Ambassador to the United States. Ministers and Ambassadors were subsequently appointed to France, Japan and to several other countries. I am proud to say that every mission of the diplomatic service of Canada has been established in the first instance by an administration of which, at one time or another, I have been the head. This includes not merely those missions which have gone from Canada to foreign countries, but also of the missions which have represented our country in the other countries of the Commonwealth. I remember very well our request to the United Kingdom to establish in Canada the Office of the British High Commissioner. Acceded to by the British Government, this request led subsequently to High Commissioners being sent to Ottawa from each of the Nations of the British Commonwealth and High Commissioners being sent from Canada to each of the other Nations of the Commonwealth. Today, if I am not mistaken, Canda's diplomatic service, including therein those who have been sent from our country to either foreign countries or to other parts of the Commonwealth, numbers, in heads of missions,

something like twenty-five. I believe that the number of young men and young women included in that service has increased since I left Ottawa yesterday afternoon. I recall signing a recommendation by the Cabinet to His Excellency the Governor General for the appointment of additional Consuls General to the United States. Our friend, Mr. Scully, as Consul General here in New York, has set such a splendid example of the value to both countries of the kind of services he performs, that we have felt we should send Consuls General to other great cities of the United States.

During the period of time of which I have been speaking, we have had the honour of receiving in Canada, as I have said, many diplomats from other countries. I see here this afternoon my good friend Baron Silvercruys. While he was Minister and Ambassador from Belgium to Canada, he was a nearby neighbour of mine. He is now Ambassador of Belgium to this great country. He and others have created in Ottawa a circle representative of the leading countries of the world which has now grown to a considerable size. All of this has come about within a very short period.

Speaking of international friendships and good-will, I believe that the presence of these gentlemen in Ottawa, and the presence of our representatives in other countries, is today doing more than any other single factor, to help bring about between the countries concerned a wider understanding and a deeper friendship.

Let me return to what I started to speak of a moment ago, namely, the way in which Canadians and Americans meet each other in negotiation. The distinguishing feature in our method of negotiation,as I am inclined to view it, is that when our representatives and the representatives of this great country sit down together to discuss an international problem, rather than seeking to conceal anything materially relevant, they endeavour to disclose all relevant factors in their joint efforts to discover where a common interest lies. In that method of procedure,we are, I believe, setting an example to other nations. It means proceeding on a basis of confidence. Cards are placed on the table face up. I do not say there has never been a little holding back. We all have on occasions to be smiling and thinking at the same time, (laughter) but I do say the search for the interest that is in common, rather

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than for that which will give an advantage to one over the other, is today pre-eminently, and, for some time past has been, the distinguishing feature of the Canadian-American method of negotiation. I am sure Sir Gerald Campbell, who, happily, is with us today, and who has had a large experience in these matters, will agree that what I have said is characteristic of the method of international negotiation between our two countries, and accounts for much of its attendant success.

The King's representative, His Excellency the Governor General, was, as you will recall, the one through whom formerly communications between the British and Canadian governments, as well as between the Sovereign and the Government of Canada, were conducted. The Governor General was also an accepted agency of communication between Canada and the United States. We in Canada felt that it would be wiser, both in the interest of the Crown and in the interest of the Governments concerned, if, instead of having the King's representative represent the government of the United Kingdom in Canada, the British government were to appoint its own High Commissioner, and have the Governor General's functions and duties confined

to matters pertaining immediately to the Crown. This change was proposed with a view to preventing trouble which otherwise might be apt to develop. It was felt that under this arrangement where a difference arose between the governments of the two countries it could not be construed as a difference between the Crown and the government, but would be viewed as, in fact, it was, as a difference between government and government. The Crown in this way would be kept out of politics.

I recall, in seeking one day to explain all this to King George V, His Majesty said to me: "What then is my representative going to do? I do not wish to have a representative who is going to be present only at afternoon teas" - that is no reflection upon this afternoon. (Laughter) King George wished to have a little more explanation of why the functions of Governors General should be shorn in the manner suggested. It was easy to point out to His Majesty that Canada had begun even at that time to play a part in world affairs which was much larger than ever before and that new duties and obligations were arising which would give to His Majesty's representative as much in the way of responsibility as he, as the representative of the Crown, could wish to have.

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Similarly, there would be for the representative of the government of the United Kingdom, as contrasted with the representative of the Crown, as much in the way of responsibility as he would wish to have.

In Ottawa, we have had in all five High Commissioners from the United Kingdom: First, Sir William Clark, Sir Francis Floud, and Sir Gerald Campbell, each an exceptionally able public servant. Since Sir Gerald's day, we have had the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, who has since further distinguished himself in other parts of the world, and at the present time we have Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, also a most distinguished public servant. These gentlemen have been a tower of strength to their own government. They have also been a great help to our government. We could never have had in international affairs the fine relationship we have come to have with governments of other parts of the Commonwealth and with other nations if the task of communicating with the British government on matters of state in general had been left to the King's representative in Canada. At the outset, the new developments were looked upon by many as a serious break in an old procedure. In

the light of the success which has attended the change, this to us of today ought to be an encouragement. Many old procedures are fortunately undergoing change. If we look at our own experience we shall find that nearly every time Canada has made a closer approach to complete control of her own affairs, she has, at the same time, helped to strengthen the structure of the British Commonwealth as a whole

Before I conclude, may I add a further word in reference to the high honour I have received today. The pleasure I experience at the receipt of this honour is greatly enhanced by the recollection of those who have received a similar honour from this Club. I am particularly happy that the Queen Elizabeth arrived at last this morning. Otherwise we should not have had Sir Gerald Campbell here this afternoon. I am glad, too, because I want to go aboard the Queen Elizabeth tomorrow. (Laughter) I had not expected that I would share with members and officials of the Club this afternoon the privilege of meeting Sir Gerald Campbell at this gathering. In furthering friendly relations between the different countries to which we in an immediate or less immediate way belong, Sir Gerald Campbell has played an exceptionally

important part. Sir Gerald, as all present know, was the first to receive the award of the Canadian Club of New York.

You, Sir Gerald, will remember some of the talks we had together in Ottawa before, and during a part of the war. We had many talks together, but the picture which today comes most frequently into my mind is not one of Sir Gerald walking into my office in a morning coat, or my going down to Earnscliffe in similar dress, it is a picture rather of the two of us sitting on the sofa, or on chairs in my library at Laurier House and talking over matters together in that secluded environment. I mention this, not as a necessary method to be adopted by diplomats in all their proceedings, but as expressive of the kind of informal and close friendly relations which have existed between the government of Canada and those who have come to us from the United Kingdom, also between the public men and officials of this country and of our country and, only in a lesser degree, I am happy to say, also of those who have come to us from other friendly nations. It is an attitude of genuine friendship and good-will. In this, there is something

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which, if I might, I should like to leave as a thought in your minds as a result of our meeting together this afternoon. It is the importance in everything of attitude.

I do not know as much about domestic life as I should like to know, (laughter) but I imagine, unless there is a little give and take in family relations, in all aspects of family life, things are not apt to go too happily. Where domestic difficulties arise, the right attitude of approach to meeting them will go a long way toward their solution. I believe this is equally true of the relations between nations. If we of the American and British communities cultivate the frame of mind of always looking for a furtherance of friendship and good-will, this attitude on our part will soon come to make its impression on others. While it is going to be a dickens of a job, if a stronger word should not be used, to wait until all nations have acquired the habit of shaking hands, and of extending friendly greetings to each other, I nevertheless do believe that in the great group of nations comprising the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the United States of America, and the nations who, in the war, have been our allies, and in what is developing through

the United Nations today, a friendly attitude will continue to develop and grow and will yet come to permeate the thinking which, in all their relations, must eventually govern the nations of the world. In that possibility I believe lies the hope of the future. The right attitude toward each other in seeking to meet problems as they arise will carry individuals and nations much further than anything else along the path of peace and progress.

In speaking here this afternoon, I do thank God that all of us present belonging either to the United States, to Canada, or to some of the other nations of the British Commonwealth, do share in common ideals of friendship and good-will, and are seeking by attitude and example to further these ideals throughout the world.

Now a word in reference to my old and very dear friend, the Honourable Cordell Hull. Mr. Hull is the one other person who has had the honour of receiving the award of the Canadian Club of New York. I believe it can be said in all truth and fairness that, among those who are still living, no name is more honoured in the United States than that of Cordell Hull. I can think of few if any men in the history of any country who have set a nobler example than Mr. Hull has given in seeking to

promote the highest good in relation to international relations. So far as his policy of the good neighbour is concerned, his words and actions speak for themselves. For his policy of establishing greater freedom of trade, we have only to look at what has happened in Geneva within the past few days. The founding of the United Nations in this very city at this very time, speaks of what, over so many years, he sought so earnestly to effect. He is a great gentleman and a great statesman; one who has given very much in the way of enlightenment to his day and generation. It is a joy to everyone to know that Mr. Hull has made such a splendid recovery from his recent very serious illness. I am particularly happy that I was able, on his last birthday, to converse with him over the long distance telephone from Ottawa to the Naval Hospital at Washington. I have, therefore, positive assurance of the progress he is making. I believe it will not be long before he will have concluded the great work on which, during the years of retirement, he has been engaged. It will be an invaluable record of great international negotiations and conferences in which he has taken an all-important part.

Mr. President, I thank you again for your kind words and for the exceptional honour the Canadian Club of New York has conferred on me today. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for your kindness in being here this afternoon. To all I extend my best of wishes for the furtherance of the ideals of international friendship and good-will, which we all so strongly cherish.

(Rising applause)

D 56370

Address by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

to

The Free University of Brussels,
November 10, 1947.

Your Majesty, President, Rector, Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I be excused if, in addressing this distinguished gathering, I speak in English. As a Member of the Parliament of Canada in which both the French and English languages are official, I suppose I should attempt to speak in French. I have learned, however, to have a deep respect for the French language. I hesitate to mar its beauty by making use of it on such an occasion as this.

Mr. President, I have one or two other words I should like to express before I attempt an acknowledgment of the high honour which this University has conferred on me today. I should like publicly to thank my friend, the Prime Minister of Belgium, for his kind invitation to which I owe my presence in Brussels at this time, and hence, in part, the honour of receiving a degree from this seat of learning. Mr. Spaak and I are old friends. We met here some ten years ago, if I remember aright. We have since renewed our friendship in San Francisco, in New York, and in other places. It is a delight to me to be a guest in the country over the government of which he presides.

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I should like to express my very deep appreciation of the honour Her Majesty has paid my country by her presence this afternoon. I remember being in Brussels, when I was the Minister of Labour in the Government of Canada. That was as long ago as 1910. I had, at that time, the great honour of meeting King Albert. I shall never forget the impression which his personality made on me at the time. His memory lives in the hearts of the Canadian people.

In attempting to thank you, Mr. President, and the Rector, for what you have said this afternoon, and in attempting to thank the University for the great honour I have received, I confess I feel as I did when my own University, the University of Toronto, conferred upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws. My father had been for many years a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto - some 37 years in all. He was, at the time of his death, the oldest representative in the Senate of the graduates in Arts of the University. I felt that, in reality, the honour belonged to him. That it did not belong to me. In receiving the honour, I naturally gave expression to the feelings nearest my heart. I told the Chancellor, the President, and others there assembled, that if the degree being conferred on me that day were accepted by myself,

it was because my father was not there to receive it; that the academic adornment belonged to his shoulders, not to mine. I said that anything I had achieved that was worthy of recognition I owed to my parents in largest measure. Or, to express it in another way, that if I had had the exceptional opportunities of public service I had enjoyed, they had grown, as was the case with most men, out of sacrifices my parents had made on my account. Today, I find myself experiencing the same feelings. Only, at this moment, they are not so much in relation to my parents; they are even more in relation to my country.

I realize that if ~~that~~if the high distinction just received has been conferred upon me by this great University, it is because the authorities have chosen this method of expressing their feeling of goodwill towards the Canadian people. It is, as a humble representative of my country, that, with great pride, I have accepted this high honour at this time. I know how deeply touched the people of Canada will be when they learn that, in the course of the hurried visit I am at last being privileged to make to a few of the countries of Europe, this great University has set aside this afternoon to pay a tribute to Canada, and to emphasize the close relationship of our two countries. Because of the years of trial through which, twice in a single generation,

we have all passed, s[is this] enduring/friendship/[that it]has already become almost a tradition.

I should like to say a word of the circumstances which have brought us so close together. The purpose of my present visit to Belgium, Holland and France, and to one or two other countries, is simply to convey greetings of admiration and respect on behalf of the Canadian people to the brave peoples of the countries I have mentioned. We all know in what measure our freedom has been preserved by sacrifices made on your soil. I am grateful/[also] to have the privilege to pay a tribute to the memory of our blessed dead in the country where so many of them have found their last resting place: those of the first great war, some years ago, and/[those] of the recent war. Especially are all who have given their lives for freedom much in our thoughts on this eve of Armistice Day. I have not, thus far, had an opportunity of viewing the battlefields of Belgium or of Holland, but I did visit Normandy last year. Seldom if ever have I been more deeply moved than I was when I realized how deep the feelings towards my own countrymen continued to be on the part of those with whom young Canadians had shared the terrors and vicissitudes of war. I should like to have it known that today the people of Canada cherish similar thoughts towards those

with whom they have been allied in the preservation of liberty. This feeling of comradeship in a great cause is one which grows deeper, year by year, and day by day.

May I say how really delighted we in Canada are to know of the progress which you in Belgium have been able to make in this period of reconstruction. We all know what you had to endure during the occupation. We all know something of what it means even to attempt, in however limited a way, the reconstruction of a country after a war. It is a source of inspiration to us that, in two years, you have been able to achieve so much in the accomplishment of a truly herculean task.

In the development of national life, we as peoples are all much handicapped by what is taking place in the world around us. I trust that knowledge will help to give to each of us a better understanding of the problems our several countries have to face. It seems to me, we must cease to view our problems any longer from the point of view solely of our own or of any one country. We have increasingly to learn that we are all members one of another. Whatever one nation may do for another, whatever service any one nation may render toward any portion of mankind, sooner or later will, I believe, come to benefit itself to a corresponding extent. True service, like the quality of mercy, is"twice blessed!" "It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes".

Time does not permit me to speak of social and commercial developments pursued in common by our two countries. I should like, however, to refer to what is being accomplished through diplomatic channels. The more I have experienced of government, the more I have come to value the service rendered to world affairs by those who have taken up diplomatic life as a calling. Here, let me say how pleased I am to be sharing this platform this afternoon with the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Dore. We are proud to have so distinguished a scholar, and citizen, representing our country in this great country at this time. May I refer also to your distinguished representative in Canada, Mr. Paternotte de la Vaillee, and to his predecessor, Baron Silvercruys, both of whom have won for themselves and helped to win for their country a warm place in the hearts of the Canadian people. I am happy to say that the/residence of Belgian in Ottawa is within two doors of my own. Your representative and I have seen a good deal of each other in a friendly way. I recall how, in the period of war, when your Minister Baron Silvercruys was unable to obtain much if anything in the way of inside information, I was able, as soon as the despatches we were receiving from Britain were decoded, to slip over to my neighbour and give to him the latest word that I believed would be of special interest to him. Associations of the past, especially such as are related to the a time of war, have helped to bring us close together. With all

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my heart I pray that what there has already been of a beginning in that direction may steadily develop, and that the bonds of friendship and common interest by which we are united may grow stronger and stronger as the years go by.

Mr. President and Rector, I am not able, I regret to say, to converse in French. I am able, however, to follow what is being said in French, and I understood a good deal of what you were saying in your generous personal references this afternoon. I confess that for once I was happy to be a long way from home. If my fellow Canadians had heard what you were saying about me today, they would have said: "But just, "hold on," who are you talking about?" I thank you warmly for your kindness and generosity. I hope you will believe that however inadequately I may represent my country I could not be prouder than I am to accept, as the representative of the Canadian people, the honour you have conferred.

May I conclude with a word addressed more particularly to the students of this great University. The present are times which in some respects are as trying and testing as any of those through which free nations have passed, not excepting the years of war. I say "not excepting" because on the success or failure of our endeavours at this time to fashion a world policy of goodwill depends the whole future of mankind.

At this very hour, we are at the beginning of movements and events which are capable of carrying the world forward, not merely because of what science has revealed to us, but because we have learned more, and to think more, of human relations. In the endeavour, if successful, we shall go very far forward. Should we fail, we may have to face the greatest destruction the world has ever known. I cannot believe that the latter is a probability. My own feeling is that those who were fighting for the right still have, as they have had in the past, forces on their side which in the end will conquer. But we must, at this time, seek, above all, to avoid any possibility of war arising from the troubles which beset us.

To you who, sooner or later, will be graduating from the University, may I say-many possible careers will open before you, and you may have difficulty in your choice. The fact, however, that you are at a University, receiving the benefit of higher education, should point you in a certain direction, one which everyone should seek, in some measure, to follow, namely, the direction of public service. The Universities, as has been said this afternoon, are the custodians of tradition, and all that is best in tradition. The Universities, as among the nations, are the custodians of the aims and ideals we hold in common: they are, whether located in Europe, America or Asia, the custodians of our highest hopes and aspirations. They beget

a brotherhood of understanding which should enable us to act in concert, as a mighty force, in shaping an enlightened public opinion. May I therefore urge, on behalf of the community of free nations, that you young men and women keep ever before you, whatever may be the special field of interest of your career, also the ideal of some form of public service. (Were I asked to express what I believe to be one of the most powerful forces in the world today serving the interests of world peace, I would say it is the associated groups of men and women, young and old, who in all free countries, in different branches of government, are filling offices of public service. The diplomatic services in all parts of the world are in a special position to further a world opinion which ultimately will ensure world peace. What greater contribution can be made to the world today than is possible through University men and women preparing themselves while at college for a high and noble mission in life.

May I again thank the University of Brussels for having conferred its highest honour upon me today. May I again say that what has come to me, in this way, at this time, the people of Canada will quickly realize as a tribute to on the part of Canada, ~~one greatly to be cherished,~~ by the people of Belgium.

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UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

Address by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

November 12, 1947.

Mr. Rector, Members of the Faculty, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You, I am sure, will not be surprised that as I listened tO the altogether too kind and moving address of the Rector and to that very eloquent address by the Dean of the Faculty of Law, there should have come to my mind the words of George Eliot: "Speech is but broken light on the depths of the unspoken". I use these words in reference to my effort to acknowledge what has been said this morning. No words of mine can begin to express what I should like to be able to say on behalf of my fellow countrymen and on behalf, may I say, Mr. Rector, of the parents and grandparents before me to whom I owe so much. This is indeed a deeply moving occasion. I should be without words altogether in which to attempt to express my thoughts were it not that I am fully conscious that this great honour which has been conferred upon me by this ancient and illustrious University this morning is one which is given to me as a citizen of Canada, as a tribute to the Canadian people, whom it is my great honour and privilege to represent in this great country of Belgium today, and that, above all, it is a tribute which, through me, you seek to pay to the armed forces of Canada, who, with your forces and those of other countries, have been prompt to make every sacrifice that was necessary.

I do thank you from my heart for what you have so generously expressed of my own life and work, such as it has been. I do express the thanks I feel on behalf of the people of Canada, on behalf of the armed forces of Canada, on behalf of all our citizens who at the time of your great distress and of our great distress were only too ready, too glad, too happy to be privileged to share with you in the great struggle for liberty.

Speaking at this University, I cannot but seize the opportunity to refer to your distinguished Rector. He has spoken about what a country may give in the way of example, of what an individual may give by way of example. But I say to him, what you so well know, that there is no one living today on this continent of Europe who deserves more the tribute of having been an example to his fellowmen in the cause of liberty than the Rector of this University, in his resistance of all that made for tyranny.

It has been my great delight this morning to be accompanied through the University by the distinguished Rector and to have had renewed in my mind all that speaks of the great work of reconstruction. This University speaks to the world of what the spirit of man is capable of achieving, and of the ultimate triumph of the spirit of man on the side of right and of righteousness.

I have wondered what I could say to the students of this University, and I confess I feel very humble about attempting to say any words at all. But the inspiration of this great gathering makes me wish that I could leave some thought in the minds of some who are present which may, in future years, be helpful to them in facing the great problems with which our world is ever faced. And while I have been listening to what has been said this morning my thoughts returned to the days when I was working on that little volume entitled: "Industry and Humanity", during the course of the first war, and as a result of such training as I had had at the University, seeking to make a study which I trusted might be helpful in the years of reconstruction that would follow. This morning, if you would allow me, I would like to refer simply to one or two of the thoughts which I sought to give expression to at that time.

First of all, may I say that I think one of the greatest contributions to human well-being in the course of world history was the one made by that great scientist, Louis Pasteur. You will recall that, when his nation was seeking to honour him, he was about to address the great gathering. but feeling an emotion that at this moment I can readily understand he found it impossible to proceed with the address which he had prepared, so he handed the address to his son and asked him to read it to the

audience that were gathered together. In that address there appeared the epoch marking statement concerning "Two contrary laws" which applies so much to our own day in spite of having been written 67 years ago. Since then we have had these two great wars and one of us knows what we may be facing today. But we do know this thought of a great scientist who, having studied through a microscope, lifted his eyes upon the great world around him, and found the same conflicts among individuals that he had found, as a result of his researches, between the germs that were seeking to destroy and those that were seeking to preserve the human body.

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other today: the one the law of blood and of death forcing nations to be constantly ready for a disaster, the other a law of peace, work and health, ever seeking to rid mankind from the scourge which besets it. The one seeks violent conquest, the other the relief of humanity. To the latter law a single life is worth as much as any victory, but the former would sacrifice hundreds and thousands of lives to ambition. Which of these laws ultimately will prevail, God alone knows."

Now the answer as to which of these laws prevails will have to be given, I believe, largely by Universities. They are the custodians of all that is best in the world. They are the custodians of man's hopes and aspirations. They are the

custodians of what we possess in the way of precious knowledge and they are the forces which must make the contribution to the future to see that the law of peace, work and health is made to prevail and not the law of blood and of death. Well, I wondered when I was working on my book if I could find something that would be a basis of reconstruction when the war of destruction was over. Where could one find some basis of reconstruction, where could we get some assurance that there existed in the Universe a law which it was possible for us to discover and which would make a world of peace and health.

I happened to have in my little home in the country a sundial which I had purchased in Boston when I was at Harvard University. Looking at the sundial one day and recalling what I had read about that little ancient instrument I was deeply impressed with the story that it told in a very simple way. As you know, the sundial has its dial face and it has a little rod and a little gnomon which points towards the North star. Now when the little gnomon pointing towards the North star is placed in its true position, it will give the hours of the day exactly from the sun, but to get it in its true position, it must be placed not merely pointing to the North but running parallel to the earth's axis. When it is so placed, as I said, in relation to the sun, you can get the hours of the day - at noon the shadow is straight overhead. What is more remarkable is that when it is truly placed one gets not only the hours of

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the day but also the points of the compass: North, South, East and West, all told by the position that you see on the dial face. And more than that, one discovers, if the position is true, that one will find the degree of latitude on which one is standing at that time. Now what does all this mean? It simply means that somewhere in the universe there is an order which places time and space in exact relationship, which brings the two together as one in time and space, all depending on that little rod being in its true position. Well, what can one think of the significance of the fact that this Universe men have been able to discover an order purely on the physical plane which relates time and space with mathematical exactitude, which will enable an individual standing beside a little instrument to know the latitude at which he is, to know where the true North lies, to be albe to tell the hours of the day and the points of the compass. If that is true in the physical universe, surely there is a great divine power which must be directed at the affairs of nations and of men, and somewhere there must be discoverable a social order which will bring peace, justice and goodwill to mankind. Now that is the task for Universities, it seems to me, to find that order - and, in passing, may I congratulate this University on the great contribution it has made towards that end, towards the discovery of that order, the key to the future of humanity.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, if you take what position stands for in the physical universe and substitute for that attitude in human relations I think you have the story pretty well complete. What we need in solving our industrial, our national, our world problems today, is an attitude - the right attitude. What is the right attitude? A very simple thing. An attitude of good will. An attitude of faith instead of fear, an attitude of goodwill instead of an attitude of hate, an attitude that seeks justice and seeks the interest of others, not injustice and the interests of self. That attitude which our Universities have sought right through the ages to cultivate in the hearts of those who have passed through their halls. Keep that little thought in mind, that it is not only those who are highly educated who can hope to make their contribution. It is something more simple to adopt the right attitude towards our fellowmen and to get that attitude prevail throughout the world. Now as I see it, the Universities are the great agencies for that purpose. They are training men for our diplomatic and other public services for the work that they will do, training men to meet and face all the different problems so that we who have fought together in the past, helping to preserve liberty can freedom, can equally combine our forces and keep them combined, determined that we will do what we can to cause the people of all other nations to feel as we do. I think that in so doing we shall be making the one and great contribution which is possible to our age.

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There is much more that I would like to say, but time is short. May I say that, in seeking a guide what I felt was this, that we had, in the past, used too much the ideals of human conduct as means of furthering commercial and like material pursuits, forgetting the divinity which lies around us. We must seek to discover the spiritual forces that are the eternal forces. That is the thing we should teach our sons and daughters above all else. It is not the things that appear, but the things that are unseen, that are eternal and enduring. We have put too much emphasis on the material side. Science has found great new sources of human wealth in the last few centuries and naturally our thoughts have been first and foremost of these things which have increased our material possessions and material well-being. But I believe, in this period ofntransition, we are going through now, we are coming to think, too, of the higher plane and how science more and more can help us to discover these eternal forces and to make their effects felt in the hearts of men. That mission, I feel, is one of the great contributions for the Universities, to discover a law of peace, a law of health, a law of work all through scientific study. If these laws can be made to prevail, you will be making prevail those new conditions that will befefit mankind and bring peace and goodwill where the opposite has prevailed so long.

I wish, Mr. Rector, ladies and gemtlemen, that I could begin to express the thanks that I feel to this University, to the Government of Belgium, to the people of Belgium, for the many tributes that have been paid. I think of those words of Mr. Churchill's: "Never has so much been owed by so many to so few". I am sure so few never got so much honour in so short a time as I have received since I have been in Belgium. Honoured by the Grown, honoured by my dear friend who sits here today, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, in the words which he used about our country speaking yesterday in the Parliament of Belgium, honoured by the University, and honoured by the people. Well, I am happy to accept all of it, but not for myself as an individual. I am proud and happy indeed to be able to accept these honours on behalf of my fellow countrymen, on behalf of the members of the fighting forces to whom so many references have been made. I am heppy to accept them because I believe they deserve it. And let me say this, I have beenproud of my country all my life, but I never was more proud of Canada than I am at this very moment after what I have listened to. I feel very proud that, in this part of the world, our country, with its small population, should be so honoured, should be so well known, should be so respected.

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I promise that when I return, though I may not be equal to doing justice to the occasion, I will seek to the utmost to convey to my fellow countrymen some of the feelings which have been stirred so deeply in my heart.

I thank you all here, Mr. Rector, Dr. Dean, and all who are assembled here, as I say, personally and on behalf of my country. May I, at the same time, thank through you on this occasion the Government of Belgium and all of those who have in so many ways given expression to their admiration and their affection for my own dear land of Canada.

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Address by The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
at the University of Amsterdam on Friday, November 14, 1947,
on receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law.

Mr. Rector Magnificus, President of the Senate,
Prime Minister, Burgomaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:

If I did not believe that this diploma which I have just had the honour to receive belongs to Canada rather than to myself I should hesitate even to thank you for the honour which you have conferred upon me today. But I do recognize that in this great distinction which you have just conferred you have sought in your own words to express gratitude to the people of Canada, and particularly to the Armed Forces of Canada, for the part which they were permitted to play in the course of the late war in helping to bring liberation to this great country.

So I am proud indeed to have the honour this afternoon to become a member of this great University and to be able to carry back to Canada from this centre of culture and influence in the capital of the Netherlands a message which will touch deeply the hearts of the Canadian people, a message which will be remembered as long as Canada remains a nation herself.

You, Mr. Rector, have said that this diploma is given to the nation, or rather that the honour is a recognition of the services of our nation, and also that it is in the nature of a personal distinction. Before I refer

to that may I at once express to you Mr. Rector my deep gratitude for the words used to address this audience and to the Promoter of my very sincere and deep thanks for what he has kindly said in his address.

I would find it difficult indeed to attempt to begin to acknowledge both what the honour means and also the words of the address. I shall not attempt to do it beyond this, simply to mention that this distinction, as I have already said, is essentially an expression of gratitude of the University of Amsterdam, through the university of the people of the Netherlands, to the Dominion of Canada, to the people of our country. Now, for all that has been said with respect to any merit in that regard, I accept it fully and very proudly on behalf of the Canadian people, I accept it particularly on behalf of our armed forces, the men who sleep their last sleep in your sacred ground are the ones to whom all of us owe the greatest obligation. Thet are the invisitble host who are with us today. The honour that you have conferred on me is the honour that belongs to them. I am sure the Canadian people will be the first to recognise that in your thoughts first and foremost has been the sacrifice of their lives and what that sacrifice has meant not only towards helping the liberation of one country but, as has been expressed this

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afternoon, towards the freedom of the world. It would be impossible to say what we owe to them, but I would like to include with them the members of their families, those who have lost relatives and friends, sons who served abroad gaily ready to sacrifice their lives if need be and have never returned. I know that it will be a source of great comfort to those they have left behind to think that the names and memory of these brave men are so greatly honoured in this country at this time. I know it will be a source of consolation to them that when I return to Canada I shall be able in my humble way to give them some description of what the reception I have received as their representative in this country has meant and what it will continue to mean in their minds.

Mr. Rector, you have spoken of personal recognition and the Promoter has dwelt at great length on incidents in my so-called political career, much of which seems like an old story to me. I am afraid, indeed, that if some of my friends in Canada had listened to the speech this afternoon they would have said I was preparing for another general election, in some way or another inveigling the Promoter into saying the kind of things that he thought might be helpful. However, let me say that no thought at this time is farther from my mind. I have spoken of an invisible host that we honour today, and I feel that a cloud of witnesses is about us at this time. If I have had the great good fortune to serve my country in an official capacity over many years it has been due to no merit of my own. I have been increasingly conscious of how much every one of us

who seek to do anything in the nature of public affairs, of public service, owe to those that have gone before us and to other influences that have surrounded our lives.

A few weeks ago I had the privilege of visiting the town in which I was born. I had not had the pleasure of returning to it for many years, though I had represented the constituency for a time in Parliament. While there I was amazed to discover how, as a result of the years of absence, I was better able to recognize what the influences of my early life had been. I discovered that I had never known before what it had meant to me to have had a home which was a happy home, to have had the influences of home as beautiful and munificent as they were, what it had meant to have had parents who were prepared to make sacrifices for their children in order that they might enjoy opportunities that they themselves had not had. I felt as I have never felt before what I owe to those teachers in the public schools, in the kindergartens, in the high schools, where I received the early ideas which have been a guide on the way of life ever since. And I felt too, very deeply, the influence of the little church which I attended as a boy and where I received those larger visions of life and reality which come from that source possibly more strongly than from any other.

So, speaking to a university of young men here, it is to them I should particularly like to address my few words today. I would ask them to realise what it is going to mean not only to you but to those who come after you to see that the early training and all

training is made as good and helpful as it can possibly be made. We owe a great debt to our parents, our homes and schools, and to our educational institutions and religious institutions. All these are factors that sooner or later make their contribution through some man or men to the service of larger communities.

But there is another influence I should like to speak of which it is particularly appropriate to mention here. It is the influence of the university. I shall always feel deeply grateful indeed that from the time when I was a young lad my father had been very much interested in the university. For thirty-seven years he was a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto. At the time of his death he was the oldest of the elected members of the Senate, and I had early learned even before I went to university the value of what a university education might mean. Little did I realize at that time how much I would come to owe a university in the course of time. From Toronto University I was fortunate enough to gain a fellowship at a university in the United States (and here I pause to say how much we owe to those universities who make possible the furtherance of post-graduate study to those who otherwise would not have this opportunity). It was at the University of Chicago that I received enough in the way of scholarships to meet my expenses there for the course of the year. While in Chicago I had the honour of receiving a fellowship from Harvard University and spent a couple of years at Harvard in post-graduate work, at the expense of Harvard University - not at the expense of Canada, or myself, or anyone connected with me,

but at the expense of that great University. But more than that, I was awarded a travelling fellowship by Harvard which gave me my first glimpse of Europe. I actually came to know some of the leading public men of the United Kingdom through the munificence of Harvard University. I first saw Westminster, first visited the Houses of Parliament in London as a result of what Harvard had made possible. Yet Harvard - the United States - was not my country: it was the good neighbour, as it has remained ever since, but I wish today to say when the opportunity presents itself, is to express the debt I owe to the universities of my own country and to those of the United States, and to do that in the presence of a university audience.

I do hope as the years go by that all of our universities will do more in the way of making possible the studies of their students in other countries as well as their own. We live in difficult and trying times and I don't know - no one knows - what the ultimate solution is going to be. But what we do know is that if we can come to know each other, and if those of us who have kindred aims, ideas, and purposes can come to join our forces in the shaping of public opinion and in matters of government, this world will stand a better chance of developing along the lines that we all hope than it would otherwise do.

So I would like to emphasise this afternoon what it will mean to Canada to receive students from the University of Amsterdam and other universities of this country, and what I know it will mean to our students to have the privilege of coming and studying among you here.

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What is true of Canada and the Netherlands is true in a larger way among all the free countries. The inter-change of students among younger men and younger women is going to be one of the main factors, I believe, in helping to save the world from some of the courses that might be prejudicial to it.

Now, Mr. Rector, there is one other influence which I must make reference to this afternoon because again I feel this honour which has been conferred on me is not due to any personal desert but, as I say, to those happy, some of them fortuitous, influences which have had such an effect on one's own life in the way of affording opportunities which would not otherwise have come. You have referred to my political life. Well, I know enough about politics to know that it is dangerous to say very much on any political subject unless you know pretty well the complexion of your audience. I imagine that this audience is no different from any other in its composition. I am not, therefore, going to touch on anything of a domestic nature but should like to say this: if I have had any success in public life in the years I have been in office, it has been due to those who have surrounded me in the carrying on of public affairs. It is due first of all to the confidence which large numbers of the country have reposed in me - who have been entrusted with the business of government. It has been due in my own case particularly to the men who have surrounded me at the council table, to the honest, honourable and able men whose advice and counsel has been a guiding influence in the course of government.

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You, Mr. Promoter, have referred to the word "leader" not having a pleasant significance at this time. I was so glad to hear you say that. I think it is a mistake seeking to build up individuals as leaders using that term instead of the old constitutional term of Minister of the Crown. A leader in our country, as I believe it is true in yours, if he is holding his position in an appropriate relationship, will be a Minister. If he is a Prime Minister he will be the first among equals.

(Something in Latin I'm afraid we didn't get).

That is what I think we need to get back to - that our government does not depend on any one man or any single leader. It is a matter of a composite mind, a mind made up of men drawn from different ranks of society, men and women coming with different experiences in life and affairs and combining their knowledge to work out what will be in the general interest and not in any particular interest.

So I today am proud to acknowledge that having had the good fortune to be surrounded by men of that calibre and ? the kind of influences which have been ? over so many years, I have the honour on their behalf as well as my own to accept this tribute which you have paid to me today.

Now, Mr. Rector, may I take advantage of this moment, because it will be the last I shall probably have before leaving this country, to say a word of thanks to the citizens of this capital and also to the citizens generally of all parts of the Netherlands

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for the great welcome, the great reception and the many expressions of gratitude which I have heard in the short time of my visit here. As I said the other day, following Mr. Churchill's remarks, I do not think that anyone every got so many honours in so short a time as I have in the little time that I have been here - honours from every source, from the Crown, from the Ministers, from the Heads of Municipalities. And may I say that these wonderful tributes which have come as we have travelled along the way, from little children as well as from old men and women who have come out into the streets to wave their hands and to wave their flags in order to show their feelings towards the people of Canada. No words can begin to describe how deep one's emotions become in witnessing scenes such as we have seen today. Tributes which have been paid in prose and in verse, tributes that have been paid in speech and in song like that beautiful singing which we have had last night. I never got the same feeling about our own Canadian National Anthem as I received in listening to the singers at The Hague singing "O Canada, we stand on guard for thee". In Canada when we sing that Anthem each thinks of himself as a Canadian citizen standing on guard for his own country, but that Anthem assumes a much wider significance when I hear the people of the Netherlands singing "We stand on guard for thee". Now there is something very significant about that. That is one of the impressions that I will bring back with me. Canada's position in the world is different today than it has been at any time hitherto. If we have rendered a service and have been privileged to render any help to

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liberate this country from the common enemy, we are today receiving in return a much greater service, the service of your loyalty and friendship and your feeling of protection and of one-ness that is not only for today and this year but I believe for all time.

May I speak of the great honour and privilege which it was to address the joint assembly of the States General, an honour that has come to only three men in a thousand years of this continent's history. Well, there again I thank you on behalf of the Canadian people for what the people of this country have sought to express, of what was highest in the way of possible honours to those who have come across the seas to help to liberate the coast along the Channel and this country in particular.

I won't mention the other honours because they are too numerous to speak of here. In one word I do thank with all my heart the citizens of the Netherlands for the many many tributes which they have expressed through me to my fellow countrymen.

Now I suppose, this being a University, I ought to say something which is learned. But this is a little difficult for me because, as the Promoter has told you, there was a time in my life when I used to study and try to say things that were wise and true, but when one gets into the turmoil of politics and is in for a long time you even begin to forget what you have learned in your youth as you accumilate some other knowledge. But I wish to say to the young men of this University that if you have any thought at all of a future in public life, make the most of the opportunities that you have today. You will find that

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about the only capital you will have left, intellectual capital, to get on with the rest of your days is what you may accumulate within the walls of the institutions of learning that you may attend during the time that you are taking under-graduate or post-graduate courses. No man begins to value his knowledge until he finds that he has got past the day of his opportunity to increase it in a way in which he would like.

The Professor of Law and Industrial Relations has referred to a book which I published many years ago and which I am happy to say is still finding its place in some of the libraries, the book in which I dealt with the question of industrial relations, and I would like to just say one word this afternoon in regard to a thought, nothing new about it, a thought which finds expression there in regard to the relations of industry, relations between the different parties to do with industry. I speak of that particularly because it has seemed to me that the problems of industry and the problems of nationality and the problems of state are very much the same, that underlying their solution there are certain fundamental ideas which it is absolutely necessary and important that we should keep in mind. The idea which I would like to leave with this country, and through this country to other countries, is that we must not seek in the solution of any of our problems to substitute a monopoly of one kind for a monopoly of another kind. We must seek to get rid of mopopolies altogether and work out some system of joint partnership. Now, as everyone knows, for a long time that in dealing with industrial policy

capital has had a good deal to say, and practically all to say, in the matter of determining policy generally. The pendulum swung in another direction and Labour came to play its part. And too often it was a substitution of a monopoly of Labour for a monopoly of Capital in seeking to shape policies which were to govern industrial relations. Ladies and gentlemen, there are not only two parties in industrial relations, there are four. Labour and Capital are two of them. Management is a very important function, something quite distinct from Labour, quite distinct from Capital, and without successful management neither Labour nor Capital would be any more use in public service in effecting their aim than the two blades of the shears if they were not properly joined together by some bolt of confidence that was effective. But there is another partner that we have forgotten very largely and I speak of that fourth party today because I have felt very conscious that in this City of Amsterdam, in this capital of this great country, you have recognized that fourth party to an extent that will not be found in many other communities. That fourth party is the community itself. We think of Labour, we think of Capital, we think of Management, but we forget too often and are only reminded of it when some strike comes and none of us can get food, water or transportation, that unless it were for the community itself organized in different ways of government, making possible the agencies of transportation and communicating, making possible the market for products, making possible the use of

resources for the development for general use, Labour, Capital and Management could do nothing. Now let us hope that the world will increasingly come to see that there are these four partners to industry and that all four should be entitled to some voice in the government of industry. It is problem of government. It is a problem of allowing those who contribute to a common end to share in the making of policy. And I believe that it will be worked out in different ways in different countries and that we are coming now to see that joint control instead of single control is the line along which a solution will have to be found because the same principles govern in the matters of state and as between nations. If we are going to solve the problems of the world as we know them today we have to gradually work out government as between nations which will mean that there will be no single control by any nation or any group of nations, but that we will all strive more and more to work towards a joint control in the shaping of the affairs of this world. That gets us into two deep a subject to develop any further.

Let me say this one word in conclusion. I hope that the young men of this country, and indeed of all countries, who love liberty and freedom will feel a special call to keep before them some form of public service. We are seeking solutions of questions and the universities will help more than any other institutions without doubt to give us what is needed in the way of information and understanding and light. But the world will need increasingly

men who are prepared to go out and take the rough and tumble of political campaigns and the like in order to make prevail certain ideas that are essential in government if we are to have good government. Now there are people who are inclined to make fun of politicians. I could tell you all about that - we are rather belittled - but let me say this: if there is a poor class of men getting into public life, the fault is not theirs but lies in those who are not willing to tackle the task themselves. And I hope that these young men, some of you, will keep that thought in mind. Do not allow the government to pass into the hands of the wrong men. If you wish to get at the origin of this last great war you will find it in the fact that in some countries they allowed the business of government to fall out of the hands of men who had some background and training, who had had some sense of national as well as personal responsibility, who took seriously the problems of their country, and got into the hands of others who can best be described as gangsters. While the position is very clear, that same thing will go on unless all of us who have had the benefit of university education and training, and I won't confine it to university men because there are multitudes who did not receive their eduction in that way, but all those who have a moral sense and conscience that realize the importance of public affairs will continue to offer themselves for public service, we will not find a solution of the problems which we have.

I remember one time I was asking the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose name I was pleased to hear mentioned this afternoon, about the Cabinet and the men that were in it and one of his old friends who was apt to be a little critical said to him in speaking of one of his Ministers, "Why do you keep so-and-so in your Government? You know what he does. Sometimes he dines out too late, he never goes to church on Sunday, and a few other things. Why do you keep him?" Finally Sir Wilfrid replied: "You good people in ---------- (naming the Province) expect me to have a Cabinet of angels but you don't send me any angels to make a Cabinet of." Now I do not know that we are looking in public life for a Cabinet solely of angels, but we are looking for men who will offer themselves for public life and public service and those who attend a university have a special obligation to the state to perform that function in times of need and times like our present. The universities are the custodians of all that is best in tradition. Universities are the custodian of the ideas and ideals and the aims and aspirations and purposes which all good people have in common. The university places for that reason upon all those who go out of their doors into the world a special obligation to remember that duty which they owe to the state.

So, if I may on behalf of my country just repeat that from this university I hope may go out men who will no matter what the situation may be in times of peace or war be prepared to serve

their country in the highest and best manner possible. And what I am saying to this University will be said, I know, by all in this room with respect to universities generally. Once more, Mr. Rector, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you with all my heart for the tribute which you have paid to Canada today, for the remembrance in which you hold those who are most dear to us in memory at this time, and for the new sense of companionship and a sense of one-ness which you have given to our countrymen by the many tributes which you have paid to the humble servant of them.

In closing a little address which she made to us one evening before returning to the Netherlands from Canada, at the end of two years, the present Princess Regent ended a very beautiful address by proposing a toast to Canada-Netherlands friendship for all time. That toast touched the hearts of everyone in Canada. If this were a dinner instead of a convocation, I would raise my glass and propose here in the Netherlands a toast for Canada-Netherlands friendship for all time.

D 56405

(Not to be used before delivery - 10:15 p.m., E.S.T.)

Prime Minister's Office

Press Release November 17, 1947.

The following is the text of the statement made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, at 10:15 p.m., E.S.T., to-day:

Tomorrow morning's newspapers will contain two statements of Government policy which will be of major concern to every Canadian. You will read about the successful conclusion of a wide series of Trade Agreements vitally affecting the future developments of our agriculture, our mines, our fisheries, our forest products and our manufacturing industries. At the same time, you will read of severe emergency measures temporarily to restrict expenditure abroad which the Government will ask Parliament to approve when it reassembles on December 5th.

Speaking from London tonight, having just returned to the United Kingdom from France, Belgium and Holland, there are some things I can say to my fellow Canadians that will, I hope, help all of us the better to realize both the strength and the vulnerability of our national position in a world terribly weakened and impoverished by six years of war and destruction.

What Canada is obliged to do today to meet an emergency, and what our country must strive continuously to do to carry out its long term policies, will seem to many to be in contradiction, the one with the other. This contradiction, now brought home to Canada, is confronting, in some degree, nearly every country in the world.

You will read, with mixed feeling, the news in tomorrow morning's papers. You will be greatly pleased to learn of the vastly enlarged opportunities for Canadian trade. You will be disappointed to learn of the necessity for immediate enough temporary restrictions to prevent a too rapid depletion of our reserves of United States dollars. The press will contain full details of the results of the difficult and protracted commercial negotiations which culminated in the signing in Geneva on October 30th, of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This is the widest measure of agreement for the freeing of world trade that the nations have ever achieved. Canada has joined with other nations of the British Commonwealth, with the United States, and with many countries of Europe and Latin America, in this great effort to promote

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REPEAT
REPETITION

peace by prosperity and economic co-operation. The Agreement clearly charts our long-run course. It confirms, on a world scale, the objectives towards which our country's trade policies have been steadily directed, at least for so long as it has been my privilege to be associated with their guidance. The new Agreement contains a firm promise of real reciprocity in tariff reductions. It paves the way for full international co-operation in maintaining high levels of employment and expanding economic activity. It opens up to Canadian exports a larger and more equal access to the markets of the world than they have ever enjoyed. By virtue of these larger export opportunities, it will permit us, as a country, to concentrate our efforts on the production of those things that we can best produce or manufacture, and so secure the highest level of real national prosperity.

At the very moment when the goal towards which we have worked over the years is at last coming in sight, we are unfortunately compelled to take a sharp detour over what I fear we shall find to be rough and difficult ground. This action is rendered necessary by the facts of our balance of payments position, of which the Minister of Finance is going to speak to you in greater detail later this evening.

Precisely because we are compelled, in the short-run, to take measures which cut directly across our fundamental trade policies, it is expecially important that we keep these policies directed towards the long-range objectives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. As a nation, our stake and interest lie in the fullest co-operation with like-minded countries in a programme of freer and ever expanding trade. But to play our part properly in this great forward movement, we must be able to stand on our own feet, carry our own burdens, and pay our debts as they fall due.

Canada is one of the few great producing countries with capacities unimpaired by the war. Mindful of our responsibilities and interests in the world in which we live, we have striven to take our just and proper part in the work of world reconstruction. In this great effort we have not hesitated to go just as far as our resources would permit. Certainly in the years since the war, Canada, in its own interest and the world interest, has made a great effort to

carry into the peace the principle of mutual aid under which we waged war, and without which the great work of recovery cannot be accomplished. But before we can go forward again, we must bring into balance our earnings and requirements of United States dollars. To do this we shall have to deprive ourselves of some things which for the time being we cannot afford. How it is proposed to meet the immediate needs of the short-term situation will be explained to you tonight by the Minister of Finance. The proposals will be developed in detail when Parliament reassembles.

The long-run programme to which I have referred, is that set forth in the draft Charter for the International Trade Organization, and in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, supported by other positive measures about which the Minister of Finance will also speak tonight.

I can think of no recent event more encouraging for the future than the successful conclusion of the General Agreement. Since the war, we have witnessed too many failures of efforts to achieve international co-operation for the betterment of mankind. In the General Agreement there are incorporated the results of the most comprehensive, significant and far-reaching negotiations ever undertaken in the history of world trade. Throughout the past summer the conception of tariff negotiations on so vast a scale seemed to many to be too ambitious for practical accomplishment. Out of a total of 127 separate negotiations commenced at Geneva, 123 were concluded successfully. The representatives of each of the 23 Governments participating in the negotiations signed the Final Act on October 30th.

The conclusion of this multilateral trade agreement is a happy augury for the success of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment which is convening in Havana, Cuba, on Friday next. I hope the success achieved at Geneva may be carried still further at Havana.

For Canada the conclusion of the General Agreement is of particular importance. Nearly a third of our national income is derived from external trade. We stand to gain much from the re-establishment of multilateral trade on a broad basis. The alternative to multilateral trade is bilateralism and barter deals. Canada would be one of the heaviest losers

from the contraction of world trade which would follow from the general adoption of a policy of special deals between pairs of countries.

We have been glad to co-operate with the other participating countries in making a success of the Geneva negotiations. I do not regard the outcome as a victory for the special point of view of any one of these countries. The General Agreement is the result of a genuine co-operative effort in which each country made concessions for the good of all, and gained advantages which will benefit also the other countries. This is inherent in the multilateral approach. It is this that makes the success of the Geneva negotiations so encouraging for the future of international co-operation.

In one important particular our trade relations with the United Kingdom have been placed upon a new basis. The new basis is embodied in letters exchanged on October 30th. While continuing to accord to each other the preferences remaining after the conclusion of the General Agreement, both Canada and the United Kingdom recognize the right of the other to reduce or eliminate such preferences. At the same time, favourable tariff treatment for the products of each country imported into the other is assured by the understanding that in respect of products enumerated in the appropriate schedules to the general agreement the rates of duty in force in both countries shall not be increased above the level in force before the war.

In initiating preferences fifty years ago, the Canadian Government of that day had in mind the voluntary granting of tariff preferences to one another by the different parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was not intended that there should grow up a system which would prejudice the maintenance of friendly relations with other countries. On the contrary what was envisaged was a system whereby trade would be increased among British countries, full opportunity being afforded at the same time for the expansion of their trade with other countries.

If Canada is to play its part in furthering the objectives of the International Trade Organization, it is important that the Canadian Government should have freedom to determine the extent to which it shall maintain preferential arrangements while carrying out its obligations under the

Charter. We do not consider that a system under which the power to reduce the Canadian tariff may be dependent upon the consent of other Governments is consistent either with the spirit in which preferences were originally extended by the Canadian Government, or with those principles upon which continuing co-operation in economic matters can be carried on between the countries of the British Commonwealth.

The outlines for the long-range plan to expand trade have been clearly drawn by the various agreements concluded in Geneva. They will be supplemented by further positive measures. Equally clear is the need of adjustments to meet a temporary situation.

What in a word I should like to say tonight to the people of Canada concerning these two matters is simply this.

At all times and at all costs we must keep our real and long-run objectives constantly in sight. We must meet the requirements of the short-run situation courageously, competently and with confidence, accepting emergency measures for what they are - drastic but temporary adjustments. By making sure that the emergency measures we have to take are not permitted to hamper or distort our long-run objectives, we shall, by the enlarged opportunities for world trade made public today, be greatly furthering our country's growth and development. It is to wider horizons that Canada must ever look.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
88		Notes of Speeches, 1947	19 Mar. 1947 to 31 Oct. 1947	D 56410 - D 56522	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1948-1949	20 Jan. 1948 to 20 June 1949	D 56523 - D 56627	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1949	19 May 1949 to 20 June 1949	D 56628 - D 56645	
St. Laurent Files, 1940-1948 - Chronological Subject List					
89		1940: First Session, Address in reply to Speech from the Throne: Speeches in Parliament	25 Jan. 1940	D 56646 - D 56650	
89		1940: Dissolution. Speeches in Parliament	12 Feb. 1940	D 56651 - D 56657	
89		1940: General Election, 1940: Radio Broadcasts, Ottawa, No. 1-6. Speeches outside Parliament	1940	D 56658 - D 56756	

Notes of Speeches by Mr. King

1 9 4 7

D 56410

Date	Event	Place	
March 19.	Luncheon by United Church of Canada Members of Parliament in honour of Rt. Rev. T. W. Jones, D.D., Moderator of General Council of the United Church of Canada.	Room 16, House of Commons.	I.
May 17.	Wedding of Miss Keltie MacKinnon to Douglas Thorp.	Ottawa.	2.
June 24.	Newfoundland delegation - Government Dinner.		3.
July 10.	Government Dinner M. Constantine Tsaldaris, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece.	Country Club	4.
Aug. 22.	Canadian National Exhibition - Opening	Toronto	5.
Sept. 8.	Visit to Kitchener - Civic Reception.		6.
Sept.18.	The Law Society of Upper Canada Convocation.	Osgoode Hall, Toronto.	7.
Oct. 22.	National Federation of Liberal Women - Banquet.	Chateau Laurier, Ottawa	8.

1947 Notes of Speeches (2)

D 56411

Date	Event	
Oct. 30.	Press Interview prior to departure for England to attend Royal Wedding.	9.
Oct. 31.	Presentation of Canadian Club Award and Scroll of Honour (1946) by Canadian Club of New York.	10.
Oct. 31.	Dinner by Harvard Club of New York to receive Certificate of Honorary Membership.	11.

D 56412

1948 Notes of Speeches

Date	Event	Place
Jan.10	Presentation of portrait to Rt.Hon.C.D.Howe by colleagues	Chateau Laurier 12
Mar. 12	Minto Club Dinner for Barbara Ann Scott	Chateau Laurier 13
Apr. 24	Luncheon by Senator Wishart Robertson - in honour of Mr.King (Long Service Record)	Country Club 14
May 8	Montreal Reform Club 50th Anniversary	Reform Club 15
May 15	Press Gallery Dinner	Parl. Rest. 16
June 5	Wedding of Miss Nancy Louise Paterson to Mr. Paul Alexander McFarlane	17
June 12	Civic Dinner tendered in honour of Prime Minister by Mayor and Council of City of Toronto	18

1948 Notes of Speeches

56413

Date	Event	Place	
Aug. 25	Government Dinner in honour of Lord Mountbatten of Burma.	Country Club.	19
Sept. 7	Government Dinner in honour of Hon. John A. Costello, Prime Minister of Ireland.	Country Club	20

1949 NOTES OF SPEECHES D 56414

May 7, 1949 Wedding of Miss Norma Frances Wilson to Flt. Lt. James Ivor Davies. 21

June 20, 1949 Wedding of Miss Leslie McNaughton to Howard Calvin Sykes, Jr., of New York. 22

D 56415 19:iii:47

file re moderator

Rt. Rev. Thomas William JONES, D.D.
Moderator of the General Council of
the United Church of Canada

(elected at General Council Meeting,
Montreal, September, 1946)

b. 1887 (= 60), Oxfordshire, England

educated at Sir George Williams College, Montreal
McGill University
Congregational Theological College "

Minister of CALVARY UNITED CHURCH, Westmount, Que
for some 34 years

(previous to Church Union in 1925,
this Church was Congregational)

Served in World War I as Conducting Officer &
Chaplain

Served in World War II as Auxiliary Services
Supervisor (YMCA) and Chaplain;

Governor of Verdun Protestant Hospital, Verdun, Que
& United Theological College? Montreal

also member of board of directors of
Sir George Williams College, Montreal, &
Montreal YMCA;

also of Montreal Association for the Blind

Chaplain of Remembrance Branch, Canadian Legion,
also of Heather Curling Club

19:iii:47

Welcome to the Moderator on his official visit to Ottawa;

D 56416

welcome in his official capacity as representing the United Church of Canada

welcome for himself as a Minister of the Gospel, long in charge of an important congregation in Montreal (Westmount);

as one who served overseas in both wars

and who is today interested in many charitable, educational and humanitarian activities.

Appreciation of invitation of member of Senate and House of Commons who belong to United Church;

glad also to see Very Rev. Dr. Woodside (former Moderator) recently honoured by election to Presidency of

Western Section of the World Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

9

Dr. Jones' visit to Ottawa coincides with a great renewing of interest in the peacetime activities of all theChristian Churches

a concern for the spiritual welfare of peoples in all freedom-loving countries

working towards the great precept of the scriptures "ET OMNES UNUM SUNT" (that they may be all one)

Best wishes for his visit to the Capital of Canada

D 56417

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Copy of message sent by telegram to

Rt. Rev. Jesse H. Arnup, D.D.,
Moderator of the General Council of
the United Church of Canada,
Montreal

Sept. 10, 1946

On the occasion of the meeting of the General Council of the United Church of Canada I send my cordial greetings to you and to all Commissioners who are in attendance and my best of wishes for the deliberations of the Council.

W. L. Mackenzie King

D 56418

MacKinnon - Thorp Wedding

1. Honour and pleasure to be at side of MacKinnon - daughter's wedding - proposing health of the bride.

2. Welcome to Capital - Mr. and Mrs. Thorp and out of town guests.

3. Reference to Mrs. MacKinnon - one much in our thoughts - those loved guardian angels - love surrounding tenderness - radiance.

4. Reference to Bride and Groom: Vows at Church.

   Personify new era.
   Vision, courage, faith of youth.

   Age: 20.

   Student McGill - Alma Mater
   match-maker.

   Wish for similar opportunities.

5. Secret of sense of Security - in facing future - the past.

   Douglas - experience of life - war - Lieutenant.

   Keltie - Cabinet circle.
   Constant companion of her father.
   Knowledge and experience.
   Highest traditions of duty and public service.
   Guides for future.

D 56419

6. Keltie herself - Look at for beauty and charm.

Fine qualities of heart and mind.

Confidential talks - lovely bride.

7. Wishes and Toast:

Wishing better -
example of lives;
true to traditions.

Realize hopes ~~cherished~~ cherished in health

Life and home greatly blessed.

Join in drinking to health of bride - future happiness.

The bride.

MacKinnon-Thorp Wedding
Ottawa, May 17/47 D 56420

The honour and pleasure of being at the side of my colleague and friend, Mr. MacKinnon, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Keltie, and being invited by him to propose the health of the bride.

Welcome to guests

Before speaking of the bride and groom, I know it would meet with Mr. MacKinnon's feelings, and would accord with the feelings of his friends in Ottawa, to say how great a pleasure it is to us all to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Thorp to the Capital; and the large number of friends of the bride and groom who have come from Montreal, and from other parts of Canada, to be present at today's ceremony.

To the bride and groom, as well as to their parents, their presence in such numbers is, I know, a source of particular pleasure at this time.

Regarding Mrs. MacKinnon

I should not do justice to my own feelings did I not say that I know that to all present, and particularly in the heart and mind of Mr.MacKinnon and the bride of today, there is a wish deeply felt that Mrs. MacKinnon might have been spared to rejoice in person with all of us at the happiness which at this time has come to her daughter;

D 56421

I, personally, am one who believes very firmly that the fullness of life comes to all of us only at the close of life's journey here, and that those whom we have loved and lost awhile are never very far from our side; that they remain as guardian angels of our lives.

We are justified I think in believing in Mrs. MacKinnon's spiritual, though unseen presence, and that her soul's radiance are lending their note of joy and its blessing on this occasion.

The Bride and Groom

Let me speak now more particularly of the bride and of the young man who today has become her partner for life. As they kenlt side by side at the altar and made their marriage vows in the presence of us all, in the beautiful service so impressively conducted by Mr.Burnett, and as they stand together before us now, they seem to personify something of the new era on which the world seems to be entering - an era that requires, above all else, the vision, the courage, and the faith of youth.

Just imagine it - each are only around 20 years of age. They are still what you would call teen-agers, or were so at the time they became engaged. Now they are married and what is still more remarkable they propose, as the first phase of their married life, to continue their studies at McGill University, which in addition to being their alma mater

D 56422

appears to have played the role of match-maker as well.

They know nothing of what the future has in store. They are prepared, however, to embark on unseen and unchartered seas, despite the uncertainties and vicissitudes of our day. I can only say I wish there had been opportunities of the kind when I was an under-graduate, and that I had possessed a fraction of their courage and their faith. I might not have been stranded as I have been ever since.

The future is not so much determined by the road which we see immediately before us as by the paths over which we have walked in the past. In this I think we find the secret of the sense of security which Keltie and Douglas possess.

Though young, in years, each of them has had an experience of life which few at their age have enjoyed. Douglas has served in the Navy, and at a time of war has won his commission as Lieutenant. Keltie belongs to the Cabinet circle.

To her mother, and especially to her father in his position as a Minister of the Crown, she has been notyonly a constant companion, but a great help to him in his public life. She will now carry into her married life - as Douglas will also bring with him -

D 56123

a knowledge and experience of the highest traditions of duty and public service. These, from the past, they will carry as guides into the future.

Now a word about Keltie herself -

As for Keltie, the bride of today, you have only to look at her to see how beautiful she is and how great a charm she possesses. Those of us who know her best know of her very fine qualities of heart and mind. These I will not venture to enumerate, but I know how many and fine they are from what I have seen myself, and from what in our confidential talks together Mr. MacKinnon has told me of his lovely daughter.

Toast:

I would ask you all to join with me in drinking to the health of the bride and to her future happiness. I do not know that I can wish for anything better than that she and Douglas in their married life may follow the fine example which has been set them by their parents; that all that she cherishes in her heart today may be fulfilled in increasing measure as the years go by, and that her life and home may be greatly blessed.

D 56424

Government Dinner
for Newfoundland Delegation
June 24, 1947.

3.

Toast to Newfoundland

Mr. Gordon Bradley.

Representation of National Convention.

Recent visitors to Ottawa:

President - United States,

Prilgrims to Marian Congress,
Cardinals, etc.

Glad another delegation -

Near neigbours - allegiance to Crown

Member of Commonwealth.

Common everyday folk like ourselves,
politicians, etc.

Very warm welcome.

<u>450th anniversary</u> - Cabot.

Pride in ancient history

Good wishes

Charm of Island - Dr. Grenfell

Present representation other parts of
Commonwealth.

Present - Leaders of all parties -

personnel of delegation
Cabinet Ministers, leading
officials.

56425

D

Scott Macdonald,
Keenleyside
Burchill

Question one above party.

Recent associations.

Thanks for hospitality to troops.

Question of Mission

All like to see great country.

What is possible
for Newfoundland to decide.

Hope enjoy stay -

carry back wishes.

Toast to Newfoundland. Mr Gordon Bradley

D 56426

Representation of National Convention

Recent visitors to Ottawa — Presidt U.S.

Pilgrims to Mission Congress

Cardinals etc.

Glad another delegation

Near Newfoundland — allegiance to Crown

number of Commonwealth

common, every day, folk who

overall pres.

Politicians, etc.

12 commons

Very warm welcome

450 Anniversary — Cabot — vs. Cape Verde

pride in ancient history

Good visitors

present — representation other parts of Commonwealth

present — leaders of all parties

Clement Mountain, Leaders

Opposition

Hyatt Scott Macdonald

Kimberley

~~Mitchell~~ Bradley

Question ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

Recent association

Thanks for hospitality to troops

Observer of Island. — ~~[illegible]~~ Mr Greenfield

Question of Mission

all like to see great country —

Promise for

What is possible

For Newfoundland to decide

Hope enjoy stay — carry back visitors

[illegible] of delegation

Sakellaropoulo ✓

D56427

Dinner in honour of
Mr. Constantine Tsaldaris
Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece

Country Club, Ottawa,
July 10, 1947.

Welcome to distinguished visitors
from Greece
renewing many pleasant
associations from Paris
Conference (where last
met)

Enjoyment of Elizabeth & Prince.

Recall that this is first visit
to Canada of any leader of
Greek Government since the
lamented death (in April
last) of His Majesty King
George II
who was himself an
honoured visitor to
Canada in July, 1942
(5 years ago)

Ask Mr. Tsaldaris to take greetings
from colleagues and myself
to King Paul I.

D 56428

Mr. Tsaldaris' first visit to Ottawa since assuming office in April 1946 (though he was momentarily in Canada in December, 1946, on his way from New York to Athens)

Growing contacts between Canada and Greece over past 5 years.

1942 opening of Greek Legation in Ottawa raised to Embassy in 1944.

(Sept. 28, 1945 - General LaFleche presented credentials as first Ambassador to Greece).

1942 - Visit to Canada of King George II with Ministers of the then Greek Government in Exile.

1943 - Mutual Aid to Greece

D 56429

1945 - Shipments of wheat of 30,000 tons a month over many months.

From many sources have been informed that this what from Canada meant the difference between life and death for many thousands of people in Greece.

Nearly 1,200,000 pounds of clothing shipped from Canada and distributed through various channels.

Other Canadian assistance through UNRRA
(e.g. motor vehicles).

The work of UNRRA has come to an end as of June 30th;
the Canadian Government has however resolved to appropriate $20,000,000 for international relief purposes.

D56430

Other Visitors from Greece:

Mr. Stratos, (formerly Minister of Labour)

precious book from his own library.

Mr. Drosopoulos

(Member of the Greek Parliament)

Presentation of ancient Greek vase

(Mr. Claxton's visit to Greece - October 1946)

Other "Ceremonial" connections with Greece:

(I) Mackenzie King Street in Athens

(renamed July 1, 1946, from Lycabettus Street)

(2) In ancient city of Rhodes, a central square named for Canada (1946)

(3) In the sacred town of Missolonghi -

(associations with Lord Byron and the fight for freedom)

Mackenzie King Street.

Many cordial references to Canada in the Parliament and Press of Greece.

D 56431

Especially appreciate the courtesy of

Mr. Tsaldaris' visit at this time -

a sterling evidence of friendship for Canada

at a moment when the Government of Greece is confronted by many problems at home, and others abroad.

Wish him a safe and pleasant journey back to Greece;

hope he will have many pleasant recollections of even this short visit to Canada;

carry greetings to his colleagues in the government and to the people of Greece.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

file re

D 56432

MEMORANDUM

Mr Tsaldaris' Party

Mr Tsaldaris

Mr Cambiotis (Mr Tsaldaris Secretary)

Mr Antonakaikas (Asst Director Greek Government Information Office, New York.

Mr Athanase Tsaldaris (son 24 years old student at Columbia University)

Mr Schellaropoulo (Greek Ambassador)

July 10th

W.R.Mc.

Opening of
Canadian National Exhibition
Toronto - Aug. 22/47

Self - thanks for honour - 20 years

People - what it means to them - a
tradition -
arts of war - to arts of peace.

D 56433

Government - Thanks for services during
war period - training, etc.

Exhibition - war veteran -
return to civilian life -
rehabilitation.

Congratulation upon new exhibition
great international annual fair
part played in promoting.

Assistance to Canadian Govt. -
Exhibition Commission.

First Canadian
International Trade Fair -
May - June, 1948

Help in reconstruction -
international trade.

Public Service - distinguished role
Need for in our day.

World problems.

D 56434

President

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Board of Control:
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

very informal
" short

[illegible]

[illegible]

D 56435

Thanks for honour of being invited to open Exhibition - after 20 years.

Presentation of Medal.

A remarkable artist to have made anything so ~~good looking~~ presentation;

precious souvenir of a delightful and memorable occasion.

a word on history of the Board.

Thanks of Government to Board of Directors & officials for co-operation during war,

grounds and buildings of great service in critical times,

used to assemble, train and despatch armed forces;

proud of contribution to ~~military~~ victory.

Exhibition - as a war veteran demobilized.

When hostilities ceased, Exhibition of value in assisting speedy and welcome return to civil life for many young Canadians.

Congratulation on this year's Exhibition - the greatest annual exhibition existing anywhere in the world,

and part Exhibition taking in promoting peace and happiness.

Impressive roll call - of those who served in past years; distinguished citizens - public service.

D 56436

Gratitude of Government - for way Directors & Mr. Hughes assistance to Canadian Government Exhibition Commission.

for first Canadian International Trade Fair - May & June, 1948.

Help in reconstruction of world trade.

Visit of Kitchener
Civic Reception
September 8th, 1947

D 56437

Mayor, Members of Council,
Breithaupt,
Fellow citizens of years ago,
" " " today.

Thanks for welcome.

Reference to Mayor's address.

Many cities have extended welcomes.

There can be but one which a man can claim as his birthplace.

Particular pleasure to have this greeting after so many years.

6.

To have one's native town say such kind things.

Years of association with City.
73 - born
55 years since family left - I was 18.
39 years since elected M.P. I was 34.
36 years since I left Berlin.
21 years since Old Boys' Reunion.
Other visits since -
Royal Visit King and Queen.

Places of residence:
Benton Street (field for shooting).

Margaret Street -
Public School - kindergarden
Mrs. Young.

Woodside - horse
High School.

 D 56438

City Hall:

Concerts - political meetings.

Contrast with old City Hall.

City lighting contrasted with old lamp lighting.

Refer to Kingsmere.

Symbols of growth and prosperity.

Breithaupt - Louis Breithaupt's birth.
Credit to Parliament.

Old Boys's Reunion.

Re: Presentation of Certificates of Citizenship:

Greatest gift nation can bestow on individual.

Essence of citizenship - service.

Responsibilities of Canadian citizenship.

Municipality
Province
Dominion
Commonwealth
World.

D 56439

The Law Society of Upper Canada
Convocation - Osgoode Hall, Toronto.
September 18th, 1947.

Introductory
words of "advice and admonition".

Invitation of Benchers -
Gray's Inn and Osgoode Hall.
Appreciation of two-fold honour.
Association with Osgoode Hall.

Tribute to Father's memory.

Long tenure of office as Prime Minister.

Association with the Law and Lawyers.

Law - Mr. King and association with illustrious names of the profession.

Re: Advice and admonition.

The influence of character
and maintenance of standards.

The importance of accuracy
and avoidance of offensive words.

One's debt to one's profession.

Opportunities the legal profession affords.

Walk worthy of your Vocation.

D 56440

The Law Society of Upper Canada
Convocation - Osgoode Hall, Toronto

September 18th, 1947

Introductory
Time-honoured custom -
address by Treasurer
words of advice and admonition.

Disappointment if not speak; time limit.

Confession re invitation of Benchers.
Letter mentioned honour only.
Assumed similar to English Inns of Court.
Honourary Master of Bench of Gray's Inn.

Appreciation of two-fold honour
Two matters in mind of Benchers:
Long tenure of office, Prime Minister;
long association of Father with Law Society.

Tribute to Father's memory:
Happiness to self.
Father's connection with Osgoode Hall remembered.
Desire to pay tribute in presence of son to his memory.

Father's disappointment my wish post-graduate studies versus Law.
My early interest in social problems.
Now possess both career in politics and admission to the Bar.

Gratitude to Benchers for tribute to Father - grateful for honour done son.
Accept with truest pride; deep humility.
Father's happiness: my name along with his on roll of members legal profession.

D 56441

Long tenure of office as Prime Minister:
Recognize Gray's Inn honour
appreciation of Canada's part.

Today's honour -
recognition importance of public service.
Gratitude kindly way Law Society viewed my years of office.
A tribute to our public life -
heat of ancient controversies forgotten.
Hope occasion lend glow to public life.
Reveal richness of rewards of public service.

Not apology - but explanation:

Addressing words to legal profession.
Seen a great deal of lawyers.
Associations father's library.
Colouring of bindings - law books.
Kindly background.
Conversation touching upon Law.
Friendly meetings with students at home.

Later, years with lawyers and Judges.
Opportunities afforded by Parliament -
Commons and Cabinet.
Accustomed to dealing with lawyers.
Opponents, ablest members of profession
Most to do with making of laws in Canada.
Elevation of members of Bar to Bench.
Advice on matters of State to Governors.

Recall step affording early opportunities in public life:
Mulock, Laurier, Aylesworth and then desk shared with Lapointe and St. Laurent.

Few words to fulfil assigned task.

D 56442

Not amount of advice -
but inherent worth.

Say only one or two things.
Source of strength in practice of Law.
Bring honour to themselves and profession.

Influence of Character and maintenance of standards.

Reference in address by Principal and lecturers to Father's influence by character as well as teaching on ethical as well as legal training.

This influence I desire to see uppermost in lives:
influence of character,
maintenance of high standards of conduct,
lofty precepts in practice of profession.

No force like force of example.

World's need for men to uphold and battle for Truth and Justice.

Barristers, special custodians of rights of all men; Justice in relationships of nations.

Special mission to see rule of Law maintained.

Importance of accuracy and avoidance of offensive words.

D 56443

Law of Defamation - Libel and Slander.

Advise young men cultivate habit of accuracy.
Guard against offensive language.

Radio - instrument of hatred and of peace.

One's debt to one's profession:

Paragraph at end of preface.

I like those words.

Afford a noble incentive to life and work -
Keep before you in profession.

Opportunities Legal profession affords.

Highly honourable company.
Distinction to every member.
Opens door personal advancement and public service.
Entry into many homes - welcome into many lands.
Recognize position to members of profession and nto members of families.
Bequeaths worthy name.

Exemplary conduct.
Bring honour to man.
Adorns his profession.

Advice summed up in 5 words:
Walk worthy of your vocation.

No fear yourself or profession.
No doubt of honour to both.

D 56444

Address of Principal and Lecturers, Osgoode Hall:

The advantage you have taken of the great opportunities which you long tenure of office conferred, to influence, by your character as well as by your teaching, the ethical as well as the legal training of members of the Bar.

That influence I should like to see uppwemost in your lives:
Influence of character;
Maintenance of high standards of conduct;
Lofty precepts in practice of profession.

No force like force of example.
World's need for men to uphold the Right
Battle for Truth and Justice.

Paragraph - end of "Libel and Slander":

"It would be presumption to say that the book is free from errors and imperfections, but for these the writer may fairly claim the indulgence which is generously given to anyone who seeks to repay, however inadequately, the debt which he owes to his own profession."

I like those words.

Noble incentive to life and work.
Keep before you in your careers.

Legal profession - highly honourable company.
Walk worthy of your Vocation.

October 22, 1947 file

~~Women~~ National Federation of Liberal Women
Banquet
Chelsea Sawyer

Greetings to all present.

Congratulations on Convention -
representative character;
evidence of renewed activity in organizat^n
have not met since '38.

D 56445

Thanks to Officers and Members -
Senator Wilson, President - since 1938
also Founder - since 1928.

Mrs. Tweed - Treasurer - since '28,
Director, Women's Division,
National Federation - since '43.

Secretaries: Madame Vautelet - since '38
Miss Edwards - " "

Kiss Cang Lerner

New President: Mrs. Hodges,
Member of Legislature.
(Mr. Hodges, editor,
Victoria Times).

Need for Party organization.

By-election York-Sunbury. Fin record of por[redacted]
(1) politics
(2) Importance of organization -
secure success and secure national unity
(3) Importance of candidate;
" to future of members of govt.

Chivalry needed in Politics.
Gregg by acclamation (Francis Bridges).

Absurdity of Bracken's statement re
stacking cards;
Cabinet minister and 2 private citizens

Tory Party - nothing to offer.

Danger of C.C.F. taking away enough
Liberal votes to secure Tories in
3rd contest.

Resolutions

Women's part in politics - D 56446
Answered by 3 words:

UNITY - question of attitude,
conciliation vs. coercion.
SECURITY - Matter of homes of nations
FREEDOM - lr. by Pres. Roosevelt,
forces working together.

D 56447

Controls -
de-controls - gradual.

Prices - effect of war.
" " limited supply,
" " labour and materials.

- effect of spending;
" " large amount of savings

- effect of assisting other
countries by credits, etc.;
spirals in other countries.

Dec 43 D56448

Extracts from WARTIME CORRESPONDENCE
between Pres. Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII
(Myron C. Taylor)

In their hearts men decline to accept, for long, the law of destruction forced upon them by wielders of brute force. Always they seek, sometimes in silence, to find again the faith without which the welfare of nations and the peace of the world cannot be rebuilt.

....

I believe that while statesmen are considering a new order of things, the new order may well be at hand. I believe that it is even now being built, silently but inevitably, in the hearts of masses whose voices are not heard, but whose common faith will write the final history of our time. They know that unless there is belief in some guiding principle and some trust in a divine plan, nations are without light, and peoples perish. They know that the civilization handed down to us by our fathers was built by men and women who knew in their hearts that all were brothers because they were children of God. They believe that by His will enmities can be healed; that in His mercy the weak can find deliverance, and the strong can find grace in helping the weak.

.....

Because the people of this nation have come to a realization that time and distance no longer exist in the older sense, they understand that that which harms one segment of humanity harms all the rest. Theyknow that only by friendly association between the seekers of light and the seekers of peace everywhere can the forces of evil be overcome.

....

In these present moments, no spiritual leader, no civil leader can move forward on a specific plan to terminate destruction and build anew. Yet the time for that will surely come.

It is, therefore, my thought that though no given action or given time may now be prophesied, it is well that we encourage a closer association between those in every part of the world - those in religion and those in government - who have a common purpose.

.....

When the time shall come for the re-establishment of world peace on a surer foundation, it is of the utmost importance to humanity and to religion that common ideals shall have united expression.

Furthermore, when that happy day shall dawn, great problems of practical import will face us all. Millionsof people of all races, all nationalities and all religions may seek new lives by migration to other lands or by re-establishment of old homes. Here,too, common ideals call for parallel action.

October 30, 194

Press Interview D56450

Leaving for Europe
SS. "Queen Elizabeth" (Saturday).

New York - Friday
Canadian Club award -
furthering friendly relations.

Week before wedding -
paying visit to Holland and Belgium
invitation governments of
Netherlands and Belgium;
see battlefields.

Invitation to Italy and Greece -
opening of Legation in Rome.

Wedding 20th

Return by first ship afterwards -
Amsterdam.

Wedding present;
invitation to Princess and Lieut.
Philip Mountbatten visit Ca[redacted] ?

Announcement of Agreements reached
at Geneva - I.T.O.

Will considerable large numbe
tariff items.

Session - get through preliminary
begin with legislation.

Postpone Debate on Address to
New Year; adjournment.

Term of government, etc.

D 56451

Harvard Club of New York
October 31, 1947

President:

George Whitney ('07)

Letter Mr. Whitney July 9;

Unanimously elected an Honorary Membe

Invitation to dinner to receive
certificate of Honorary membersh

Happy, proud and grateful to receive
this honor -

citizens of another country,

graduate of University to which
I owe so much;

have been a member since 1914 ?
33 years.

Biddle memorial room ?

Mr. Whitney (career)

Many happy memories revived.

10.

My own career at Harvard
in relation to beginning of career
in Canada:

1897-8 - (M.A.) postgraduate studi
1898-9 - " " "
1899-00- Travelling Fellowship:
England, France, Germany, Ital

Appointed Instructor in Economics
at Harvard,
Radcliffe,
Ladies School in Britain.

D 56452

Organize Department of Labour:

Editor of Labour Gazette

Deputy Minister of Labour

In 1907 (?) received LL.D. degree ?

In 1908 resigned public service
general elections -
returned to Parliament.

Changed thesis
from hand to factory system.

Public opinion in relation to
settlement of Disputes.

President Eliott about to resign.

Examination set for 1909.

Taken into Laurier's government as
Minister of Labour.

Examinations
(debt due learning)

Ph.D. degree

Conscious in visiting U. S. what I owe U.S. and Harvard in particular.

Conscious in visiting England what I owe to England.

In visiting either, what I owe to both - especially to Universities.

What owing to U. S.:

University of Chicago and life in Social Settlement - Hull House.

Articles on slums of cities,
foreign colonies,
the sweating system.

Harvard Fellowship.

In England:
Life at Passmore Edwards Settlement.

Lectures on Labour Problems.
20th century and Labour.
Invention and Labour.
Socialism and Labour.
Christianity and Labour.

Asquaintance with British Parliamentary Institutions in England.

Meeting with British statesmen.
Experience of travel on continent.
Cable received in Rome on Palatin Hill -
conflict of careers - academic

practical
political

Acquaintance with Great Britain and U.S.
due to Harvard.

President Eliot.

President Theodore Roosevelt
when President of U. S.

Opium Traffic -
Bob Bacon, Acting Secretary of State
Root, Secretary of State.

Member of Commission at Shanghai
Visit to India
" " China
" " Japan;

also visit to Edward Grey re difficulties with Japan.

Colorado Strike -
association with Rockefeller Foundation
breakfast Harvard Club.
John D. Rockefeller Jr.
Jerome Green.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
on Board of Governors when given LL.D. degree -
close friendship before and during war - confidence;
visits to White House,
Warm Springs,
Hyde Park.

Conferences at Quebec - Churchill
Permanent Joint Board on Defence.
Hyde Park Agreement
(meeting at Harvard Club)

What true of one's self relative in
large way to Canada's role -
good-will
understanding,
co-operation,
etc., in international
relations.

Embassies and Legations -

Example to world and need for.

Harvard Club -

My home in New York -
what it has meant.

Inspiration to visit Club -

accommodation, privacy,
and meeting friends.

A half-way house

enroute to Capital at Washington
to " in London
to Capitals in Europe -

a centre of international good-wi

Honour.

D 56456

Canadian Club of New York

Presentation of the Canadian Club Award and Scroll of Honour (1946)

Officers

Board of Governors

Stonewall Jackson - President

- Secretary

John B. How - Chairman Awards Commit

Miss Grace Watson - Canadian contral

H. D. Scully - Consul General.

Proceedings

Introductory remarks: Mr. Jackson

Citation read: Mr. How

Medal and Scroll

Reply by W.L.M.K.

Presentation of members on platform.

D 56457.

Reply

I. Reference to remarks of President

Thanks to Club for meeting my convenience in matter of time of award;

Letter from President Jackson Feb.11 suggesting May 15 for dinner;

Carrying forward lofty ideals to which Club dedicated since inception;

Shared by Canada, U.S. and British Commonwealth.

Addressed Club in -

Greatly honoured to have been awarded medal

Purpose of life - friendly international relations

- friendly industrial relations.

II

Refer to citation of award

Length of office: confidence of peop
colleagues in Cab.
public service
(official
loyalty of support
in Parliament.

Peace & War - general interest
vs. special.

In citation referred to
(1) Canada a Nation

1896 - Sir Wilfrid Laurier
(50 years ago)

Br.Empire a galaxy of
nations

factors:

i. position taken by Liber
at Imperial Conf. etc.

ii. armed services in 2 war

iii. diplomatic service:

Minister to Washington
" " France
" " Japan

diplomatic service within Commonwealth

High Commissioners

Conversation with King Geo.V.

Conference 1926

Gov.Gen.- King - on advice o
Can. govt.

High Com'r - govt.

Present size of service

quality of our diplomats.

iv. Advantage of two races and cultures

(2) Harmony of sentiment between U.S. and Br. Commonwealth

Life in U.S.: universities, Rockefeller Found'n friendships, etc. (trade agreements & war)

(3) Contribution to material purpose

Can. U.S. and Br.Commonwealth

method of diplomacy - lay all cards on table, face upward

That policy alone advantageous - enduring

truth

right

question of attitude all important

good will vs. ill will

persuasion vs. coercion

convert vs. force.

must work to make prevail among all nations.

Honour enhanced by other recipients of award

1. Sir Gerald Campbell

Br. subject and

life in U.S. (Consul - like Scully)

residence at Ottawa

beginning of war - talk together

Minister at Washington

(others Wm. Clark
Campbell
Malcom Macdonald
Sir Alexander
Clutterbuck.

2. Mr. Hull - have worked together

great Secretary of state

of United Nations

memoirs being published

treasure expression of friendship
members of Can. Club.

Mr. Hull

long & devoted service to th
promotion of international
co-operation and good-will

championship of enlightened
policies in international tr

relations between Canada & U

all good wishes for Mr.Hull'
healt

10. II. 48 D 56462

Presentation of portrait by MacGregor to Honourable C.D. Howe by war-time associates

Thanks to Symington, our Controller, during war.

" " business executives and experts for war services.

Personal thanks for inviting participate tonight's proceedings.

Thanks on behalf of colleagues to Executives for presentation.

Recognition of Mr. Howe's public services.
Pre-war.
War,
and Post-war.

Pre-war services:

Our meeting at Laurier House, 1935.

How discovered.

Impressions formed.

Invited to join Government, 1935.

Qualifications to administer Department.

Early training: Engineering, Massachusetts
Teacher, Dalhousie.
Consulting engineer.
Specially qualified for planning great structures and projects.

In Cabinet ever since.
Second oldest colleague (Ilsley first).

Yankee become Canadian - career.

D 56463

Services as member of government:

in Department,
in Council,
in Parliament,
in the country,
internationally.

In Department:

Minister of Railways, Canals and Marine consolidated into Transport.

Established National Harbours Board.

Reorganized Canadian Broadcasting Corprn.

Canadian National Railways organized, operating and ground services - for the first Trans-Continental (Canadian) Air System.

Founded Trans-Canada Air Lines.

Thoroughly reorganized--integrated; publicly owned transportation system.

War:

Responsible for War Supply Board.

Later became Dept. of Munitions & Supply, controlling production and supply of munitions, and carrying out Defence projects.

Representative on Combined Productions and Resources Board.

Member of British Supply Council in America.

Direction of Mutual Air Board.

Recruiting of fine talent available in Canadian industry;

Canada's resources - plant equipment; manufacturing skill expanded to an unprecedented degree;

Contribution to our armed forces and to supply need of Allies.

Development of atomic energy programme.

Post-War:

Minister of Reconstruction and Supply.

Reconversion from war to peace-time economy.

Helped veterans to re-establish themselves in civil life.

Disposal of surplus war goods.

Now Minister of Trade and Commerce administering programme of conservation U.S. dollars.

Concerned now with expansion of our trade and re-direction of Industry.

Services in Council - since 1935

My success that of colleagues.

Wise decision - good judgment.

In Parliament, formidable debater.

D 56464-1

In Country: eloquent speaker.

Internationally Recognised as representative on Combined Productions Resources Board.

Mr. Howe - the man

Versatile -

wide range of interest.

Post-War:

Atomic energy.

Drive of personality.

Able and vigorous administrator.

Courageous -

great mental and physical capacity.

Essentially human individual - modest.

Reknown optimist -

sense of humour.

What public life has involved to him

Risks of life - health.

Ship sunk in 1940.

Recognition given him in U.S.

" U.K.

Medal of Merit by Govt. in U.S.

62 years - Hope for years of health - strength

International - Delegate to meeting of Intl. Civil Aviation Organ.

Minto Club Dinner for Barbara Ann Scott

12.III.48

D 56465

Thanks for invitation - say a few words.

The Minto Club and its associations:

my early days in Ottawa;

member of Club in 1903;

its development.

Minto Follies:

distinguished feature of Ottawa;

spectacular events
reminiscent of days of the Greeks.

Served to bring Ottawa into:

local arena,
national arena, and
international arena.

Thanks to Club for developing Barbara Ann.

Thanks to Mayor and citizens -

re"Mayor's Fund".

Thanks to Party that accompanied her.

Magnificence of civic reception.

a "Freeman" of the City.

Renewal of congratulations from the
government and people of country.

43.

 D 56466

Congratulations to Barbara Ann on her whole career.

Barbara's career - at Minto Club - from a little girl.

Championship of Canada -
" " North America -
" " Europe.

Honour brought to Canada.

Significance of career at this time.

Place of Sports in life -
in commercial life;
" political "
" industrial " .

As between nations, has helped to substitute rivalry in sports for rivalry in arms.

Ambassadress of international friendship and good-will.

Her character and personality.

How she has borne her honours.

The spotlight of the world on two young women:

Princess Elizabeth and Barbara Ann.

Representing spirit of Canada.

Her modesty and naturalness;
endurance and control.

MINTO CLUB:

If done nothing else but give Barbara Ann place she has won, would have rendered international service to country.

Our Lady of the Snows -

Kipling applied to Canada -

equally applicable to Barbara Ann as representing the Spirit of Canada.

Canada
Field of her title to
Barbara Ann

9.III.48 D 56468

Re: WELCOME

City takes Barbara Ann to its heart.

" is expression of that of nation.

Re personal presence at luncheon.

Come to bring that assurance from Parlt. Hill

Parlt. and country followed movements from day left in December to this hour.

Have done so with increasing admiration and pride.

Have not been disappointed in hopes or expectations in any particular.

Here to bring greetings and congratulations on behalf of members of Parlt. and those they represent.

In public life, many experiences in sending telegrams to individuals;

no experience comparable to that in messages to Barbara Ann.

Messages found a place in press and in Parlt.

3 Victories:

(1) European Championship;
(2) Olympic Championship;
(3) World Championship.

Significance of this in international arena.

Bright star in a clouded world.

What it symbolizes of Canada and spirit of Canada.

D 56469

Extend thanks of Canada.

Excuse an inspector

PERSONALITY:

Character,

self-discipline,

self-control,

endurance.

Naturalness.

Unspoiled.

All good wishes.

Hope you will

on the behalf of country

(14)

Luncheon in honour of Prime Minister
by Senator Wishart Robertson
Couhtry Club, April 24, 1948

D 56470

Thanks to host and hostess for luncheon -

Delicious in itself;

Joyous amid the evidences of Spring;

Delightful amid friends.

Opportunity to thank Mr. Robertson -
and Mrs.

for leadership in Senate -

interest in Nova Scotia politics -

President of National Liberal
Association - Young people -

Leadership of Senate no easy task -
High order of public addresses

helped by Mrs. Robertson.

Opportunity to thank colleagues for
congratulations on event of past week -

Wives of Ministers - what I owe to them.

Unique nature of event -

Barbara Ann - glad for Canada's sake -
art of sports

Pleasing aspect

Art of democratic government -
if party will hold and work together.

Less pleasing - nearing the end of one's career.

Decision not taken lightly:

1) Strength not what it was - re elections - weariness;

2) Things left undone - some things one would like to do.

3) Unequal to task of leadership - touch with followers.

4) Unfair to the party and the country - with new problems & issues - not putting weight.

Other men should have a chance.

Public life.

1. Strange aspects - Rebellion Joseph Howe - my mother's brother -

Imprisonment and exile.
My mother's birth.

The hardships of the poor .

Took me to Chicago vs. law.

2. Goldwin Smith.

Public life.

Noblest of all callings.
Gladstone - life a great and noble calling

D 56472

Advantages - the fullest life
most all round life.

Knowledge of affairs -
" of country -
" of interesting people.
" of foreign countries, travel.
" of human nature.

Open door to any home or office

Fulfil the strongest and highest aims of life -

purpose of life - to help one's fellow men

to leave world better than one finds it.

Save disaster to others.

MONTREAL REFORM CLUB

May 8, 1948

D 56473

15

50th Anniversary - a great occasion

Purpose of Visit -

to extend congratulations on the present;

to convey thanks - for the past;
(see letter to Claxton)

to extend good wishes - for the future.
(avoidance of extremes -
conservatism vs. radicalism)

Place of Club in history of Canadian Liberalism -

Links the past with the present -

Begin now to link the present with the future -

The old guard -

The new guard.

My own position -

The long road -

Leadership and Premiership -

A natural course to adopt -

Fair to the country - to the Party - and to myself -

Cannot lead indefinitely.

 D 56474

What would be said if a different course followed.

Had date of election not been announced, and had we not been already in the campaign, I would have felt that my task had been well nigh completed, and that having reached past the age of 70 years, I had earned honorable retirement and a little of quiet in the eventide of life.

Kept on for two reasons -

Japanese war not over -

Unsettled conditions after war needed readjustments.

Get work of new Parliament under way and Ministry at work.

To have to do with the peace -

To help bring to ~~completion~~ program of Social Security.

Party in splendid position today

(re majorities small - but opposition figures cancel out)

D 56475

Today a memorable Day - V-Day - (3rd Anniversary)

Position of World

Sea casting up its mire after storm -

A settling down process -

creation of new means and areas of security -

The good of each bound up in the well-being of all.

Isolation no longer possible.

World-wide co-operation.

World war possible, but not inevitable.

 D. 56476

How the future will view the present -

Either as a battlefield after a
great conflict -

Or as a time of transition

when place, position and power
of the few had to give way to

the wider opportunities for the
many.

This is the work of Liberalism -

The general interest, rather than
the special interest

A program of Social Security -

Social Justice.

8.V.45 D-6477

Happy to be present.

Representative character of gathering: Godbout

Purpose of visit.
Congratulations; thanks; good wishes.

50th anniversary - great occasion.

Place of Reform Club in history of Canadian Liberalism.

Club: a link between past, present & future.

Different Cabinets.

Long distance record -
thanks for congratulations.

Present position: leadership - P.M.ship

Purpose of Convention.

Word as to future.

Today memorable day - V.Day.

How future will view present -
battlefield versus brotherhood.

Depend on Liberal principles.

Liberalism be true to itself:
in attitude; in action and in aim.

Freedom and progress.

General interest.

8.V.48

P 56478

Happy to be present - heavy week and Forrestal

Representative character of gathering: Godbout

Purpose of visit: Extend
1) Congratulations on present.
2) Thanks for past.
3) Good wishes for future.

50th anniversary - great occasion.

Review of half century of Liberal Party's history.

Two leaders - 60 years.

Place of Reform Club in history of Canadian Liberalism.

Influence of Club on Liberal thought & opinion

Club - a link between past and present;
" " present and future.

Different Cabinets:

Sir Wilfrid's 1st Cabinet -
Aylesworth and self alone remain.

Other Cabinets: Quebec representation
and Liberal Cabinets.

Strong place of beginning for next half of century.

Quebec Ministers.

<u>Long distance record.</u>

Thanks for congratulations.

My present position.

Leadership and Prime Ministership.
Remove uncertainty.

Present session - last session as P.M.

Purpose of Convention.

Reasons for.

A word as to future.

Today memorable day - V-Day.
Intervening years - unrest.

Position of world:

Isolation no longer possible.
World-wide co-operation.

World war possible, but not inevitable.

How future will view present -

A battlefield or transition to larger brotherhood.

Will depend on application of Liberal principles and policies,
in national and international affairs.

Let Liberalism be true to itself:

(1) in attitude -
moderation and toleration.
(2) in action -
avoidance of extremes;
general interest -
rights of minorities.

(3) in aim - national unity;
economic security;
social justice.

D 56480

Freedom and progress.

Extend and defend freedom.

Progress equals larger opportunity for all.

Increase of human happiness through absence of fear.

General interest rather than particular interest.

D 56481

MINISTERS FROM QUEBEC:

in Cabinet of 1921:

Dandurand
Beland
Sir Lomer Gouin
Bureau
Lapointe.

in Cabinet of 1926:

Dandurand
Beland
Lapointe
Cardin
Boivin
Cannon.

in Cabinet of 1935:

Dandurand
Lapointe
Cardin
Rinfret
Power

in 1936 - same as 1935

in Cabinet at present

St. Laurent
Fournier
Bertrand
Claxton
Jean
Abbott

Chevrier)
Martin) Ont.

Long Road D 56482

MINISTERS LEFT

Of Sir Wilfrid's Cabinet - 7 alone

93

101

of Cabinet formed in 1921:

Self (alone in H. of C.)

In Senate
- Copp
- Murdock
- Sinclair
- Dr. King (Feb. 22)

of Cabinet formed in 1926:

Self (alone in H.of C.)

In Senate - Dr. King

Dunning

Cannon (Solicitor General)

15.V.48

16

Press Gallery Dinner D 56483

Thanks for invitation.

Congratulations to Chairman.

A time of special significance.

The Past last as Prime Minister.

Awaken <u>memories of past associations with Gallery</u>

began as deputy minister of Labour - 1903.
45 years of age.

Recall most vividly presence of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his remarks about his association with press.

Recall old members of Gallery;
Mackenzie (P.C.)

Bob McLeod.

The Gallery itself small structure, climbing circular stair case.
A cosier sort of atmosphere.

Overcrowded - need for better accommodation, inside H. of C. and in building for press.

<u>Long list of presidents, of members,</u> of journalists - crossing a bridge of years - something like vision of Mirza.

<u>A new sort of Gallery</u>
social party lines
partisans in Gallery -

With the larger numbers
the vastly increased numbers of subjects and interests.

The international arena.
World or domestic affairs
Leading towards <u>formation of world opinion</u>.

Task of journalist - an infinitely more responsible one.
Hold to the truth.

<u>Last 25 years - the art of holding on to office</u>

With normal majority;
with no majority;
with largest majority.

<u>The Present</u>

The long tenure of office.

<u>The art of quitting office</u>.

May be of interest to hear from my own lips what circumstances are -

(1) wholly unexpected <u>length of term</u> as Leader and P.M.;

(2) Wholly unexpected duration and strain of war, after many years in office.

D 56484

D 56485

(3) Decision reached <u>during war</u> not to carry on, once war over.

(4) Decision clearly stated through campaign.

(5) Question right time to act upon this decision.

(6) Anxious to have to do with making of peace -

Conference of Prime Ministers
Peace Conference, Paris

at end of Session very tired - exhausted, in fact

reaction after war

advice of physician

(7) Illness last Spring - close call

others doing the most during Session

(8) Asked colleagues to be here for Sept.

Course to pursue:
(i) choose a new Leader
(ii) lay down office of P.M.

(a) New Leader - relationship with Party
(Convention)

(b) Prime Minister - relationship with Crown
(Circumstances)

 D 56486

(9) Intended to have Nat'l. Federation meeting before Parliament reassembled

Changed due to absence for Royal Wedding

Emergency programme due to Dollar Problem

(10) Efforts to have held over till Parlt. reassembled in late January

(11) Insistence on meeting in January

(a) All with a view of becoming freed of burdens and responsibilities of office

Note Queen Wilhelmina's statement
fatigue
far-reaching nature of problems
not carrying weight in boat

(b) right time for New Leader to take hold - not leave Party in lurch at last moment.

One does not give up power, prestige, to say nothing of means of livelihood, at advancing years, when Party willing to have one stay, without best possible reasons.
Unable to understand grounds for believing did not intend to resign as P.M.
(Note re "if", etc.)

(12) No question now. date of Convention fixed.

Question re war, etc.

D 56487

13. 3 stages in art of quitting office

(1) Call Convention and arrange f
take 6 months;
return leadership to party
from which it was given;

(2) Know who new leader is to be,
so as to be in best possible
position to advise Crown as
to successor;

(3) Decide on time at which to
advise Crown to accept resign

That will depend on circumsta

In matters of State have tried to
things in decency and in order -

not in haste and without regard tc
consequences;

Lay down a great trust in a befit
manner;

Want to consider what may be best
successor - what his wishes may be

what matters requiring
consideration at moment;

A few farewells before quitting t
scen

A chance to thank electors for th
confidenc

telling how to avoid speculat

D 56488

Parliament may be in session, if not completed by June.

Would certainly wish to complete work of present session -

this might bring us well into September or October.

As far as I wish to go at present:

the present is the last session in which I will be serving the country in the office of Prime Minister;

when the next session opens, some one other than myself will be filling that office.

Should new session in Oct., Nov., or Dec. - or in the New Year -

No prospect of continuing on into another year - my guess would be:

Convention in August - retire in early autumn.

It will not be easy, but it will be the right thing to do.

D 56489

My relations with Gallery.

Small token to commemorate many dinners

(Hansard - Bright)

Wedding of Miss Nancy Paterson to
Mr. Paul Alexander McFarlane
Ottawa, June 5, 1948

17

D 56490

Nancy Louise Paterson

17.

Sure all present would not wish this occasion to pass without an opportunity being afforded to drink a health to the bride.

May I first of all say how deeply we all share the disappointment of the bride's parents that, because of illness, it is not possible for Mrs. Paterson to be with us at the moment.

I am sure that the wish above all others that Nancy would wish me to express on her wedding day, is that her mother, who has meant everything to her throughout the years of her life, may soon be restored to health and strength. In that wish we all devoutly share.

Next, I am sure she would wish me to thank her parents for having made it possible, notwithstanding her mother's illness, for so many of her friends to be with her on her wedding day, to wish her well. This I do on behalf of us all.

A word on my own behalf -

I am not an authority on weddings, but I have read that there are three essential qualifications for one who would propose a bride's health: -

1. He should be brief;

2. He should have a sense of humour;

3. He should be an old friend of the family.

My friends say that -

1. The first for me is difficult;

2. The second is impossible; -

They cannot, however, deny the truth of the third -

for I have known Senator and Mrs. Paterson for many years, and may almost claim to have known Nancy since she was born. -

Honour of being in home of old friends on day of marriage of their daughter.

Bride speaks for herself -

Home environment -

Now I can wish Nancy nothing better than that she may find in her own home, joys and opportunities comparable to those which have been here in the home she leaves today. This I am sure she will have, or she never would have chosen Mr. McFarlane for a husband. Together, they, I am sure, are going to be very happy, and I wish them, on behalf of all, a long life of united happiness, and united service to the country in which they will reside, and to our country, - and to the Liberal Party.

Tradition of family, Church and State - public causes

Example of public and social service

Youth, Beauty, Bravery -

Symbol of Young Canada -

new era - (times better) -

Common interests -

Beautiful day in June -

symbolic of their happiness -

What bride cherishes in heart today may be fulfilled.

Civic Dinner by Mayor and Council of
the City of Toronto, June 12, 1948
(in honour of Prime Minister)

file 18

D 56493

Your Worship,
Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto,
and Gentlemen:

Invitation to Members of Parliament -
a kind thought.

Occasion, demonstration of good-will -
Toronto and Ottawa.

18.

Convey thanks.

Completion of hospital - completion of
years of co-operation City & Government.
Achievement - pride of both.

Honours evenly divided - City & Govt.

Special credit due Greater Toronto
Veterans Hospital Committee & Stewart.

Ex-Mayor Saunders - visit to Ottawa.
Other names - no time for.

Board of Control - today's entertainment.

Officers' Mess - Queen's York Rangers -
Col. Hunter.

Word on own behalf - specially named on
invitation.
Mayor's remarks & testimonial.

D 56494

Precious associations with Toronto -

background of public and private life.
grand-father,
first mayor - M.L.A., journalist
battles for reform, £ 1,000.
Homestead; mother's marriage.

University, father - Law School.
last resting place.

Reason for pride in city's congratulations
and honour today - after years of
public life.

Prize most - reply"to Those who Served"
Replied to many toasts.
Canada's place - due to those who
served.

A word about Canada as a nation.
How national status achieved.

When term "nation" first used.
Sir Wilfrid & Coronation of Edw.VII-
1902.
Galaxy of free nations - excitement.

Canada's nationhood won by those who
served in world war 1 - 60,000 lives.
Separate signature at Versailles.
Balfour declaration - 1926.
Statute of Wesminster - 1931.

Commonwealth of Nations -
League of Nations, United Nations.

External attributes of nationhood -
diplomatic missions created -
1921 and today.

Embassies, Legations - offices of H.C.
Canada in 30 countries -
31 in Canada.
Standing vs. numbers. Served
came during war - due to"Those who /
Ceased to speak apologetically.

A capital worthy of a Nation -
related"to those who served"

Countries known by Capitals.

Monuments of 2 wars -
Monument 1914-18 - the Response.
" 1939-45 - give expression to
what Canada as a nation is likely
to become.

The Washington of the North.

The larger Capital - a real memorial -
Keep record before public.

The International Situation - served
Immediately related to those who /.

Impressions of Sunnybrook Hospital.
Hospital - Pasteur - 2 contrary
laws.

D 56496

Analysis of international conflict

Needs more attention.
Two world wars since.
War - no matter of chance.

The two laws illustrative of what ~~xx~~
brought home by what see in world today

Canada can help to make law of peace, etc.
part of inheritance of mankind.

Decision must be quickly made.

This the fitting and enduring
monument "for Those Who Served".

Brotherhood vs. annihilation.

file

D 56497

Invitation to M.P.s

Completion of Hospital.

Credit due Greater Toronto Veterans Hospital Committee - Stewart.

Board of Control.

Precious associations with Toronto.

Reason for pride in city's congratulations and honour today - after years of public life.

Prize most - reply "To Those Who Served".

A word about Canada as a nation.

Canada's nationhood won by those who served in World War 1.

External attributes of nationhood.

A Capital worthy of a Nation.

Monuments of 2 wars.

International situation.

Analysis of international conflict.

Two laws - Pasteur.

Canada can help to make law of peace, etc. part of inheritance of mankind.

Brotherhood vs. annihilation.

file

D 56498

Dinner, Country Club
in honour of Lord Mountbatten of Burma
August 25, 1948

Introductory

Welcome to Lord and Lady Mountbatten
to Canada,
invitation extended by govt.
through Gov.Gen. to
guest on learning of
acceptance of invitation
to open Toronto Ex.

Canadian Club invitation already
accepted;
Lord M. ready to do two days
hard work.
Promise no speech making.
Emphasis on today's weather.

Thanks to G.G. for sharing guests
with members of government;
Can imagine pleasure commanders after
battlefields of Tunis and Burma
enjoying countryside of Canada
together.

D 56499

Government's desire to have
pleasure of extending welcome
to Canada.

Extend Canada's congratulations to
Lord and Lady Mountbatten;

speak to them of significance
of their lives.

Not first visit to Canada

Others during war - Quebec.

Familiar with Lord M.'s great
career as Commander.

Lady Mountbatten's visit through
city and to St.John's
Ambulance Nursing Brigade.

We welcome Lord M. because of his
distinguished career.

His services in the war
in the Navy as Chief of
Combined Operations
- Navy, Air & Army.

D 56500

Supreme Allied Commander in
Southeast Asia - 1943-46,

Vice-Roy of India, March to August
1947,

G.G. and P.M. of India Aug.47 to
June 48.

Last Vice-Roy of India, first

G.G. of India and P.M.

Have had many distinguished
guests -

None more prominent in British
Commonwealth

in last two years.

Lord Mountbatten's career:

Accomplishments so varied and
distinguished;

Visit of Lord M. to Canada most
significant in Canadian-
Indian relations;

Think of it as Canada-India Night.

Relations chiefly those of
Governors-General of Canada
who have become Vice-Roys.

Metcalfe, Elgin, Dufferin,
Lansdowne, Minto and
Willingdon.

Few Viceroys have visited Canada.
Lord Halifax - now Lord Mountbatten.

Have at table tonight a new
representative:

Mr. Malik - High Commissioner of India.

Period of transition not in India only
but in the world.
- from power transferred from
Crown to people.

Canada has in India Mr. Kearney
as representative.

Thanks for magnificent address at
Canadian Club.
Significance of services to Empire
etc.

 D 56502

Features of Address -

see Inglis' letter.

Recollection while speaking of Prince Louis of Battenburg addressing Canadian Club August 24, 1905.

Visit paid by distinguished father - 43 years ago.

Reason for my retirement.

Lord Mountbatten three or four years ago.

Recall nature of reception given.

Since then have looked at papers with account of visit.

Prince Louis of Battenburg when visiting Canada was in command of Second Cruiser Squadron;

officers of fleet and blue-jackets.

Sailors and Marines gave entertainment at Toronto.

Blue-jackets gave famous gun-drill on opening day.

Secret of great career found in being true to highest family traditions.

Read speech delivered.

Think of the career still before Lord Mountbatten.

Extend best wishes for all that is best in his future.

D 56504

Welcome Lord and Lady Mountbatten to Canada.

How invitation extended -

Lord M. desiring relaxation, no hard work
- equals speech-making.

Thanks to G.G. sharing guest.

Reception Government House.

Pleasure of Commanders battlefields Tunis and Burma visiting countryside.

Re Mountbatten not first visit to Canada.

War - Quebec.

Lady M. - St.John's Ambulance Nursing Brigade.

Welcome because of career.
Accomplishments very distinguished.
Before war interests in Navy, Inventions, etc.

Chief of Combined Operations

Army
Navy
Air

Supreme Allied Commander Southeast Asia.

Last viceroy of India.

First G.G. of India.

D 56505

Significance of visit to Canada.

Canadian-Indian relations.

Canada-India Night.

Governors-General who were viceroys;

H. C. at table - Malik.

Kearney in India.

Significance of change - crown to people

Canadian Club Address.

Thanks for

Features of

What it recalled of visit of
Prince Louis of Battenburg,
August 24, 1905

in command of 2nd Cruiser Sqadron
officers of fleet,
bluejackets
sailors and marines

entertainment in Toronto.

nature of reception given.

Looked at papers.

Secret of career - true to highest
family traditions.

D 56506

Government Dinner in honour of
Hon. John A. Costello, Prime
Minister of Ireland,
Country Club, Tuesday, Sept.8, 1948

- - - - - - - - - -

Visits from time to time representatives
nations of Commonwealth, or
countries associated therewith;

last week: Mountbatten, Viceroy
and P.M. India;

this week: Mr. and Mrs. Costello
P.M. of Ireland;

Welcome to Canada as P.M. and representing Ireland;

for his wife and himself;

Special pleasure to recall old friendships -

1925 - League of Nations
1926 - Imperial Conference

pleasant to recall previous visits
of Cosgrave;

sorry not deValera;

Welcome to Her Excellency -
regret absence of His Excellency
welcome to Lord Caledon.

D 56507

Welcome representatives of other parts
of Commonwealth -

and Norman Robertson.

Gift of Dickard & Barnett - Fred Alexander
of Inn

Recalling past years

distinguished guest's career,

as a parliamentarian

" " barrister

Attorney General in Cosgrave's
Ministry 10 years,

in opposition 12 years

in parl't 22 years.

a framer of Statute of Westminster,

with Lapointe and Skelton,

thanks for public addresses,
" " attending Can.Bar. Assoc.
" " broadcast.

no discussion of domestic affairs;

Costello head of coalition - 5 parties;

recalls my years in govt. with one,
and in minority.

fellow sympathy with.

56508

Fight against communism;
his desire for friendship,
closer relations.

Word about Mr. and Mrs. Hearne
(dean of diplomatic corps)
corps within corps

Our High Commissioners.

Contribution of Irish people to Canada:
have given us G.G.

Sympathy of Canada with Ireland
Edward Blake.

Racial strains in Canada;
French, English, Scottish, Irish,
German.

Importance of personal contacts.

Take back to Ireland good wishes of
people of Canada.

Volume by Mackenzie "Sons of the Emerald
Isle".

12. Canada particularly fortunate in this respect: we have a magnificent heritage of which no small part is due to contribution made by Irish people who have settled in all parts of Canada.

The Irish settlers physically helped build this great country: as in every English-speaking country to which Irish have emigrated they have enriched our social and political life.

Canadians of all races have friendliest feelings for Ireland and desire for continuance of traditions of friendship which are of long standing.

Will ask Mr. Costello to take back to Ireland the assurance of the goodwill and good wishes of the government and people of Canada.

D 56510

Racial Origins of Canadian Population

(Most recent census)
(to nearest 100,000)

French	3,500,000
English	3,000,000
Scottish	1,400,000
Irish	1,300,000
German	400,000
Ukrainian	300,000
Dutch	200,000

At Confederation the Irish outnumbered both the English and the Scottish.

The English overtook the Irish in 1881 and the Scottish overtook the Irish in 1911.

About 1 Canadian in every 10 is predominantly of Irish origin - and far more have some Irish ancestors.

D 56511

DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

IN HONOUR OF

THE HONOURABLE JOHN A. COSTELLO, S.C., T.D.

PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND

AT

THE COUNTRY CLUB, OTTAWA

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER SEVENTH

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT

Mr. Louis Hébert
Department of External Affairs

Mr. J. Douglas Watt
President of the Canadian Club

Mrs. Measures
Mr. Patrick Lynch
Private Secretary
to Mr. Costello

Mrs. Escott Reid
Mr. J. W. Pickersgill
Special Assistant to the Prime Minister

Mrs. Pearson
Mr. Norman Robertson
High Commissioner for Canada
in London

Mrs. Burchell
Hon. Dr. J. J. McCann
Minister of National Revenue

Sardarni Malik
Hon. Joseph Jean
Solicitor General

Mrs. Hearne
Hon. Brooke Claxton
Minister of National Defence

Mrs. Forde
Col. the Hon. Colin Gibson
Secretary of State of Canada

[illegible]er Excellency
The Viscountess Alexander of Tunis
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

ENTRANCE FROM LOUNGE

Hon. John A. Costello
Prime Minister of Ireland
[illegible]rs. Howe

Hon. Alphonse Fournier
Minister of Public Works
Mrs. Viljoen

Hon. John Hearne
High Commissioner for Ireland
Mrs. Abbott

Hon. Paul Martin
Minister of National Health
and Welfare
Mrs. Kerwin

Mr. M. J. Coldwell
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
Mrs. John Read

Mr. Charles Burchell
High Commissioner for Canada
in Newfoundland
Mrs. Pickersgill

Mr. L. B. Pearson
Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs
Mrs. Douglas Watt

Mr. Eamonn Kennedy
Official Secretary,
Office of the High Commissioner
for Ireland

Mr. Russell Hopkins
Legal Adviser, Department
of External Affairs

Mrs. Reginald Hardy
Dr. E. H. Coleman
Under Secretary of State

Mrs. Hopkins
Mr. Justice John Read
International Court of Justice

Mrs. Heeney
Hon. Mr. Justice Patrick Kerwin
Supreme Court of Canada

Mrs. Low
Hon. Douglas Abbott
Minister of Finance

Mrs. Wishart Robertson
The Earl of Caledon

Mrs. Martin
Hon. Dr. P. R. Viljoen
High Commissioner for South Africa

Mrs. Fournier
Hon. J. A. MacKinnon
Minister of Mines and Resources

Mrs. Costello
Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe
Minister of Trade and Commerce

Mrs. Gibson
H. E. Dr. Alfredo Benavides
Ambassador of Peru and
Dean of the Diplomatic Corps

Mrs. Jean
Rt. Hon. Francis Forde
High Commissioner for Australia

Mrs. McCann
Hon. Sardar Hardit Singh Malik
High Commissioner for India

Mrs. Coleman
Senator the Hon. Wishart Robertson
Leader of the Government in the Senate

Miss Bevan
Lady-in-Waiting to
the Viscountess Alexander of Tunis
Mr. Solon Low
Social Credit

Mr. Arnold Heeney
Secretary to the Cabinet

Commandant Michael Byrne, A.D.C.
to Prime Minister of Ireland

Mr. Escott Reid
Asst. Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Mr. Reginald Hardy
President, Parliamentary
Press Gallery

Mr. W. H. Measures
Chief of Protocol, Department
of External Affairs

D 56512

June '49

D 56513

Miss McNaughton's Wedding

Thanks to General and Mrs. McNaughton - pleasure and honour.

The meeting in Paris.
The impression.
Some compensation.

Other reasons -
an old friend of the family,
specially close in college days.

Closely associated as members of public service.

More closely associated in college and the Ministry.

Miss McNaughton a great friend.

Today's event one of international significance.

Of Canada's fair daughters, the bride of today is one of the best known in the international arena.

Pursued studies abroad.

At Conferences in Paris and New York, with her father and mother.

Close association with diplomatic services.

Best hunting grounds for brides and grooms are Defence and Diplomatic services.

Today's marriage owes its existence to international relations -
related to services in time of war,
and diplomatic relations in time of peace.

Mr. Sykes - exceptionally fine record -
academic - engineering, Yale.

Engineer officer on big U.S. ships.

Brother in Canadian army -
in General McNaughton's office.

Now in Security Research Division,
Bank of New York - fifth Ave. Bank.

No small evidence of his achievement, that as an expert in security research, he should have found the ~~highest~~ best security of a life time in the bride of today.

Welcome to Parents of Groom.

Belief in reciprocity -
together will render great service to the world;
some may think has gone too far in taking one of Canada's fairest daughters.

D 56515

Women's Mission - ("Being and Doing")

she will give in highest measure -
in home and in affairs -

two nations brought closer together.

Wishing happiness.

Add to happiness of others.

Proverbs - last chapter - Ideal Women.

Public service.

D56516

Thanks to General and Mrs. McNaughton.

The meeting in Paris - compensation.

An old friend of the family -
association with McNaughton.

Today's event one of International significance.

Leslie's training and background.

The groom's training and background.

Welcome to the Sykes.

Defence and diplomatic service.

Happy hunting ground for brides and grooms.

Today's marriage owesk its existence to international relations.

Reciprocity.

Mr. Sykes - in Security Research.

Division - Bank of N.Y. - Fifth Ave.
Best security of a life-time in bride of today.

Last Chapter of Proverbs.

Woman's Mission - Ruskin,

Stafford Brooks, Carlyle, Florence Nightingale.

Health.

Take on self to propose -
parents of bride

D 56517

For reason

(1) One of oldest friends

Friend of both before marriage

Marriage is brown & laurier pour

Beginnings of days in Ottawa

Laurier House

Norman in Parliament 1908

Used to specialize on brides

Now past marriageable age

Septuagenarian

D 56518

(2) Thanks for hospitality - of today

None greater in Ottawa

(3) ~~Norma~~ beautiful

Express sympathy with parents on what called upon to endure

Norman's illness and mishap

Am just the man for that

All hors de combat

(4) What it means to parents to be parting with baby daughter

(over page)

D 56518-1

What it means to them and to us to have Norma to carry tradition to Britain of a Canadian home

Enlarge in circle of interest

D 56519

Take on self to propose -
parents of bride

For reason

(1) One of oldest friends

Friend of both before marriage

Beginnings of days in Ottawa

Laurier House

Norman in Parliament 1908

Used to specialize on brides

Now past marriageable age

Septuagenarian

D 56520

(2) Thanks for <u>hospitality</u> -
of today

None greater in Ottawa

~~(3) Norma~~ Bruce beautiful

(3) Express sympathy with parents on what called upon to endure

Norman's illness and Corinne's mishap

<u>just the man for that</u>

<u>All hors de combat</u>

(4) What it means to parents to be parting with baby daughter

(over page)

D 565201

What it means to them and to us to have Norma to carry tradition to Britain of a Canadian home

Enlarge in circle of interest

Marriage Miss Norma Wilson, May 7/49

Take on self to propose — parents of bride

For reason

D 56521

(1) one of oldest friends
friend of both before marriage
beginning of days in Ottawa
Laurier House
Norman in parliament - 1908

used to specialize on bridges
now past marriageable age.
Septuagenarian

(2) thanks for hospitality of today
now greater in Ottawa
Norman [illegible]

(3) express sympathy with parents
on what called upon to endure
Norman [illegible] & [illegible] mistake
Our first [illegible] man for that

all hors de combat

4 What it means to parents to be posting
such baby daughter

what it means to this & to us to
~~what it means to~~ have women to
carry traditions to Britain
of a Canadian home – ~~[illegible]~~
~~not what it means to women~~
enlarge in circle of
interest

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
88		Notes of Speeches, 1947	19 Mar. 1947 to 31 Oct. 1947	D 56410 - D 56522	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1948-1949	20 Jan. 1948 to 20 June 1949	D 56523 - D 56627	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1949	19 May 1949 to 20 June 1949	D 56628 - D 56645	
St. Laurent Files, 1940-1948 - Chronological Subject List					
89		1940: First Session, Address in reply to Speech from the Throne: Speeches in Parliament	25 Jan. 1940	D 56646 - D 56650	
89		1940: Dissolution. Speeches in Parliament	12 Feb. 1940	D 56651 - D 56657	
89		1940: General Election, 1940: Radio Broadcasts, Ottawa, No. 1-6. Speeches outside Parliament	1940	D 56658 - D 56756	

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1948

Speeches - Outside Parliament
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Date	Place	Occasion	
Jan. 20	Chateau Laurier - Ottawa	Meeting of Advisory Council of the National Liberal Federation. International Situation - Cost of Living - Call for a Convention.	1.
Apr. 2	Williamsburg, Virginia	Convocation of The College of William and Mary. Acknowledgment of Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.	2.
June 12	Toronto	Sunnybrook Hospital - Official Opening.	3.
June 12	Toronto - Royal York Hotel	Civic Dinner tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council of the City of Toronto.	4.
Aug. 6	The Coliseum, Ottawa.	Address before National Liberal Convention on years of Leadership and reasons for retirement as Leader of Party.	5.
Sept.28	Paris, France.	Speech delivered at the United Nations General Assembly.	6.
Nov. 15	Ottawa, Canada (Radio Broadcast)	Speech delivered to Canadians on last day of office as P.M.	7.

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June 20	Ottawa, Canada Capitol Theatre	Address to Liberal Rally, Chairman	8.

Not to be released until delivered

National Liberal Federation Dinner D 56524

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa - January 20, 1948

Section of Speech by Prime Minister in relation to the International Situation

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

In the years following the first Great War, we and many other nations solaced ourselves with the belief that the world had witnessed the last of its great conflicts. We thought that war, on such a scale, could never afflict the nations again. We reposed comfortably under the soothing shades of a League of Nations, which was holding meetings and many conferences in the heart of Europe, at Geneva. To this body, we were prepared to relegate consideration of problems that might give rise to war. We went on our way thinking mainly, and all but exclusively, of our own domestic affairs. It was only in the thirties we began to experience a growing concern and anxiety at what was taking place in Europe. Then, in 1939, came the attempt at European

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

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

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

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

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

I believe, be wise to limit, for the time being at least, some of its multifarious activities. Force has not in itself the power to create better conditions. But a measure of security is a first essential. If properly organized, the force required to provide security would have the power to save from destruction those who have at heart the aim of creating better conditions.

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

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

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

to deceive. If we are to be true to our Liberal faith, we must put forth every effort to further equality of opportunity, and to effect, in all possible ways, a larger measure of social justice.

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

Not to be released until delivered.

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National Liberal Federation Dinner

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa - January 20, 1948

Section of Speech by Prime Minister in relation to the Problem of Rising Prices

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

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

Rising prices a world-wide phenomenon.

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

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

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

Liberal policy on prices

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

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

We now see one political party demanding a return to an over-all price ceiling. Until recently, we saw another political party demanding the abolition of virtually all price controls. By both these parties, we are opposed.

Notwithstanding that they are poles apart in their policies, the chances are ten to one that they will vote together whenever they think there is a chance to embarrass the government.

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

Why no over-all price ceiling.

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

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

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

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

Peacetime objective - expansion of production.

But once fighting ceased, our first concern was to reverse the engines, and to put the economic machine into full speed forward. We no longer wanted to create scarcity. Our aim was the exact opposite. We sought to encourage the rapid expansion of production to meet the pent-up demand for goods. The government knew that production would not be expanded if the nation's economy was kept in a war-time strait-jacket. We were equally sure, however, that if we took all the controls off at once, as was advocated by one of the other political parties, prices would shoot away up before increased production got under way. We chose a middle course - orderly and gradual

de-control. That is what, during and before the 1945 election, we promised to do. That is the course we have since followed.

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

Labour and agriculture wanted wartime controls relaxed.

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

and measured way in which controls have been taken off. It should not be forgotten that, from the point of view of the cost of living, the most important single control - that of residential rents - is still retained.

Why not merely control food prices?

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

Why not subsidies?

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

Reasons for increased prices.

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

The other factor which has sent up Canadian prices has been the much more rapid rise of world prices, and, especially, of prices in the United States. Everyone must surely agree that it is impossible to avoid having Canada's price structure influenced by prices outside Canada. Canadian prices are affected particularly by prices in

the United States. This is inevitable since we draw so large a part of what we consume from that country, and since our producers sell such a large volume of goods in that country.

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

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

Public outcry against rising prices.

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

well as of their motives.

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

Cure for profiteering.

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

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

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

than some continuance of an evil itself. It is easy to arouse public opinion and indignation. It is not quite so easy to make sure that the public is intelligently informed.

Interests of Community paramount.

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

The interests of the Community should be supreme. If this be so, means must be found to assert the rights of the Community, and to have those rights respected.

Information Needed.

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

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

You will probably suppose that I am now about to say that what we need is more in the way of legislation. In my opinion, it is not more in the way of legislation that is required, but more in the way of information. So far as the evils of

unjust and unreasonable prices are concerned, we have, I believe, under existing legislation, very nearly all, if not all, the powers that are necessary to meet any situation that can be demonstrated to be unfair and unjust. The handicap under which Parliament acts in dealing with this problem today is in its limited knowledge of the facts. Accusations are made first against one interest or group in the community, then against another. Those attacked immediately reply that they are being accused unjustly. It may be that the accusation relates to excessive profits. It may be that it relates to hoarding. It may be that it relates to unwarranted restrictions, or it may be to one or many more other causes. In relation to much of what is being alleged, what is not known are the facts. In practically all this class of cases, once the facts are known, I believe means can speedily be found to remedy the situation if it be capable at all of remedy. I believe the facts themselves will point the way to what further action may be necessary to protect the Community in its rights.

Special Powers to investigate needed.

What then obviously, is needed is the most effective means to disclose the facts. I do not believe that the people of Canada expect the government to deny reasonable prices to the farmers or reasonable returns to other producers, or fair

and just return for necessary services to distributing or other agencies. But people do want to be satisfied that advantage is not being taken, by anyone, of conditions of scarcity, in order to exploit the great mass of consumers. There may be individuals or corporations who are taking advantage of an exceptional position or opportunity to charge exorbitant prices. Powers of investigation rigidly, legitimately, and carefully exercised, will, I believe, go far towards remedying such social wrongs.

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

Aim of Committee

I need scarcely say that it would wholly destroy the value of such a Committee were it to be made an instrument for witch-hunting, or a vehicle to embarrass unnecessarily any legitimate business, or any individual. No properly conducted business should have anything to fear. Indeed, any individual or corporation being unjustly accused, will, through the agency of the Committee, be afforded the best possible means of having grounds for suspicion removed. I do not believe that the people of Canada wish to do an injustice to anyone, or to have an injustice done to anyone. In this matter of the cost of living, their primary interest is not in prosecutions. It is in the prevention of the need for prosecutions, by preventing the evil of exploitation.

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

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

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

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

thus afforded, there will be a common endeavour on the part of members of all Parties in Parliament to regard the general interest as supreme?

Committee will not restore wartime price level

Let me add this further word. The most zealous of social workers have long since learned that there is no panacea for the cure of social ills. To this truth, the Committee of Investigation, when established, will be no exception. So long as prices are rising everywhere else in the world, nothing can be expected to stop entirely the rise in prices in Canada. We believe, however, that the mere existence, to say nothing of the work of the Committee, will help to slow down the increases; and in cases where, for example, there has been or is hoarding or profiteering, to effect a reduction in prices.

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

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favourably upon the Marshall Plan. In the restoration of starving peoples and devastated nations, we must continue to lend what aid we can.

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

Not to be released until delivered.

D 56549

National Liberal Federation Dinner

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa - January 20, 1948

Section of Speech by Prime Minister in relation to the Call for a Convention

Let me now speak on another theme, one which, at this moment, arises naturally out of existing world and domestic conditions, and which relates more exclusively to the affairs of our own Party. It seems to me that, in the light of changed and changing conditions, the time has come for the holding of a National Convention. The Liberals of all Canada should be afforded opportunity to review the Party's present position and policies, and to consider the most effective means by which Liberal principles may be applied to a solution of problems that have followed in the wake of war, and which will continue to present themselves in increasing measure, as nations seek to bring into being a new world order.

There have been but two dominion-wide Liberal Conventions since Confederation; the one held in this city in June, 1893, and the one held, also in Ottawa, in August, 1919. It is of interest to observe that from the date of Confederation these Conventions were held at intervals of 26 years, a little more than a quarter of a century. We of today have exceeded the 26 year record. It is now more than 28 years since the last nation-wide convention of the Party was held. It is also worthy of note that the conventions

were called in anticipation of the next ensuing general elections, and that, in each case, they were followed by sweeping victories for the Party at the polls.

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

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

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

This is perhaps not the time nor the occasion to discuss Party organization at any length. One thing is certain, however: no party, however good its principles, and however sound its policies, can hope in these days to win in a general election without the aid of an efficient organization. This our party does not possess at the present time, nor has it since the last general election begun to have what is required to ensure the party's record and its policies being brought before the people as they should be. It does not possess in the Dominion, in the provinces, or in the constituencies, the kind of careful scrutiny of the party's position which should exist at all times, if full justice is to be done cause and candidates alike.

For such organization of a national character, as the Party has at the present time, we are indebted, in a very special measure, and for the most part, to our Chairman of this evening, Mr. Fogo, to his little band of workers on the Executive Council of the Federation, and to a few friends who have given them assistance from time to time. For far

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too long, far too much has rested on the shoulders of far too few. Mr. Fogo, I know, will be the first to tell you that the National Liberal Federation is wholly inadequate to cope with what is expected of it. As the Party's future is dependent in so great measure on its organization, I feel that the actual position should be known to the Party, and its members be given an opportunity, before it is too late, to make the necessary provision for this important branch of its work.

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

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

You will recall that, after the first Great War, Sir Robert Borden, who had been Prime Minister throughout the years of war, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier who had led the

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

Sir Robert Borden, whose years in office and in the leadership of his Party, had been much fewer than those of Sir Wilfrid, felt it necessary to resign both as leader of his Party, and as Prime Minister, within less than two years of the Armistice which terminated hostilities.

The second World War lasted two years longer, and was on a scale much vaster, than the first World War. Had the war against Germany and the war against Japan been brought to a close before the date for the general elections of 1945 had been fixed, and had time permitted the choice of a new leader for that campaign, I would not have hesitated to have told the Party at that time, that, my years of life and of office being what they then were, I felt my task

had been completed, and that in the interests of all concerned the responsibilities of Party leadership should be entrusted to another. Well, it is now over two and a half years since the last general elections. Should I be spared to lead the Party for another six months, three years will have elapsed since the end of the second World War.

Knowing something of what the six years of war, and the years of uncertainty immediately preceding, had involved of stress and strain, and knowing as well the demands political campaigns make on one's energies and strength, I stated at the commencement of the last general election, and repeated at different times in the course of the campaign, that, come what may, the general election of 1945 would be the last general election in which I would lead the Party.

I have, as you know, for the same reason, made similar statements from time to time, both to our own Party organizations, and in public. I should not like now to be accused of never having meant what I said: to have said what I said for what might be termed party political reasons. These are not the kind of tactics, I had ever resorted to in the course of my public life; nor are they the means by which I have come to enjoy the trust which the Party still holds in me as its Leader. I have sought to be perfectly frank in what I have had to say to the party and to the public. I have also tried, at all times, to look ahead.

The one thing which I would dislike more than anything else, after the years I have had of Party leadership and of office, is that I could ever be accused of having held on to the position of leadership to what might be termed "the last moment", and then, whatever the circumstances might be, to have it said that I had "let the Party down", so to speak, because of not having let the Party know, sufficiently in advance, of any fears I might have entertained of finding myself unequal to the tasks of leadership in a nationwide political campaign.

I need scarcely say that my decision to ask for the calling of a convention for the purposes I have mentioned is not a recent decision, suddenly reached in the light of any new situation which has arisen either in Canada or in any part of the world. Much less is it a decision based on any change of attitude toward myself on the part of my colleagues in the government, the Liberal members of the two Houses of Parliament, or the Party throughout the country. It is true, I believe, that while I have very great reason to congratulate myself upon having had the unbroken support and confidence of all these constituent elements of the Party, ever since I was chosen leader in 1919, I have never enjoyed that confidence in fuller measure than I do today. This is a reward of years of public service which nothing else can equal.

I must confess that, over the two and a half years since the last general elections, I have continued to enjoy powers of endurance which, at many times in the past, I had not felt I had a right to expect. That I enjoy the measure of health I have at the moment is, I recognize, due in no small measure to the consideration shown my years by my colleagues in the Cabinet, and by my fellow Members in Parliament, and I think, I should add, by the Canadian public. This, however, is a consideration which, in the Party's interests, and in the public interest, I have no right to expect to have shown indefinitely. At the end of the last session of Parliament I saw only too clearly that I should not continue to delay in the calling of a convention, and so informed my colleagues in the Cabinet.

The life of a Parliament is five years. Assuming that a general election were not to take place before the expiration of the life of the present Parliament, that would leave to a newly appointed leader but two years before he would have to undertake a nation-wide campaign. In some respects, that is a short enough time. It is, however, by no means certain that the government would wish to wait until the expiration of the life of the Parliament before seeking a renewed expression of the people's confidence. It has seemed to me, therefore, that the selection of a new leader of our Party should not be further delayed.

I should like to see the new leader of our Party chosen, as I, myself, was chosen at a National Convention by representative members of the Party throughout the country, as well as by its representatives in Parliament.

The planning and arrangements of a National Convention are not something easily brought about. In a country the size of ours, it requires a certain amount of time. Knowing this, and feeling that the date of the Convention should be definitely fixed before we entered upon another session of Parliament, I wrote a letter to each of my colleagues, in July last, informing them that I was anxious to have matters of importance to the Party considered at special meetings of the members of the Cabinet to be held early in September. When the September meetings were held, I again informed my colleagues of my intention not to lead the Party in another general election, and said that I thought a National Convention should be arranged for forthwith. It was then decided to ask the Advisory Council of the Federation, at its next meeting, to assume this undertaking.

I hope I may not be placing too heavy a burden upon the shoulders of our very willing President, Mr. Fogo, and the members of his able executive, if I now venture to ask them to assume responsibility for the calling of a Convention, and for making the necessary arrangements for

its proceedings. They will have, in this task, the assistance of members of the government, and of the Party in both Houses of Parliament, and also, I am sure, of provincial and local party organizations and leaders in the several provinces. Fortunately, as a guide, they will have, as well, the carefully prepared and preserved record of the proceedings of the two previous nation-wide Liberal Conventions - that of the Dominion Liberal Convention held in Ottawa in June 1893, and which preceded the return of the Liberal Party to power in the memorable victory of 1896, and that of the National Liberal Convention of 1919, also held in this city, and which preceded the return to power of the Liberal Administration in the victory, no less memorable, of 1921.

I hope, Mr. Fogo, that before its meetings are over, you will be able to give the assurance that the Advisory Council of the National Liberal Federation is prepared to assume this most important task, and that we may all look forward to the third nation-wide Convention of the Liberal Party in Canada being held in the summer of the present year.

I need not tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is with mixed feelings, indeed, that I make the request of the National Federation which I am making tonight. It is now nearly 40 years since I first became a member of the Parliament of Canada, and 39 years since I first sat in the Council Chamber as a

Minister of the Crown. For an even longer time, my life has been given over mostly to public affairs. It has been all but exclusively devoted to the party and to Parliament ever since I became the Party's leader.

I do not look lightly upon the possible severance of relationships which have made up so large a part of my life. I wish I could feel it were in the interests of the Party not to contemplate that severance, but just to hold on, taking chances on what the future might bring to pass. That, however, would, I know, in the end, be a mistake.

Were I twenty years younger - were I ten years younger - I should greatly prize the opportunity to continue in a position of leadership in times like the present, where issues as vital as any the world has faced are being discussed and decided. I cannot forget, however, that man's allotted time is three score years and ten, and that I am now in my 74th year. It seems to me, therefore, imperative that the Party should have at least the opportunity to consider what in its own interests may be for the best; and that, as its leader, I should not be responsible for longer withholding that opportunity.

I am far from believing that such service as I may be able to render in promoting Liberal principles and policies, and of service to our country in other ways,

would not be all the greater were I afforded more in the way of time for reflection than is possible as the leader of a political party. There are, too, a few things I should still like to do, and to enjoy, before my day of life is over, if, in God's Providence, I should still be permitted the necessary health and strength. May I mention only one of these:

Speaking at a dinner given by Members of Parliament, a year or two ago, I chanced to remark it was a great pity that neither Sir John A. Macdonald, nor Sir Wilfrid Laurier had found it possible to leave a personal account of some of their life's experiences. That it was equally unfortunate that we did not possess from the pen of each, some account of national developments, and great events, as they, themselves, had known them in the making.

From time to time, since I made that observation, I have read in the press that I had already entered upon the task of writing my memoirs. Indeed, I have received from more than one publishing house, enquiries as to whether their representatives might not discuss with me terms upon which the memoirs might be published. I do not deny that there are a few things which I should like to say, or to leave in written form, which I would hope might encourage younger men to take some part in public life, and which I would also hope

might be helpful to them in the service of their country. I should like, too, to leave some account, were that possible, of some of the great events of our times, as I have watched them develop, and have glimpsed them from behind the scenes. Such a record might be of interest and value to a succeeding generation if not to our own. I must tell you, however, that this is not a task which can be performed in a day, nor yet in a year, nor is it a task that could be entered upon so long as one's responsibilities continue to be what mine have been in the past, and what they are at present. I regret to have to say that up to this moment, I have not found it possible to write a single line.

There are a few other matters, too long neglected, which perhaps I may be pardoned for also wishing to overtake. I believed, while the war was on, that the chance for all this would come when the war was over. I now see if it is to come at all, it must come very soon. I have never sought either ease or idleness. I have found my greatest happiness in work. That happiness, if spared, I expect to continue to find along this well tried path. I know, however, that, in the even-tide of life, the shadows speedily lengthen, and that "the night cometh wherein no man can work".

Of one thing, you may be sure. If I cease to lead the Party, I shall never cease to have the Party's interests and its future near to my heart. Nor is it likely, be the sacrifice what it may, that I shall knowingly shirk any responsibility which the needs of our time may seem to demand, and which I feel I am able to meet.

At most, we can make but plans. Our futures will be determined by events, and by a Power beyond our own. In asking that a Convention be held this year to review the Party's policies, and to decide upon the Party leadership, I am planning what I believe to be best for the Party's future. What may be best for all, when the Convention meets, we may leave with confidence to the sound judgment of the Convention itself. Our present duty is to see that the calling of a Convention is not longer delayed.

Williamsburg, Va.
April 2, 1948

D 56562

Convocation of The College of William and Mary in Virginia.

Acknowledgment of Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws
by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada.

Mr. President,
Members of the Faculty and Students of
the College of William and Mary in Virginia
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the course of my public life, I have not infrequently found it difficult to know just how or where to begin a word of acknowledgment. Let me confess, at once, my inability even to attempt an appreciation of the significance of today's ceremony. In its academic, international and historic aspects, there is, in this occasion, so much of which account should be taken. The time, the place, and, especially, the representative character of today's gathering - all speak of a rich inheritance, of deeply valued friendships, of high promise for the future.

In thanking you, Dr. Pomfret, which I do most warmly, for the degrees you have just conferred on me, I would have you know that all these things are present to my mind. In their combined contribution to today's Convocation, I see how great

is the honour of being received into membership of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. May I add a word of thanks to yourself and to the Governor of Virginia for the welcome you have both extended to the Governor General of Canada and myself.

It is, I know, a source of particular pleasure to Lord Alexander, as it is to me, that we are to enjoy the hospitality of Colonial Williamsburg as well as of the College. Perhaps I might here be allowed to say to the Chairman and Trustees of Colonial Williamsburg, and to Mr. Kenneth Chorley, the President, how much we have been looking forward to our week-end visit to the old Capital of what was once "His Majesty's Dominion in Virginia".

The College and Colonial Williamsburg have designated this day as Canadian-American Day. The citizens of Canada will be quick to recognize the signal honour thus being paid His Majesty's senior Dominion in the present British Commonwealth of Nations. The international aspect of the occasion, and the national character of the welcome, could not find more gracious expression than they have in the presence, at the College, this morning, of the President of the United States. I should like to convey to Mr. Truman

and to his fellow-citizens, warmest thanks on behalf of Canada, for today's expression of friendship and good-will on the part of our good neighbour: the United States. Is it too much to hope that, across the waters of the Atlantic and of the Pacific, this memorable day may shine forth as a beaconlight of American hospitality and New World amity?

I am, happily, no stranger to Williamsburg. I have, more than once, been privileged to visit this historic spot. Never before, however, has the occasion presented itself to me to say, in public, how great is the debt of the English-speaking world - indeed of the whole free world - to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. for the reconstruction of the Williamsburg of colonial times. Clearly what Mr. Rockefeller had in view, what indeed has been accomplished, is the restoration in America of an early English community which has influenced the course of both British and American history. No other community in the United States has been more closely associated with Great Britain than Williamsburg and its environs. Nowhere, more than in and about Williamsburg, has British influence played a larger part in shaping the future of America.

I should like to point out to my friend, Lord Alexander, who is the King's representative in Canada, that what he will see here is the restored Capital of England's greatest Eighteenth Century American Colony.

In restored Williamsburg, our own and future generations are able to visualize the culture, high endeavour and attainments; the qualities of resolution, courage and leadership, yes, and to recapture something of the spirit possessed by those early Britishers who founded the United States.

Settlement, self-government, free institutions, independence, all had their beginnings in Williamsburg or its vicinity. We are certainly near the foundations of freedom in the new world as we stand on the steps of the College with which are associated the names of the great patriot statesmen of Virginia.

It is interesting today to recall that Canada enjoyed a like inheritance. This continent presents no more striking parallel than is to be found in the successive stages - from settlement and colony, through rebellion, to federation and nationhood - by which complete freedom in government has been achieved in our respective countries - freedom now shared with other countries of the British Commonwealth.

The struggle to win and to maintain freedom is unending. Freedom, moreover, is one and indivisible. Twice in our generation, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States have found their freedom threatened through the loss of freedom by nations on the continent of Europe. Once again a like threat to our freedom looms large on the world's horizon.

In some ways, the menace to freedom has never been graver or more insidious than it has become within the last three years. That menace arises no longer merely from armed aggression aimed at territorial expansion. While this is an ever-present danger, the menace to freedom comes as well from sinister plans to undermine the structure of free government within the borders of individual nations. Seeds of unrest and anarchy are being sown wherever, throughout the globe, the soil gives promise of their growth. In a word, freedom is threatened not only by military force but by an organized conspiracy to establish a tyranny over the human mind, to thwart the wills and destroy the souls of nations as well as of men.

If against such an appalling menace, freedom - physical, mental, moral and spiritual freedom - is to be preserved, a way must be found, and that right speedily, to ensure that nations which are still free will not be suborned, defeated or destroyed one by one.

In the preservation of freedom, the University and the State have each their tasks to perform. The supreme task of the University is to continue to be a citadel of freedom in its avowed opposition to any form of tyranny over the mind of man. Security remains the prime duty of the State. It is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain a preponderance of moral, economic and military strength on the side of freedom. Security for individual nations, including our own, can be assured only by the effective co-operation and united power of the nations that are still free. To achieve this great end is the supreme task of statesmanship today.

For release on
delivery 3.30 p.m.
E.D.T. June 12.

D 56568

OFFICIAL OPENING - SUNNYBROOK HOSPITAL

Address by

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister

Toronto, June 12, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You will allow me, I am sure, at the outset of my remarks this afternoon, to extend to my colleague, the Minister of Veterans Affairs, my warmest thanks for inviting me to participate in the opening of this magnificent Hospital. I wish, in the presence of all, to assure Mr. Gregg that no honour could have touched me more deeply than to have been accorded the privilege of officially opening Sunnybrook Hospital.

I am particularly pleased to have had, this afternoon, the opportunity to see something of the facilities of the hospital, and especially to meet some of the patients. We all rejoice that so many of those being cared for in the hospital are able to witness today's official opening.

To the patients of Sunnybrook Hospital, one and all, I extend the warmest of greetings and best of wishes on behalf of my colleagues in the government at Ottawa and myself. I should like to extend similar greetings and good wishes on behalf of all members of both Houses of Parliament, many of whom have come from Ottawa to be present and are present with us at today's ceremony.

At the conclusion of my remarks, I am to have the honour of unveiling the memorial plaque which has been placed on the wall to the right of the main entrance. I feel I should give to you at once the words of dedication which appear upon the plaque. They disclose that the Hospital is, in a very special way, a Memorial to Canada's sons and daughters who served and suffered in the two Great Wars. The hospital

is but one of many Memorials which already exist, and which will continue to be erected as long as the Nation's gratitude seeks to make itself felt. A more fitting Memorial, however, it would, I believe, be difficult to conceive.

These are the words of dedication:

> "Dedicated to the gallant men and
> "women of the armed forces of the Dominion of
> "Canada who have suffered in two wars for freedom,
> "and to the doctors, nurses and staff whose services
> "are devoted to their healing, comfort and welfare."

Indicative of the larger significance of the Hospital as a Memorial to all who served in Canada's armed forces are the names that have been given to the several wings of the building. The names are Ypres, in honour of the Army in World War I; Ortona and Falaise, in honour of the Army in World War II; Atlantic, in honour of the Navy; Lancaster and Spitfire, in honour of the Air Force. These names are but a few of those to be found in the long catalogue expressive of Canadian heroism in two World Wars. Of themselves, they are permanent reminders of the valiant achievements in arms of two generations of young Canadians.

It is exceedingly appropriate that the dedicatory plaque should make special mention of the doctors, nurses and staff to whose helpful ministrations have been entrusted the "healing, comfort and welfare" of those who receive treatment here. It is a tribute to the zeal of Canada's Department of Veterans Affairs that the Department has succeeded in gaining

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for the hospital the professional services of an exceptionally fine type of full time doctors, also part time consultants from among the top ranking medical and surgical specialists in Toronto. In particular, I should like to congratulate the Minister upon the Department having secured, as Superintendent of the Hospital, Dr. K. E. Hollis, the distinguished physician whom we are all proud to see presiding over today's ceremony.

May I now speak of a few of those to whose vision and initiative, generosity and public spirit, our country, and all who receive treatment here, will feel a sense of abiding obligation. Many hearts, many minds, many hands have combined to bring this great edifice into being, and to provide it with equipment second to none in the world.

To the veterans of the first great war, who suffered injury, disability and serious illness, the credit, in the first instance, I believe, is due. They were the ones who, while undergoing treatment at the Christie Street Hospital, as they saw their numbers being augmented by fellow sufferers of World War II, made apparent the need for enlarged hospital facilities. It was they, too, who were able to demonstrate the services a Veterans' Hospital of the most modern design and up-to-date equipment, located in spacious grounds, might render to those who, amid the dangers and perils of war, had become maimed and wounded in body, mind or spirit.

The honours for the next step towards the realization of this high aim should, I think, be divided between the Department of Veterans Affairs at Ottawa, and that group of public spirited citizens who have become so well known to us all as The Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Veterans Hospital Committee.

Mr. Gregg has already referred to what is owing to the vision and vigilance of his predecessor in the office of Minister of Veterans Affairs, the Right Honourable Ian Mackenzie. Mr. Mackenzie it was who first urged this great project upon his colleagues in the Cabinet. It was he who, in 1943, turned the first sod, and, in 1945, laid the corner-stone. In 1947, the building having neared completion, the auditorium was given Mr. Mackenzie's name, in recognition of his unflagging interest in the work of construction over the years. How well deserved these tributes to his services were, no one knows better than myself. In Cabinet Council we watched together every stage of the progress made. I can bear full testimony to Mr. Mackenzie's earnest, untiring advocacy of an institution that, in every respect, would be a worthy expression of a nation's gratitude to those gallant men and women who, to use his own words, "saved the precious things of life for us all, amid the clouds, on angry seas, and on the grim and ugly battlefields."

Mr. Mackenzie had hoped to be present at today's formal opening of the Hospital, but plans made some time ago, to be in Scotland before the end of the present month, necessitated his embarking for overseas this afternoon. While his thoughts on the voyage will be much of the heather-clad hills of his native, ever-loved Scotland, we may be sure that, this afternoon, they will be even more of the official opening of the Hospital at Sunnybrook Park.

Had he been present this afternoon, Mr. Mackenzie would have been the first to tell you that, in overcoming the difficulties in the establishment and construction of the Hospital, more was owing to the Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Veterans Hospital Committee than he could begin to acknowledge. I wish it were possible for me to give you the names of all the members of that Committee, and to detail their services. That would demand more time than is at my disposal. Fortunately, however, the Department of Veterans Affairs has spared no effort in preparing a most attractive souvenir programme for this afternoon's ceremony. The programme will give you this information, and much else on which you will wish to be informed about the Hospital itself. I would commend a careful perusal and the retention of this historic document by all into whose possession a copy may come. The facts it records will warm your hearts, and make you proud for life of your association, be it immediate or remote, with this magnificent institution.

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The Greater Toronto ~~Advisory~~ Veterans Hospital Committee has, from the outset, had as its Chairman, Colonel W. J. Stewart. As all present are aware, Colonel Stewart is a former Mayor of this City, and a former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of this Province. I should fail in what is expected of me this afternoon if I did not make special mention of the great part taker by Colonel Stewart in making known the needs of the hospital and securing public co-operation in having these needs so successfully met. I should fail even more did I not express to Colonel Stewart and to all the members of the ~~Advisory~~ Committee and to those public-spirited individuals and organizations who have co-operated with them, the thanks of the government for their good offices, performed so faithfully and efficiently over so many years. This I do most warmly. Theirs has been, indeed, a fine public service.

I have reserved to the last, mention of what should, perhaps, have had its place at the very beginning. I mean, of course, what is owing to the City of Toronto for providing the magnificent site on which this vast hospital is located. The story of the acquisition of the site is one of the most pleasing in the records of municipal and private benevolence. Few properties anywhere could be more beautiful in themselves. The property was owned by the late Mr. Robert Kilgour, a leading Toronto industrialist, and, one might add, philanthropist. It was known as Sunnybrook Park. It was bequeathed by Mr. Kilgour to the City to be used as a Civic Park - a truly magnificent bequest.

When the need of a new Veterans' Hospital in the Toronto area became apparent, the City authorities approached the Kilgour Estate, and asked permission to offer the Park to the Federal authorities as a gift for the location of the new hospital. The City's proposal was agreed to by the Kilgour heirs, and the site was made available to the Dominion Government at no cost. On this site there has now been erected by the Government of Canada what has been referred to by United States authorities as the finest Veterans' Hospital on the North American continent, if not in the world. What could better express the gratitude and obligation felt by all Canadians towards those veterans of the two Great Wars who were maimed, disabled or rendered infirm in the defence of freedom, and who are still in need of medical care and attention!

The best that our country could do for them would be but a symbol of the nation's gratitude. Sunnybrook Hospital symbolizes Canada's recognition of the sacrifices made by those members of the armed forces whom this hospital aims to serve, and seeks to honour. It will be the prayer of all who have been privileged to attend today's ceremony, that here, in these beautiful surroundings, as its patients are ministered to by the healing arts of Nature, the tenderest of human sympathy and the best of medical care, Restoration may abound in ever-increasing measure. This will be the prayer of Canadians in every part of our wide Dominion.

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen: The official opening of Sunnybrook Hospital expresses the resolve of the Canadian people to provide the best of medical care and treatment to those who were maimed or disabled in the defence of our own and the world's freedom. My earnest hope is that it may equally express our resolve to share in the building of a better world in which the need for veterans' hospitals will no longer arise. In that spirit and in that hope, I declare Sunnybrook Hospital officially open.

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CIVIC DINNER

Tendered by the Mayor and Members of the Council
of the City of Toronto,
Royal York Hotel, June 12, 1948.

Remarks by Prime Minister

Your Worship, Members of the Council of
the City of Toronto, and Gentlemen:

This afternoon, the City of Toronto has had added to its long record of memorable events the formal opening of the new Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. The construction of the hospital, its equipment and formal opening, marks the happy completion of years of close co-operation between the City of Toronto and the Government of Canada in an achievement which is the pride of both.

It was indeed a kind thought on your part, Mr. Mayor, and of your colleagues in the City Council, to extend, in association with the formal opening of Sunnybrook Hospital, an invitation to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons to be the guests of the City at the dinner which we are privileged to enjoy this evening.

D 56578

4.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

This occasion is an exceptionally happy demonstration of the good-will which, sharing in a great public undertaking, has helped to develop between Toronto and Ottawa. The relationship between the two has not, at all times, been so felicitously expressed. May I at once convey to you, and to your fellow-members on the Council, the thanks of all Members of Parliament present, for what it has meant, and will always mean to us to have shared with the Civic authorities in the very happy manner in which we have, the associations of this memorable day.

In speaking of the co-operation between the Government at Ottawa, and the City of Toronto in the construction at Sunnybrook Park of what is generally admitted to be the finest Veterans' Hospital on this continent, if not in the world, I am not going to say, this evening, to which is due the most in the way of credit. I am quite prepared to agree that the honours should be evenly divided. I wish, however, to say - and to say immediately - that if we are rejoicing tonight at the success which has attended our common aim, too much credit cannot be given to that group of public-spirited citizens, known as the Greater Toronto Advisory Committee, who under the Chairmanship of Lt. Col. W. J. Stewart, have, from the inception of this great undertaking to the present, had its interests so close at heart.

There is another gentleman who is no longer a member of the Advisory Committee of whose services, while he was a member of the Committee, I should like to make special mention. I mean, of course, Mr. Mayor, Your Worship's predecessor in the office of Mayor of this city, Mr. Robert Saunders. Like yourself, ex-Mayor Saunders had the city's interests much at heart, and of its institutions, none more so than the Military Hospital at Sunnybrook Park. In the years that he was Mayor, Mr. Saunders visited Ottawa so frequently and was so exceedingly pleasant in his interviews with myself that I really thought he must have been aiming at becoming a member of the Federal Government, rather than at a position under the Government at Queen's Park, important as is the position he now holds as Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Commission.

I wish time permitted me to mention the names of others whose visits have been equally frequent and equally pleasant. Perhaps it is just as well that I should not carry the enumeration too far. You might think that I have in mind that they also had Federal ambitions.

May I now express a word of thanks to a few others of whose part in the entertainment accorded my fellow-Members of Parliament and myself today, I should like to make special mention. If I am not mistaken, the arrangements for today's entertainment have been in the hands of the Board of Control, of whom, among others, my friend, David Balfour, is a member. They have certainly left nothing undone that could add to the interest and pleasure of our visit to Toronto today.

Among other courtesies extended for which I should like to express a word of special thanks is the reception provided in the officers' mess by the Queen's York Rangers at the Fort York Armoury. To the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hunter, and his fellow-officers, I should like to say how very much we all enjoyed their kind hospitality in the brief interlude between the proceedings at Sunnybrook Park and this evening's dinner.

May I now, Mr. Mayor, say a word on my own behalf. In the invitation to tonight's dinner, by separate mention of my name, you have singled me out for special honour. That honour you have emphasized in your remarks this evening and in the testimonial you have presented to me. That this should be so, touches me deeply.

As you have said, the City of Toronto holds for me many precious associations. Were I speaking of the background of my public and private life, there would be much about both which would be closely related to the County of York and the City of Toronto. You have already made mention of my grandfather, whose name I bear, having been the first Mayor of this City. It was as a representative of the County of York in the Legislature of what was then Upper Canada, and as a journalist in this city when it was known as Muddy York, and after it became Toronto, that Mackenzie fought his battles for reform. It was here that, at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38, a bounty of a thousand pounds was placed upon his head. It was in this city after Mackenzie's return from exile that his friends presented him with a homestead. The old house still stands on Bond Street and through the kindness and generosity of friends is being preserved, and is to be maintained as an historic site by a Foundation of which you, Mr. Mayor, are I believe, one of the Trustees. It was from that home that my mother was married.

It was at the University of Toronto that my brother and myself, and my father before us, received a University education. For 37 years my father was a representative of the graduates in Arts on the Senate of the University. It was also here, in this city, in addition to his legal practice, that for 21 years, my father lectured in law to the students of Osgoode Hall. It is in this city that those who have been nearest and dearest to me, through life, find their last resting place.

Toronto, indeed, has associations for me second to none of the communities in which I have lived. It will therefore not surprise you, Mr. Mayor, that I should have felt a special pride in congratulations that have come to me on different occasions from the Mayor and Council and Board of Control of this City, and for which I should like to express my thanks anew tonight. Having advanced in years to an age at which I feel I should ask my Party to relieve me of the duties of leadership, and should seek shortly thereafter to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office which I have held in all for now more than 21 years, including a period of 6 years of war, you will not wonder that I should feel a special measure of

pride at finding myself a guest of the City today, in company with fellow-members of both Houses of Parliament, and that I should have been the one chosen formally to open the magnificent military hospital at Sunnybrook Park, and to be the recipient of other honours which, in more directions than one, this City should have conferred upon me today. For the good-will so generously extended after the many years I have been in public life, and all that this means to me, I can only thank you. But this, I do with all my heart.

And this brings me, Mr. Mayor, to what I prize most in today's proceedings. It is that I should have been asked, at this Civic Banquet, to respond to the Toast "to those who served" which you have just so feelingly and eloquently proposed.

In the many years I have been in public life, I have been called upon to respond to many Toasts. Of that number, I can think of none that could mean more to me at any time, but particularly this evening, than the one you have made the central feature of the evening's proceedings.

The toast which I have had occasion most frequently to propose, and to which, in recent years, I have most frequently been requested to respond is the toast to Canada. Tonight I feel that the two - a toast to those who served and a toast to Canada - are inseparable.

If our country holds a place in the esteem of the world today higher than it has ever enjoyed; if we, in Canada, rest in a sense of comparative security, while the peoples of so many other lands are still overwhelmed by fears, it is due to those who served:- The gallant sons and daughters of Canada who, in two world wars, have either given their all, or have been prepared to do so, that Canada might continue free, and that freedom should not perish from this earth.

Let me say a word about Canada as a nation. I know few more interesting themes than the one of how our country has come to achieve national status. Today we are all proud to speak of Canada as a nation. It may surprise some of those present to realize how very recently it was that the term Nation became acceptable to Canadians generally.

I recall distinctly the time when I first heard the word "nation" used in reference to Canada and other of the then British Dominions, in a manner which attracted wide attention. It was at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Empire was the word on which stress was being most strongly laid in the political oratory of that day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a guest at the Coronation. In his speeches he referred, like others, to the Empire, but he gave the word a new connotation. He spoke of the Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" under the British Crown.

I well recall the excitement, and, in some quarters the controversy, to which this reference to Canada as a nation gave rise. It was not in the minds of the old timers only, but was a part of the conviction of not a few prominent men of the day, that Canada was not a nation - but that it was still a colony. To them the talk of nationhood meant independence, separation from the Empire and much else.

This was just after the South African War. Some twelve years later came World War Number One. In both these wars Canadian troops crossed the sea to fight on soil

far distant from their own shores. The emphasis upon nationhood did not arise after the South African War; but after the War of 1914-1918, when 60,000 precious Canadian lives were sacrificed on the fields of battle, the question of Canada's position as a nation came much to the fore. In the making of the peace, Canada's representatives at Versailles held out strongly for separate signature by Canada. Canada's nationhood had been won by Those Who Served.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926, the position of Canada as a nation of equal status with Great Britain and other Nations of the Commonwealth was confirmed by the so-called Balfour Declaration. In 1931 it was given statutory recognition in the Statute of Westminster.

In the years which followed the 1st World War, Canada began to assume more and more, the external attributes of nationhood. Of these, none have been of comparable significance to the establishment of diplomatic missions abroad, and the presence at Ottawa of missions from other countries. When I cameinto office in 1921, Canada did not have a Minister in a single foreign country, nor did we

have a single diplomatic representative of a foreign country at Ottawa. We had been represented in England for some years by a High Commissioner, who was an agent of the Government of Canada; and by a Commissioner General in France.

We have High Commissioners not only in Great Britain, but in all the nations of the Commonwealth, and all the nations of the Commonwealth have their representatives in Ottawa. Today, Canada has Embassies, Legations or High Commissioners' Offices in thirty countries abroad; thirty-one countries are represented in Ottawa by Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners.

The number of missions, however, is of secondary importance, What is important is the standing of our representatives. Canada's diplomatic service is recognized today as one of the finest possessed by any country in the world. This recognition of Canada as a nation came in fullest measure during the years of the Second World War, and in the years since. Again it was Those Who Served who have given Canada her high place among the nations of the world.

It is now everywhere recognized that Canada's contribution to the war on land, on sea, and in the air,

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in munitions, in finance, and in international Conferences, was equal, if not greater, in proportion to her population, than that of any of the allied countries. We have now ceased to speak apologetically when we refer to Canada as a nation. How much of this is owing to Those Who Served will perhaps never be known; but of their memorials it is the greatest of all.

This brings me to a thought which I have had very much in mind and which I believe has found general acceptance in Parliament. It too relates to Canada as a nation and to those who served in the last Great War. I need not tell this great gathering how much the different countries of the world are known by their Capitals. Washington, London, Paris, Rome, come to our minds the moment we speak of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is the same with other countries. It is in capitals of countries that the representatives of other countries congregate, where internationsl conferences are held, and to which visitors are particularly attracted.

After the war of 1914-18, a very fine monument was erected in the Capital of Canada to those who served. It is a monument of stone abd bronze. It is known as

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"the Response". It represents the Branches of the armed services of Canada responding to the call for service abroad. There is, as yet, no specific Memorial in the Capital of Canada to those who served in the last Great War. The government, in considering how their service and sacrifice might be commemorated in the Capital, have felt that this might best be effected by improvements of the Capital itself, which would help to give expression to what Canada as a nation is likely to become in the course of years. This would involve beginning immediate improvements which it could not be expected the municipality of Ottawa should undertake, but which, in the course of time, will become wholly necessary if Ottawa is to meet the demands which will be made upon it as the Capital of a rapidly expanding nation. I mean such improvements as the zoning of districts for industrial and residential places, the transfer to more appropriate areas of some of the railway tracks which today are a menace in the heart of the city, the construction of the necessary approaches to the city and provision for open spaces and parks in the city and its environs. For some time past, all of this has been a subject of planning by experts. If the plans already made are carried out over a series of years, Ottawa will indeed become, as a half a

century ago it was hoped it might, - the Washington of the North.

What I should like to see is the larger Capital thus planned become a real Memorial to the service and sacrifice of the men and women of Canada in the last Great War. It can be done in a number of ways which will serve to keep before our people, and those who visit us from other lands, the battles that have been fought on land, at sea and in the air, by Canadian armed forces and much else that contributed to victory in the last war. I hope this great object may some day be achieved - a fine beginning has already been made.

Had time permitted, I should have liked, on this occasion, to say something about the international situation; something about the world of today. This again has its immediate relationship to those who served. Unfortunately I have already trespassed too far on your time.

I would, however, not be true to what our visit today to the military hospital at Sunnybrook had impressed most deeply upon my mind, were I not once more to repeat, in public, what I believe to be as significant an utterance as has been made by any man since the beginning of the Christian era.

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On the occasion of the opening of another great institution which has, for its aim, the relief of human suffering, namely, the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death over imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows".

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We in Canada have since participated in two World Wars. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself; that we are all members, one of another.

What is being witnessed in all parts of the world today should bring home to us a keener appreciation of the legacies left to Nations where their peoples come under the domination of the law of blood and of death. It should make us determined, as never before, to make uppermost in all our national aims and policies, the triumph of the law of peace, work and health. As a nation, I believe Canada can help to make the law of Peace, Work and Health prevail,

not only in our own land but as a part of the inheritance of mankind. The world is dangerously near the place where a decision must be come to as to which of these two laws is ultimately to prevail.

With scientific research holding ever greater potentialities for good or ill, the nations are inevitably advancing either toward a world brotherhood, or toward total annihilation. Let us keep in mind obedience to the law of Peace, Work and Health, and then, Science, in the words of Pasteur, will have done her best "by obeying the law of Humanity to extend the frontiers of life." We, on our part, will in this way, have done the best we can to raise the only fitting and enduring monument - "To Those Who Served".

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NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION
1948

ADDRESS

by

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

on his

YEARS OF LEADERSHIP—AND REASONS FOR RETIREMENT AS LEADER OF THE PARTY

▼

THE COLISEUM, OTTAWA

August 6th, 1948

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THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
172 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Canada

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THE COLISEUM, OTTAWA
August 6th, 1948

Delegates to the National Liberal Convention,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

At the meeting of the Liberal Federation held in Ottawa on January the 20th last, I set forth the reasons which seemed to me to make it desirable to hold a National Convention in the summer of this year. With those reasons you are already wholly familiar. In a word, they are three: to consider the platform of the Liberal Party of Canada; to consider the question of party organization; and to consider the question of party leadership.

It is on my years of leadership of the party, and my reasons for seeking retirement at the present time from that enviable position that I wish, more particularly, to speak this afternoon. May I first say a word on the other two purposes of the Convention, namely the party's principles and policies, and the question of party organization.

Principles and policies of the Liberal Party

Changing times, new problems and issues have been among the factors which have rendered advisable the holding of National Conventions. The Convention of 1893 was occasioned by the depressed condition of the country which had developed in the years of Conservative rule. This was a condition very different from that which exists today, when Canada is enjoying a level of employment and prosperity never hitherto experienced.

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The Convention of 1919 met at a time when the country was facing the consequences of a war which had lasted for four years; in which our armed forces had suffered heavy casualties, and our national economy had undergone many changes. The war, moreover, had given rise to new problems of vast international as well as national significance.

The Convention of 1948 meets as we continue to face the consequences of six years of even more terrible war. The problems and issues to which the war has given rise, surpass in magnitude and in danger anything which the world has ever known. In attempting to meet this new situation, it is obviously necessary that the Party's principles and policies should receive a wide and many-sided consideration.

Party Organization

Next in importance to the policies of a political party is party organization. How all important organization is, I cannot emphasize too strongly.

I hope I may be pardoned if I am more or less outspoken on this matter. In so doing, let me make it quite clear that I am not reflecting in any way upon the Executive Council of the National Liberal Federation, or upon local organizations, throughout Canada, which have co-operated with the Federation in its work. On the contrary, in your name as well as my own, I wish to express very sincere thanks for the measure of organization the party has had since the war, and for what it possesses in the present. This great Convention speaks for itself of what the existing organization is able to effect, where charged with a specific task.

To the friends who, from time to time, have given financial support to the Federation, I also desire to extend a word of special thanks. What I wish to emphasize today—and that as strongly as I can—is that no matter how good its principles, and how sound its policies, no political party, in these days, can hope to give effect to either, or to retain or gain office without effective organization. By effective organization, I mean constant and continuous activity throughout the period between elections, and not merely a great burst of activity after a by-election or a general election has been called.

In requesting this Convention, I said in reference to the need for effective organization: "This our Party does not possess at the present time, nor has it, since the last general election, begun to have what is required to ensure the party's record, and its policies, being brought before the people as they should be. The party does not possess in the Dominion, in the provinces, or in the constituencies, the kind of careful scrutiny of the party's position which should exist, at all times, if full justice is to be done cause and candidate alike."

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This was on January the 20th. Since then, there have been by-elections in three federal constituencies. In no one of the three did we win; in two, we lost. All three were carried by one of the opposing parties as a result of intensive organization in the constituencies in question. It was not organization begun after the date of the by-elections had been announced. It was organization as directed from headquarters in Ottawa and carried out over the years in the constituencies.

Need for nation-wide organization

After the general elections of 1940, when all our energies were concentrated on the prosecution of the war, the national organization of the Liberal Party was allowed to lapse. An organization was improvised for the general elections of 1945, and certain groundwork has since been laid. The task, however, of reviving, throughout the country, a full-time and full-scale organization has as yet barely begun. The bringing into being of an effective nation-wide party organization is something which this Convention should recognize as a prime responsibility.

The party organization should be a fighting arm of the party; on active service at all times. It should be the branch of the party which has to do with the preparation, publication and distribution of its literature, and the directing of the party's educational campaigns, not at election times only, but continuously between elections. The national party organization should be in a position to report, on request, to the Leader of the party and his lieutenants upon the political situation in any province and in any constituency in Canada in respect to all aspects of its party organization, such as constituency associations, women's and young people's clubs, leading workers, prospective candidates and the like. Too much significance cannot be attached to the careful selection of candidates.

Support of the Party and its Leader

Perhaps you will allow me to say that while the leader should be kept informed and must have a decisive voice in all such matters, responsibility for and supervision of a nation-wide party organization is not an obligation which should be expected of, or assumed by the leader of a political party, particularly is this the case where the leader holds the office of Prime Minister. These are duties which should be voluntarily undertaken by leading members of the party.

Speaking from personal experience, may I say that nothing can be quite so helpful or sustaining to the leader of a political party as to have at hand the support of a really effective party organization. Equally there can be nothing more discouraging and more dispiriting to its leader than the knowledge that the party is deficient in this essential branch of its work. Whoever my successor in the leadership of the party may be, I can think of nothing quite so necessary to his effectiveness, and to the success of the party, as a well equipped and properly functioning party organization. I hope this Conven-

tion may be able to find ways and means of ensuring — and that as speedily as possible — this all important service to the party and its Leader.

Retirement from Party Leadership

I come now to the third purpose for which the present Convention has been called, namely the choice of a new leader of the party. You will, I know, expect me to give some account of my stewardship in the years I have been the party's leader, as well as the reasons why I feel the time has come for a new leader to be chosen. I have sought to meet that desire.

Let me, first of all, remove any misunderstanding on another matter. In certain quarters, doubts have been expressed as to whether in seeking retirement from the position of leader of the party, which I have held now for twenty-nine years, I intend also to retire from the position of Prime Minister, which I have filled in all for more than twenty-one years, out of the twenty-nine. Is it reasonable to assume that, at my age, in seeking relief from great responsibilities, I should seek such relief only in relation to the leadership of the party, and not in relation to a position which carries with it more in the way of responsibility than any other in the whole country? Nothing could be further from my mind. Even more, is it conceivable, as has been suggested, that in asking the Federation to call this great Convention, I was actuated by vanity; that I wished to be pressed to retain a position of leadership which, so far as I am aware, no responsible element of the party has ever suggested I should vacate?

Let me make my position perfectly clear. It would be much less embarrassing to me, and fairer, in every way, to others who may be nominated, if it is fully understood that were my name to be placed in nomination tomorrow, I should have to request that it be withdrawn before the voting takes place. This I would have to do, however kindly the nomination might be meant, and however complimentary it might appear. Your duty tomorrow is to choose a successor to myself in the party's leadership. When your choice is made, I shall return to the party the trust which it placed in my hands, twenty-nine years ago. I shall ask of him whom you may name as my successor to receive this trust from you, as I did, when I accepted the party leadership, on August 7, 1919, as the one chosen by the Liberal Convention of that year to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Retirement from position of Prime Minister

It is true that in requesting the Federation to call a National Convention to consider party policies, organization, and leadership, I said nothing of the position of Prime Minister. I had the best of reasons for this. The office of Prime Minister is not one in the gift of a political party. It is the highest office in the gift of the Crown, though the Crown in bestowing the office is bound by well understood constitutional principles.

A Prime Minister is not responsible to a party organization or to a political party; he is responsible to Parliament, and through Parliament to the people of the country as a whole. Unless we are to abandon the basis on which constitutional government rests, and substitute the decisions of a single political party for the authority of parliament, and for the respect owing to the Crown, we cannot guard too closely against any course which, even to appearances, might tend in so disastrous a direction. The substitution, by force or otherwise, of the dictates of a single political party for the authority of a freely elected parliament is something which, in far too many countries, has already taken place. It is along that path that many nations have lost their freedom. That is what happened in Fascist countries. A single party dictatorship is, likewise, the very essence of Communist strategy.

Once I had publicly announced, as I did in January, my intention to retire from the leadership of the party, I felt I had made it apparent that I also had in mind retirement from the leadership of the government. Referring to what the stress and strain of leadership, during six years of war had involved, I said that had the war against Germany and the war against Japan been brought to a close before the date had been fixed for the general election of 1945, I would not have hesitated, at that time, to advise the party that my years of life, and of office, (please note the word office) being what they then were, I felt my task had been completed. I would hardly have given my many years of office as a reason for seeking a lessening of responsibilities, had I had in mind retaining the office of Prime Minister, while giving up the leadership of the party.

It will also be recalled that when, in 1945, I accepted the nomination of the Liberals of Glengarry, I stated that I would not be a candidate in a subsequent general election. This declaration was renewed a year ago at the time the redistribution of constituencies was under discussion in the House of Commons.

The Time of Retirement as Prime Minister

Once a new leader of the Party has been chosen, it is my intention to confer with him as to the time at which, all circumstances considered, I should seek, from His Excellency, acceptance of my resignation as Prime Minister. Acceptance of my resignation carries with it, of course, the resignation of the entire Ministry, and involves the formation of a new administration. I am sure you will agree with me that, at a time like the present, this is not a step to be taken without due consideration of many factors of international as well as national significance. I have stated in Parliament itself, as seemed to me most fitting, within what limits of time that step would be taken.

On the evening of prorogation of the session concluded on June 30th, I said, in the House of Commons, as I have just said to you, that much, of course, would depend upon the wishes of whoever might be chosen as Leader of the party at the Convention, and upon conditions existing in other parts of the world, as well as our own, in

relation to great matters of State, consideration of which no Prime Minister would dare to shirk in times like the present. I concluded with the following definite statement: "I wish to make it quite clear, however, that I shall not be appearing in this house as leader of the government at its next session."

In speaking to you, this afternoon, it may, therefore, be assumed that I am addressing my fellow-Liberals collectively for the last time, not only in the position of Leader of the Liberal Party, but equally in the position of Prime Minister of Canada.

All factors carefully considered

I need scarcely say that my decision to seek retirement from the position of leader of our party, and shortly thereafter from the high office of Prime Minister is not a decision that I have come to without much thought. It has not been a sudden or recent decision. It is, I need scarcely say, a decision I have reached with the greatest reluctance. It has not been arrived at in the light of any new situation which has arisen in Canada, or in any other part of the world. It is not due to any present or prospective deterioration of the fortunes of the party. Least of all, is it a decision based on any change of attitude towards myself on the part of colleagues in the government, of the Liberal members of the two Houses of Parliament, or of members of the party throughout the country.

It is true that new and highly dangerous situations have recently arisen. My decision, however, to seek retirement from the leadership of our party before another general election, was, as I have already mentioned, made known as long ago as the time of the general elections in 1945. You will recall that, at the outset of that campaign, I stated, and throughout its course, repeated at different times and in different places, that, win or lose, it would be the last general election in which I would lead the party.

It was over a year ago that I gave my colleagues my reasons for believing the time had come to call a National Convention for the purpose amongst others of choosing a new leader. At that time, the world's horizons were growing brighter, not darker. It was believed the nations were moving away from the possibilities of serious international conflict, not to speak of another world war, which, were it to come, would almost certainly be one of mutual annihilation. Were it not for the reasons that lie at the root of my decision, the threatening world situation which has since arisen, would be a challenge to remain on, rather than to seek retirement.

In parliament, and in the country, the position of the Liberal Party in the federal arena is without a rival today. No other party possesses the following our party possesses. No possible combination of opposing parties or groups is numerous enough, or strong enough, to form a government today; nor is any other party likely to be able to do so after the next general election, provided the Liberal Party remains true to itself, continues united, and brings immediately into being an effective nation-wide organization.

As for myself, while I have had the unbroken support and confidence of the Party ever since I was chosen its leader, in 1919, I have never, I believe, enjoyed that confidence in fuller measure than I do today.

All this only makes it the more necessary that I should speak without reserve of the reasons which have caused me to believe that the time has come when a successor to myself should be chosen as leader of the party, and that, shortly thereafter, I should give up the leadership of the government.

Reasons for retirement

It would be difficult to imagine a greater strain than that which is placed upon the leader of a government at a time of war. Strangely enough, as Prime Minister, I believe I experienced a sense of strain almost as great in the years which immediately preceded the war. Those were years of appalling uncertainty; uncertainty as to whether, and when war itself would eventually break out; uncertainty as to what, in the event of war, Canada's position might become; uncertainty as to whether Canada could be brought unitedly into a war, and remain united throughout years of war.

Once war came, and Canada by resolution of both Houses of her own Parliament, had voluntarily entered the war, much of this uncertainty was removed. I knew, at last, what the task was; what it was necessary to face; what had to be accomplished. There remained, however, throughout the whole period of the war, in addition to the uncertainties of the struggle itself, the uncertainty as to whether the Party and the country could be kept united. That was a continuous strain. Next to the heart-rending casualty lists, and the daily thought of bereaved homes and shattered lives, this uncertainty for one in my position as leader of the government, was the greatest strain of all. Before the war had ended, there came the San Francisco Conference. And before the Conference at San Francisco was over, Canada was again in the throes of a general election. I shall never forget the strain of that election.

Long continued strain cannot fail to be followed by some unfavourable reaction. The reaction may not become evident at once, it may be long deferred, but sooner or later, it is bound to make its ill-effects known. Though the party was returned to power in 1945, once the elections were over, and parliament reassembled, it became clear to me that something of the resiliency I had enjoyed through the years had gone, and that fatigue was beginning to take its place. Ever since, I have seen only too plainly that, with the added burden of increasing years, my powers of resistance, and my capacity for long sustained effort were not what they were, and that, when the time came, I might not be equal to the demands of another nation-wide campaign.

Moreover, it seemed to me that, unless I had reason to believe that I would be able to carry on in a subsequent parliament, I

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would not be justified in holding on to office until the last moment. Such being the case, my sense of duty caused me to feel that I owed it to the party, and even more to the country, if not also to myself, to give the party adequate opportunity to make its choice of a new leader. I equally felt that whoever is to succeed me in the office of Prime Minister, should have the opportunity of leading the government in parliament before appealing to the country in a general election.

Continuing service to the Liberal cause

Let it not be imagined that I do not realize something of what is involved in giving up, at this time, a position so highly honourable as the leadership of a great historic party, and in voluntarily surrendering, at any time, the office of Prime Minister of one's country, with its unequalled opportunity for public service. The thought of retirement is the harder to contemplate in that so large a part of my life has been lived, all but exclusively, in the service of the State.

Were I not now in my 74th year, and had I not the best of reasons for knowing that my strength no longer is what it once was, I should feel very differently than I do. I know, however, only too well that our times demand constant alertness in the dispatch of public business, an ever-enlarging familiarity with world affairs, and a capacity to wrestle strenuously and unremittingly, with the complex, involved and dangerous problems of today. These are continuing and exacting obligations. They should, moreover, be accompanied by constant contacts with the public. In the last year or two, I have had progressively to leave to my colleagues many of the duties which I, myself, should have been performing. I do not like to feel that I am not pulling my full weight in the boat, or measuring up to what is expected of one in my position.

I hope that there may still be before me some years of service to our country and to the Liberal cause; some opportunity to view the political scene from an atmosphere less charged with contention than the one I have lived in for so long. That hope can, I believe, only be realized in the performance of less exacting and responsible duties. I am far from believing that such service as I may yet be capable of rendering might not be all the greater were I afforded more in the way of time for reading, writing and reflection. Be that as it may, when I cease to be Commander-in-Chief of the Liberal Army, I shall be happy to find a place in its ranks. I wish for no higher recognition from my fellow-Liberals, to whom I owe so very much, than that, when my day of life is over, they may be able to say of me that, to its close, I was true to the Liberal faith.

The Party's Position in 1919 and Today

It is appropriate, perhaps, that, at this point, I should say a word of the position of the party as it was when I was chosen its leader at the Convention of 1919, and the party's position today, as I return that trust at the completion of twenty-nine years.

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When the Liberal Convention of 1919 was held, our party's fortunes were at a low ebb. The great party which had been built up under the leadership of Sir Wilfried Laurier, and which Sir Wilfrid had led to victory in four successive general elections from 1896 to 1908, had suffered defeat on an historic issue in the general elections of 1911. On the defeat of the Liberal administration in 1911, a Conservative Government under Sir Robert Borden assumed office. Three years later came the war of 1914–1918.

War is always destructive of much that is best. To the Liberal party, the first World War dealt a well nigh mortal wound over the issue of conscription. In 1911, there had been defection in the ranks of the party on the issue of reciprocity. In 1917, the division was much more serious. Many leading Liberals joined with Conservatives in support of the Union Government under Sir Robert Borden. The war-time elections act, and other nefarious measures, placed most of the Laurier Liberal candidates in the shadow of defeat from the day of their nomination with the result that the Liberal Party, as it continued to be led by Sir Wilfrid, once again met with defeat. When the elections were over, the party still in opposition, found its strength reduced. Worse than all was the legacy of ill-will which continued to divide many of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's supporters in the House of Commons, from the Liberal members in Sir Robert Borden's coalition and their followers.

This was the situation when, late in 1918, Sir Wilfrid issued the call for a Convention in the following year. Before the Convention of 1919 could be organized, Sir Wilfrid himself had passed away.

Record of Leadership

Such was the position of the party when I was chosen its leader, on August 7th, twenty-nine years ago. It was a party which had been out of office for eight years; a party which had become sharply divided at a time of war; a party which had lost the great chieftain who, for over thirty years, had been its unchallenged leader; a party which was in a minority in both Houses of Parliament. In its ranks, there were still enmities and divisions. A third political party—the Progressive Party, with a program largely liberal in its inspiration—had come into being, and was a rival of the Liberal Party for power. The country itself was unsettled. Still, all too visible, were the cleavages of opinion which, over the conscription issue, had threatened to destroy the unity of Canada.

I, myself, as a Laurier Liberal, had been defeated in North York in 1917, and was without a seat in Parliament. When I was chosen leader of the party, it was said by my opponents, and by some others, that I would not last long in that position.

Well, what is the position today — twenty-nine years later ? I stand before you as one who has been leader of the Liberal Party for all those twenty-nine years. The Liberal Party has been in power for over twenty-one of the twenty-nine years. It is still in

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office, and the life of the present parliament has still two more years to run. The twenty-one years of office include the period of the greatest war in history. It also so happens that, today, I am the only leader of any country which entered the war against Nazi Germany in 1939, who was in office at that time, who was in office throughout the war, and who has remained in office ever since.

In the period of my leadership, the party has contested seven general elections, and has been returned to office in six out of the seven. Moreover, in two Parliaments — and this during the period of the war — our party had the largest representation ever accorded any political party in the House of Commons.

Finally, as the one who was not to last very long in a position of leadership, I may be permitted to add that I am today the dean of the House of Commons, and also one whose years of office in the position of Prime Minister have not been equalled in any of the nations of the British Commonwealth.

This is a part of the record of leadership which, as I return the trust given me in 1919, I ask the party to take from my hand as something which neither our political enemies, nor Time itself can destroy.

Achievement of a United Party

I have said that the party's fortunes were at a low ebb when we met in Convention in 1919. At this moment of retirement, I am able to point to a party, not in opposition, but to a party in power, with a majority in both Houses of Parliament. It is a party, moreover, that faces the opposition not of one political party only, but a divided opposition composed of three separate parties. It is a party that, since 1919, has not changed its name or its leader. While I have been leader, I have seen the oldest of the Opposition parties change its name four or five times; and I have faced a dozen or more leaders of Opposition parties, of which at least eight were Tories. Above all, unlike all the parties by which we are opposed, the membership of the Liberal Party in Parliament is not representative only of a few—in some cases but one or two—of the provinces of Canada; our party is representative of every province from sea to sea.

But most gratifying of all, in contrast with conditions as they were in 1919, I am able to look today upon a united party, and a united country. This achievement is the greater in that unity was maintained throughout six years of the most destructive and terrible of wars in human history.

I leave the leadership of the Liberal Party at a time when Canada enjoys a level of employment and prosperity never hitherto experienced. Today there is no country anywhere in a more fortunate position than our own; nor has Canada, at any time, enjoyed a higher place in the regard of the nations of the world.

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A word of acknowledgment

In the references I have just made to myself, I trust you will believe that I have been thinking of what I owe to my fellow Liberals, and not of any personal achievement. What has come to me is the measure of what I owe to others. It is to the collective wisdom of Cabinet colleagues by whom I have been surrounded through the years, and to the support of other Liberal members who in Parliament, in its committees, and in party caucus, have helped to guide, to shape and to expound the party's policies, that such success as I have met with has been mostly due. For all that my associates in the Cabinet and in parliament have meant to me, I can never begin to express the extent of my gratitude. Much, too, I owe to the wise counsel and assistance of expert advisers, and to the faithful discharge of their duties by other members of the Public Service, to each and all of whom, at this time, I should like to express a word of acknowledgment and thanks.

Above all else, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the men and women, from one end of Canada to the other, who, in years of adversity and uncertainty, as well as in times of prosperity, have upheld the party's principles and supported its policies; and who, to the cause and to me, as its leader, have been loyalty itself. This confidence, enjoyed over so many years, I shall ever regard as the highest of all honours, and the greatest of all rewards of my years of public service. Mine has been the good fortune, all along the way, to reap where others have sown. If it has been given to me to gather the best of the sheaves, it is to others that the harvest itself is due.

The Mission of Liberalism

In saying this word of farewell to the Party as its leader, there are two thoughts, in particular, I should like to leave with those with whom I have been so closely associated over the years, and to others to whom the party's fortunes may be entrusted in years to come. Each relates to the mission of Liberalism, the one to its principles at all times, the other to their application to the problems of today.

Liberalism finds its source and its inspiration in an impelling desire to gain for others more in the way of equality of opportunity, more in the way of security, more in the way of freedom. Its main concern is with human well-being. That is why Liberalism must ever be on the side of the needs of the many, rather than on the side of the privileges of the few. That is why a Liberal Party must always seek to place the general interest above the particular interests of classes or groups, above special economic or sectional interests, and above the special interests of race or creed. This is doubly important in a country the size of our own, and with its peoples of diverse origins and occupations.

Personality is more sacred than property. That is why Liberalism, in all its policies, must keep in mind the worth of the individual

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man, to see that in the helplessness of childhood, and in the struggles of later life, the possibilities of his development are not thwarted, or his soul's aspirations crushed.

Social security must ever hold a foremost place in the Liberal program. The most effective means of promoting social security are the preservation and extension of freedom. Where there is no freedom, there can be no security, and where there is no security, there can be no freedom. Security and Freedom are, indeed, opposite sides of the same shield. Both are concerned with the elimination of fear. As individuals and nations lose their fears, they gain security and freedom. The absence of fear is the test of Security. The absence of fear is also the hall-mark of Freedom.

To combat the fear of want, and inability to secure the necessities of life, Liberal policies have been so shaped as to encourage production and to expand trade, thereby helping to ensure a high level of employment and national income. To cope with such fears as those of unemployment, of poverty in old age, of sickness, invalidity and dependence, our party has established floor prices for primary producers, unemployment insurance, pensions for the aged, for the blind, for veterans and their dependents, also family allowances, and health grants. These and other measures of social betterment, such as the Veterans' Charter and the Labour Code, speak for themselves.

These measures are designed to help remove the fears which haunt the lives of individuals, and tend to destroy the happiness of their homes. They are all due to the determination and efforts of Liberals to find ways and means of effecting a more equitable distribution of wealth, of furthering social justice, and of promoting the common good. All have been placed on the Statutes under Liberal administrations, since 1921. They are all a part of a Liberal program which aims at the establishment of a national minimum of social security and human welfare for the people of Canada as a whole.

It should never be forgotten that these measures were preceded by the establishment of the Federal Department of Labour; fair wages, hours and conditions of employment on government contract work; federal assistance to technical education and vocational training; the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act; and the Combines Investigation Act — all, since the beginning of the present century, and all a part of labour and social legislation under a previous Liberal administration.

For the years it has been in office, the Liberal Party of Canada is able to point to an unparalleled record of actual achievement, in enlarging the freedom, in increasing the security, and in promoting the happiness of the vast majority of the people. However much opponents may seek to belittle our achievements, they can never take from us what Liberalism, in the course of the past twenty-nine

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years, has done to lessen the fears of many of those in the humbler walks of life, and to gain for their children, and their children's children, more in the way of equality of opportunity.

To all this should be added what our Liberal administration has done to promote, among nations, international friendship, understanding and good-will, and to gain for less fortunate countries, some of the security and freedom with which our own is so greatly blessed.

The party will, I know, continue to inspire, and to carry forward policies to promote equality of opportunity and social security in our own, and in other lands. Such, indeed, is the purpose that lies at the very heart of Liberalism.

The supreme task of Liberalism

Liberalism is the real bulwark of Freedom. The great battles of Liberalism have been fought to gain and to maintain freedom. At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, freedom of speech and freedom of the press; at another, religious or economic freedom; at yet other times, national and world freedom. At all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom. The struggle to defend and to extend Freedom never ends. The defence of Freedom and the advance of Freedom is the real mission of the Liberal Party.

As the bulkwark of Freedom, Liberalism stands midway between those forces that seek the protection of special privilege or vested interests, be they of social position, of wealth, or of power in the hands of the few; and those forces that seek the control of the nation's affairs in the interest of one or more classes or economic groups.

Liberalism seeks to preserve human society from control by either of these forces, since, in their effect, both are exclusive. Each would deny an equal measure of freedom and opportunity to all.

Liberalism, let me repeat, stands first, last, and all the time, for the preservation and extension of freedom in every sphere of our national life, and, as I have already said, for the supremacy of the general interest over special interests or class interests. In the view of Liberalism, we are all members one of another; the good of each is bound up in the good of all.

For these reasons, Liberalism can never countenance any form of dictatorship. Least of all can Liberalism countenance Totalitarianism on which dictatorships, be they Fascist or Communist, are based.

The trend towards Totalitarianism, with the evils and terrors of which we are already all too familiar, is, I believe, the most serious of present-day world problems. For some time to come, this trend is certain to be, as well, the most dangerous of all. The supreme task of Liberalism today is to thwart the growth of Totalitarianism, and, by so doing, successfully to combat the menace of Communism.

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Communism the Greatest Menace

Communism is the greatest menace of our times, because Communism, more than all else, is destructive of Freedom — the freedom of individuals and the freedom of nations. It is the most subtle of all evils, because its appeal is made in the name of Freedom, and it marches under the banners of Freedom. Its appeal is to the masses, whom it promises to deliver from their chains. It speaks in the name of enlarged opportunity and increased security. It asserts that its aim is world unity. It is, in reality, none of these. The immediate purpose of Communism is the complete control of the individual in the name of the State. Its ultimate aim is world domination. Beneath its mask are concealed the secret police, slave labour, and the concentration camp.

How then is the trend towards totalitarianism to be checked; how is the menace of Communism to be overcome? Liberalism, I submit, has already shown the way. Here let me repeat what I said when, in January last, I asked that this Convention be called:

> "If we are to win against Communism in its struggle for the minds and souls of men, if we are to help save the world from a tyranny as ghastly as any which has hitherto menaced mankind, it will only be by recognizing, wherever we may go, wherever we may be, that we remain our brother's keepers, and that, at home and abroad, we have an obligation to lend our individual and national efforts to furthering, to the extent of our abilities, more in the way of equality of opportunity and of social justice. As opportunities of self development are enlarged, as inequalities and obvious injustices are removed; as good-will supplants ill-will in human attitudes and relationships, as fear gives place to faith, an all-consuming Communism will cease to be able either to attract or to deceive. If we are to be true to our Liberal faith, we must put forth every effort to further equality of opportunity, and to effect, in all possible ways, a larger measure of social justice."

Being True to the Liberal Faith

It may be that, at any hour, the free nations may be called upon again, as twice already they have in the course of a single generation, to defend Freedom, not with their policies only, but with their lives. Nations have yet to decide which is to prevail: — the law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; or the law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. Mankind has still to discover whether violent conquest or the relief of Humanity is to triumph in the end.

In being true to our Liberal faith, we shall be helping to deliver man from the scourges which beset him. We shall be sharing in the relief of Humanity.

> "*Therefore, though few may praise, or help, or heed us,*
> *Let us work on with head, or heart, or hand,*
> *For this we know — the future ages need us,*
> *And we must help our time to take its stand.*"

CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

D 56608

FOR THE PRESS

Press Release No.
September , 1948

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ADVANCE RELEASE

CAUTION: The following address by the Rt. Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until delivery has begun.

NOTE: No portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or given out in any way until that time. The same terms of release apply to press and radio.

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION

ADDRESS BY THE RT. HON. W.L.MACKENZIE KING, O.M., P.C., PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates:

It affords me particular pleasure to say to the government and people of France, how deeply the Canadian Delegation appreciates the choice of Paris as the place of meeting of the Third Assembly of the United Nations. This city, over many centuries, has been a radiant centre of political and cultural achievements. No country represented here is so remote from Paris, nor so distinct in tradition from France, that it has not been greatly influenced by movements of enlightenment and progress which have had their origin in this city and in this country.

CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

D 56668

FOR THE PRESS

Press Release No.
September , 1948

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Of no country and of no people is this truer than of my own. One third of the people of Canada have ancestors who came from the shores of France. They still speak its language and share the traditions of French civilization.

Slow

As I listened to the eloquent and moving speech of the President of the French Republic at the opening of this Assembly, and as I recalled the great services which M. Vincent Auriol has rendered, and is rendering, to his country, I could not but reflect upon the continuing significance of the role of France among the nations. After all she has suffered and endured in two wars, France has again taken her place in the front rank of the world community. Canadians never doubted that France would rise again to the full stature of her glorious past.

What France records of man's ability to develop political freedom within the framework of organized society should remind us that, in the work of the Assembly, we are carrying forward a great tradition. It should strengthen our conviction that, through the instrument of the United Nations, we also, in our day, have an opportunity to develop political ideas, and forms of political organization, of service not to one nation only, or to a few nations, but to mankind.

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This Assembly of the United Nations affords an opportunity for judging to what extent the United Nations has, thus far, found it possible to further the great purposes to which it is dedicated. We have now an opportunity to measure the work done, and to survey work that remains to be done. This Assembly should be made the occasion for a real audit of achievement. It should equally be made the occasion for a searching analysis of failure, where such has occurred.

If we are true to ourselves, we will admit that there is not one among us who has not been discouraged by the difficulties which have beset the path of our new organization, and who to-day is not disturbed by doubts and uncertainties. Too many of us have assumed that the high aims and purposes of an organization which seeks the betterment of mankind throughout the world could not fail to have a universal appeal. We have not been sufficiently conscious of the realities of the world situation.

I, for one, believe the United Nations has attempted to accomplish far too much, in far too short a time. We have overlooked the fact that any world institution, especially one which aims at effective co-operation among all nations, is certain to be of slow growth. It is true that Nature never rests. It is equally true that Nature never hastens.

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One reason why the international institutions that the United Nations have created since the close of war are not working in the way we hoped they might, is that the sense of a world community of interest on which these institutions must rest, and which, in themselves, they tend to create, has not yet been developed. It may take a long time to develop.

The United Nations, I feel, must seek to close the gap, already far too wide, between the purposes which are within its reach, and those which exceed its grasp. We must not dissipate the moral and other resources of a world which desperately needs peace, on too many secondary objectives, however desirable they may be in themselves.

We do well to recognize that the advance of science demands, in an increasingly urgent and imperative way, the existence of a community sense which is world-wide. In seeking to create this sense of a world community, the United Nations is certain to be confronted with many difficulties. In thinking of these difficulties, I have sometimes wondered whether the experience in co-operation and association of the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which Canada is proud to belong, has not some lessons, both positive and negative, which might be of help in meeting like difficulties in the development of a world community sense by the United Nations.

It is true the countries of the Commonwealth have never had a Charter, have never appointed a Secretary-General, and have never taken a decision by a simple or two-thirds majority. They have nevertheless, over many years, worked together with an increasing appreciation of interests they have in common. It is true they have by no means solved all their difficulties; some of these difficult situations have found their way on to the agenda of the United Nations. Nevertheless, by and large, it is true that the countries of the Commonwealth do try to understand each other's problems, institutions and points of view. Between themselves they have sought agreements by accommodation and mutual forbearance. Without positive formulation, they have contrived to share, in large measure, a common point of view. This community sense they have developed despite the differences in language, race, religion and tradition, which characterize the member States. In this more limited experiment, in international political association, there are some things which may be of value in helping to further a wider appreciation of a world community of interest among the members of the United Nations.

By our presence here in Paris, we are reminded not only of what may be accomplished through the combined efforts of nations, but also of the peril which again threatens civilization.

The conflicts of the last eighty years have flowed back and forth across this land of France and have exacted an appalling penalty of its people. Since the latest and greatest of these conflicts, the nations have set themselves the double task of (1) reconstructing the shattered political and economic life of Europe, and (2) of preventing a recurrence of such conflicts. These are aims towards the realization of which every nation might have been expected to co-operate whole-heartedly. It must frankly be admitted, however, that we have cause for misgiving about the progress of both these undertakings.

The reconstruction of Europe, stimulated by aid from countries which suffered less directly from the war, and carried forward by the co-operative effort of the peoples of Western Europe, has, fortunately, made some progress. On the other hand, rather than participate in this work of reconstruction, from which they themselves would benefit, certain nations have chosen not merely to stand aside, but, wilfully or otherwise, to misrepresent and obstruct the efforts of others. This obstruction in the task of reconstruction is, unfortunately, but one example of what would appear to be a policy of deliberate hindrance of the political and economic reorganization of the postwar world. In so far as this may be so, we cannot be otherwise than profoundly concerned for the well-being of the entire work of reconstruction and peacemaking which has been undertaken since the war.

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It will come as a painful surprise, if not as a shock, to my fellow country-men in Canada to learn that anyone addressing this Assembly could have left the impression that members of the United Nations had ignored the interests of the peoples of those countries which suffered most from the war, and from the severe hardships which were imposed by the Hitlerites. Such, certainly, was the impression left on my mind in listening to the address of the representative of the U.S.S.R. on Saturday morning last. I find the impression left on others was similar to my own.

The specific references, it is true, were to the Economic and Social Council and the Economic Commission for Europe, but the impression conveyed was that the United Nations had been indifferent to the important interests of the peoples of those countries which had suffered most. This certainly is not true of the United Nations as expressed in the contributions of its member nations.

I am sure the Assembly would be glad to hear from the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia what quantity of farm implements, how many motor trucks, how many locomotives, to say nothing of food supplies and medical aid, their countries have received, since the end of the war, by gift and credit, from countries, members of the United Nations, that have sought to help in the common task of reconstruction.

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I speak with some knowledge and feeling on this question because the people of Canada have taken their full share of the load of providing relief and assistance for the war shattered countries of Europe - through Mutual Aid, through Military Relief, through UNRRA, as well as through direct governmental credits of over 500 million dollars for the Continent of Europe. I can speak for the government of which during these years I have been the head, and which recommended to Parliament the necessary appropriations. I can speak for the Parliament of Canada which made the appropriations possible, and for the people of Canada who supported these policies for the rehabilitation of the economy of war devastated countries, and supplemented them by sending millions of dollars more, through private and voluntary channels, for the relief of the needy and destitute. Their single purpose was to assist the peoples who had suffered most from the war to rebuild their homes, restore their agriculture, restart their industries - so that their countries could take their places again in the world economy and world community to which we all belong.

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What I have said about the Canadian effort, and the spirit that inspired it, holds good, I believe, in every particular, for the ~~infinitely greater~~ many times greater contribution in each of these fields, that the United States has made, and continues to make, towards the recovery of Europe's economic independence and well-being.

The second major undertaking of the postwar world, has been the establishment of machinery for the settlement of international disputes and for the maintenance of peace. Great hopes have been entertained that the establishment at San Francisco of the United Nations would mark the beginning of a world organization which would provide real security. To-day, this task stands in equal peril.

The settlement of international disputes, through machinery provided by the United Nations, has made some progress, though it is still far from having achieved success. Its success or failure would appear to have been dependent upon the extent to which the application of the veto has been in accordance with the general consensus of view of the member nations. In areas where it is clear that the veto has not been applied to further the special interest of one or more member nations, rather than the general interest, procedures of negotiation and compromise, mediation and adjustment have been undertaken, and have proved helpful and constructive.

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However, in every area, and on every subject where it is obvious that the veto has been applied to further some particular interest, rather than the general interest, the process of compromise and adjustment has been ignored, and little or no progress as a consequence has been made.

The stalemate which has resulted from this state of affairs affects many situations which are of direct and imperative concern in the life of all free nations. Its continuance cannot fail to lead to threats to freedom, arising not only from aggressive aims at territorial expansion, but as well, from sinister plans to undermine the structure of free government within the borders of individual nations.

There is no nation, however great, which, in a world such as the one in which we live to-day, can defend its freedom solely with its own resources. All nations are, therefore, interested in security. Where existing machinery for the prevention ~~of~~ and settlement of international disputes has proven or is proving inadequate to effect security, additional means must be sought.

Security for individual nations, under such circumstances, can be assured only by the effective co-operation, and the united power of those nations whose determination to maintain their freedom constitutes a strong bond of community between them.

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It is not surprising therefore that certain nations, knowing that their security depends on collective action in some form, and which are not yet able to achieve that security on the universal basis which the United Nations contemplates, should, pending this larger accomplishment, seek to achieve their security on a less than universal basis.

As nations, we are all members one of another. The good of each is bound up in the good of all. This sense of community of interest cannot be too highly, too rapidly, or too widely developed. It is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain a preponderance of moral, economic and military strength on the side of freedom - all else is wholly secondary. To direct its energies to this imperative end seems to me to be the supreme task of the United Nations to-day.

There is a further all-compelling reason why a world community sense cannot be too completely developed. I mean, of course, the urgent necessity for the effective control of atomic energy. Scientific achievements have in recent years placed this terrible weapon of destruction at the disposal of mankind. The processes by which atomic energy is released are now well-known to the scientists of all nations. The ability to make and release the atomic bomb will, in the course of time, be available to any nation which possesses and devotes sufficient skill to that purpose.

The international control of atomic energy might change it from a force of terrible destruction into a power which could greatly benefit the whole of mankind.

In the presence of the menace which atomic energy constitutes, every nation, in the interest of its own people, as well as those of other lands, cannot strive too earnestly to ensure this mighty transformation. The hope of the world is, I believe, centred, to-day, in the United Nations as the one world organization capable of establishing this international control.

In his address to this Assembly last Saturday, the representative of the U.S.S.R. said that, after thirty months of work by the Atomic Energy Commission, there had been no positive results, that the work of the Atomic Energy Commission had remained fruitless. He sought to place the blame on the United States for the failure, thus far, to bring about the international control of atomic energy. I do not think this is borne out by the facts. The government of Canada has taken part in the important discussions and negotiations on this subject since their inception. I am therefore able to speak with some knowledge of the facts.

The facts show conclusively that not only has the United States striven earnestly and hopefully for a solution, but that, subject to proper safeguards, they have unhesitatingly offered to give to the world the far-reaching advantages which came to them in consequence of their vast efforts in this field during the late war.

D 56620

Two years ago, when the meetings of the Atomic Energy Commission were commenced, no one was certain that it would be possible to produce a workable plan in the international control and development of this great source of energy. A plan for this purpose has, however, been developed. The nations of the world which now possess the resources and the skill for the production of atomic energy, have stated their willingness to take part in the operation of the plan.

The representative of the U.S.S.R. in denying that substantial progress has been made toward the working out of arrangements for the international control of atomic energy, stands almost alone in this view. Every other country which has participated in the work of the Atomic Energy Commission established by this Assembly at its first session in London, which has been free to express its conclusions, has joined in full acceptance of the majority report of the Commission.

The report of the Commission will come before the Assembly later for detailed study and approval. At that time, members of the Canadian delegation will develop the reasons for Canada's acceptance of its proposals. In our opinion they are based on the inescapable facts of atomic energy, and constitute the only method by which these new dread forces may properly be brought under effective control in the interest of peace and well-being of all the peoples of the world.

/ cum

D 56621

In international relations, as indeed, in all human relations, attitude and will are of first importance. A solution of most problems is not difficult to find where men or nations are really anxious to discover common ground, and bring their wills to that task. Where, however, there is no will to peace, and an attitude of antagonism rather than of co-operation is deliberately fostered, the appeal soon becomes one to Force, rather than to Reason. Wherever the appeal is to Force, Security, which is essential to the preservation of Freedom, demands a preponderance of strength on the side of Freedom. This is necessary, not from any thought of aggression, but to save from destruction, the very nations and peoples who have at heart the aim of creating better conditions for others as well as for themselves.

The problems of to-day are not going to be solved by any formula. They will be solved only to the degree that each individual does his part, and each nation does its part, to further the common good, by an attitude of good-will towards all. In this particular, example is all powerful. Patience and forbearance are not signs of weakness. They are the hall-marks of strength.

Mann

If this world of ours is to escape destruction, international relationships, characterized by antagonism and coercion must make way for a world community which recognizes that "Over all nations is Humanity". The habit of mind which resolves problems in term of class, of race, or of national prestige must be abandoned, and its place taken by a world outlook.

Let us not be deceived. The terrible truth is that the nations have yet to decide which is to prevail - the law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; or the law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. Mankind has still to discover whether violent conquest or the relief of Humanity is to triumph in the end.

Whatever may be said by or of individuals, the peoples of the world - in every community - ardently desire world peace. To-day they are looking anxiously to all the representatives, of all the nations at this Assembly, to work together towards the fulfilment of this great purpose. The proceedings of this Assembly may help to determine whether the world is to be plunged into the darkness of anarchy, or whether mankind is to continue to move towards the light of ordered freedom and universal peace.

Ottawa, November 15, 1948

D 56623

I am happy to have the opportunity of saying a few words to my fellow countrymen on this, my last day of office as Prime Minister of Canada. For this opportunity, I am indebted to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which has kindly arranged for a record to be made this afternoon, here, at my home, Laurier House. This will permit me to say just a word to you before my resignation as Prime Minister is accepted.

At 11 o'clock this morning, I waited upon His Excellency the Governor General at Government House, and informed Lord Alexander that, for public and personal reasons, which were well known to him, I had felt, for some time past, that I should seek retirement from the office of Prime Minister; and that I had come to him, as His Majesty's representative, to tender my resignation. I stated that I believed the present to be the most opportune time for the appointment of a successor to myself in the office of Prime Minister, and that I therefore hoped my resignation might be accepted.

His Excellency, after enquiring as to whom I would recommend as my successor, said that he would send for Mr. St. Laurent immediately. Lord Alexander asked me, however, if I would continue to hold office until he had ascertained from Mr. St. Laurent if he were prepared to accept the responsibility of forming a Ministry.

D56624

At the moment, I am awaiting word of Mr. St. Laurent's readiness to assume the responsibilities of office. I shall then return to Government House to be informed by His Excellency of his acceptance of my resignation.

I am particularly happy that, in this interval of time, between the tender of my resignation and its acceptance, it has become possible for me to let you, my fellow citizens, in all parts of Canada, know that, in my last hour of office, my thoughts are of the confidence you have extended to myself as Prime Minister, and to the able colleagues with whom I have been fortunate enough, at all times, to be surrounded. I am thinking particularly of the measure of that confidence, and of the exceptional opportunities of public service it has afforded me over so long a period of time. For all that this confidence has meant to me, in my personal and public life, I can only thank you; but this I do with a grateful heart.

Although, within the next hour, I shall cease to be a member of the Government, I shall not cease to have our country's interests as much at heart as they have ever been. I shall continue to have the same interest in the future of our country, and the well-being of its citizens, that I have had over the past half-century. Indeed, it is my belief that, freed from the responsibilities of office, I may be able to render some form of useful service over a longer period of time than might otherwise have been possible.

D 56625

It is my earnest hope that Providence may vouchsafe me some time yet in which to be of service to our beloved country.

Again, I thank you all.

D 56626

Remarks by Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,

Ottawa - June 20, 1949.

In introducing Mr. St. Laurent, I may perhaps be permitted a word or two as to why I most earnestly hope that on Monday evening of next week the present Prime Minister may be continued in office by a substantial majority for his party and himself. I hope Mr. St. Laurent will receive from the people of Canada an endorsation of his leadership, so pronounced, that, over the next few years, it will serve to strengthen him in the guidance of our country's affairs, and, in like manner, strengthen the position of Canada among the nations of the world.

I may claim to have some special knowledge of the disinterested public services Mr. St. Laurent has already rendered our country. I think I know something of the qualities of his heart and mind. I believe him to possess, in exceptional measure, the foresight and temperament required to help solve, not only Canada's problems, but in this very critical period of its history, to help meet the world's need. It is important to remember that today our country's problems and the world's need are closely interwoven.

I shall never forget that it was at the time of Canada's greatest need in the past, that Mr. St. Laurent responded without hesitation, or a condition, to my appeal to him to become a member of the government. Canada had just lost the services of that great Canadian, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. As Prime Minister, I had lost a most trusted friend and my closest counsellor. Our country was at war. The world, it might be said, was at war. Who was to fill the all important position of Minister of Justice which Mr. Lapointe had been holding? Who was to take his place in the direction of the nation's affairs and, in particular, in the leadership of his native province? Those were questions of high import to which I had to find an answer.

Mr. Lapointe and I had spoken many times of the desirability of having Mr. St. Laurent become a member of the cabinet. I knew Lapointe's opinion of Mr. St. Laurent's sound judgment, rare ability and noble character. I know of his wish to have Mr. St. Laurent in parliament and in the government. As I mentioned at the Convention in August last, this opinion was also held by Mr. Lapointe's Quebec colleague, Mr. Power, who was the first of the Ministers with whom I conferred after Mr. Lapointe's passing. Before the war, we had not been able to secure Mr. St. Laurent's consent to enter politics, but when the war came, and the call was imperative, his response, it might be said, was instantaneous. Had I not found Mr. St. Laurent willing to accept the great responsibility he did at that time, Canada's achievements during the war might have been vastly different than they were, and the unity of Canada far from what it is today. We do well, in facing the grave uncertainties of the future, to keep in mind what we possess of tried and trusted leadership from the past.

I wonder, Ladies and gentlemen, if you realize that it was in 1941 that Mr. St. Laurent entered the Ministry. That is almost 8 years ago. Mr. St. Laurent has been serving our country in its Parliament and Government ever since. Today, we are hearing much, and rightly so, of the value of experience in matters of government. Who, may I ask, of those who are seeking leadership in government today, are as experienced in the management of Canadian affairs as Mr. St. Laurent? Mr. St. Laurent has held the highest offices of state. He has been Minister of Justice and Minister of External Affairs. In the 20th Parlaiment recently dissolved, he was, at frequent intervals, the acting leader, and, throughout the whole of the last session, the leader of the House of Commons. He was also, time and again, the acting Prime Minister. Since November 15th, he has been Prime Minister. Today, he is the leader of the Liberal Party and leader of the Government in a nation-wide campaign. He has been tried and tested in all of these positions, and found wanting in none. In international affairs, his part has been such as to attract the attention, and to win the admiration, of many nations. He is already among the best known, and most trusted of world statesmen. In your interests he merits all the support you can give him on Monday next.

Speaking of the importance of experience in the administration of public affairs, much the same might be said of the support merited by the Ministry as a whole. You may search the world over, in no country will you find, in an over-all average, men of higher integrity and ability, greater intelligence and industry than we have in office in Canada today. It is, I believe, very much in the interest of our country that the government should not be changed at this time.

Never forget, the present is one of those mysterious periods of transition in world affairs. Very serious situations may arise at any time. We hope that all is going to be well. But we are bewildered by mists of uncertainty, and everywhere there are clouds on the horizon.

A nation's fate today tends increasingly to be in the hands of its leader. In Mr. St. Laurent, Canada has a tried and trusted leader. One who, at home, is known and experienced. One who abroad is respected and honoured. In cabinet council, in the councils of the party, in parliament, and on the public platform, Mr. St. Laurent has proved equal to any emergency that has arisen. He has won increasingly the confidence of those with whom he has been closely associated. He is revered by them. Nor is this strange since, in his personality, Mr. St. Laurent embodies all that we most seek and admire in the one who is to direct our country's affairs at home, and speak for our country abroad.

Mr. St. Laurent's modesty is so self-evident that we are apt to overlook the constructive power and strength of will which it conceals. He is sincerity itself. He is a lover of peace and good-will among men and nations, and is a promoter of both. His heart is with the people. More than all else, he seeks the improvement of their condition, and the enlargement of their opportunities in life. He is a true Canadian, an experienced political leader, and, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom we are all proud to remember tonight, a great gentleman.

The Prime Minister and those by whom he is surrounded merit the continued confidence of all Canada. They will, I believe, receive no uncertain expression of it, at the polls on Monday next.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have now great pleasure in calling upon the Prime Minister to address you.

. . . . . .

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
88		Notes of Speeches, 1947	19 Mar. 1947 to 31 Oct. 1947	D 56410 - D 56522	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1948-1949	20 Jan. 1948 to 20 June 1949	D 56523 - D 56627	
88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1949	19 May 1949 to 20 June 1949	D 56628 - D 56645	
St. Laurent Files, 1940-1948 - Chronological Subject List					
89		1940: First Session, Address in reply to Speech from the Throne: Speeches in Parliament	25 Jan. 1940	D 56646 - D 56650	
89		1940: Dissolution. Speeches in Parliament	12 Feb. 1940	D 56651 - D 56657	
89		1940: General Election, 1940: Radio Broadcasts, Ottawa, No. 1-6. Speeches outside Parliament	1940	D 56658 - D 56756	

D 56628

1949

Speeches - Outside Parliament

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Retirement - Glengarry

CONVENTION

	Date	Place	Occasion
	1949		
1.	May 27th	Alexandria, Ont.,	Farewell Speech as Member for Glengarry constituency, at Liberal Convention, 1949.
2.	June 20th	Capitol Theatre, Ottawa.	Liberal Rally. (Mr. King's introduction of Mr. St.Laurent)

D 56629

GLENGARRY CONVENTION

Alexandria - May 27, 1949

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the life of one seeking to represent the people of his country in its halls of Parliament, there are two occasions of special significance. The first is the day on which he receives nomination for the House of Commons; the other the day on which he asks those whose confidence he has enjoyed to allow him to forego becoming again a candidate in a General Election. The second of these occasions has arrived for me today. I assure you that it is not without mixed feelings that I realize that such is the case.

We are now in the General Elections of 1949. I well recall the General Elections of 1908. That was over forty years ago. Sir Wilfrid Laurier opened the campaign in the constituency of Waterloo. It was then that I received my first nomination as a candidate of the Liberal Party for the House of Commons.

Little did I think at that time that a year later I should be a Minister of the Crown in Sir Wilfird Laurier's cabinet. Much less could I have imagined that I would later be Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor in the leadership of the Liberal Party, and still later, his successor as a Liberal Prime Minister of Canada.

It is difficult to believe that until the Liberal Convention of last year our Party has had but two leaders in the period of over sixty years - Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself.

When I entered Parliament in 1908 I was, if I mistake not, the youngest Member in the House of Commons. Before I gave up the leadership of the Party I had become its oldest Member.in the point of years of service in the House of Commons. Of those years, I had held the office of Prime Minister for over 21 1/2 years.

From 1908 to the present, I had participated in every General Election held in Canada, and in several by-election contests as well, - some 10 general elections in all. Sir Wilfrid Laurier + 1919 then participated in 7 general elections in which he [illegible] over a period of 7.

I mention these facts that you and the people of Canada may understand just why it is that, greatly honoured as I feel I have been in the representation during recent years of this fine, old, historic riding of Glengarry, I felt it advisable, not less in the public interest than in my own, to make it perfectly clear, as I have throughout the last Parliament, that I would not again either be leading the Party at another General Election or be a candidate for Parliament itself.

For many reasons, I should greatly have welcomed the privilege of continuing to represent the constituency of Glengarry at Ottawa. I feel I should leave no room for doubt as to why it will not be possible for me to do so. Let me enumerate some of those reasons. In a larger way they relate to my retirement from active politics.

I have already given you the first of these reasons, - the long years of public service I have already had and what they have involved in the way of strain. I should perhaps remind you that those years included the years of the last Great War, periods of uncertainty and unrest which preceded and which have followed them. At the time of the General Elections of 1945, I saw only too clearly what these years had occasioned in the way of strain and exacted in the way of health and strength. I knew that with further years of service, the strain could not possibly lessen but would increase. It was for this reason that throughout the campaign of 1945 I told the electorate that I would not be leading the Liberal Party at another General Election, but would seek so to arrange matters as to have a successor in the leadership of the Party in the office of Prime Minister appointed before another General Election.

I said more than that. I made it clear that I would seek so to arrange matters as to have my successor

/chosen sufficiently in advance

chosen sufficiently in advance of another General Election to be able to demonstrate his powers of leadership in Parliament, as well as in the campaign itself. Accordingly, I arranged nearly two years ago for a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in January, 1948, at which I issued a call for a National Convention to be held in the month of August. At this Convention, as we all know to our great delight today, Mr. St. Laurent was chosen the leader of the Party, and when Parliament reassembled thereafter, had become the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons. Let me repeat today what I said at the close of the Convention, that I do not believe that a better choice of leader of any political party could have been made than the choice of Mr. St.Laurent as the Party's and the country's leader.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish it were possible for me to be taking an active part in the present campaign. Had I the strength so to do, and were it in accordance with the Party's wish, I should enjoy nothing more than joining with my former Colleagues in campaigning from one end of Canada to the other in support of Mr. St. Laurent and of the present Liberal Administration. I believe it to be in every way in the interests of Canada that Mr. St. Laurent and the members of his government should be returned.

D56633

That it is not possible for me to take the part I should like in the campaign is due to another reason more imperative than all others, which would make it impossible for me to accept the re-nomination as a candidate today. That reason, as you all are aware, is due to the impairment of my health, which was only too evident at the time of the Conference of Prime Ministers in London in October of last year. On the best of medical advice, I have since been obliged to limit my activities as much as possible, and above all, to avoid undue contention and excitement. How inseparable both are from debate, either in Parliament or on the hustings, it is scarcely necessary for me to say. There is one point, however, which I wish to emphasize. It is that my retirement from the leadership of the Party and of the Government is not to be attributed to ill health. It was due wholly to a decision reached before, and at the time of the last General Election - a decision based entirely upon what I believed to be in the interests of the Party after my many years of service. How wise that decision was must now be apparent in the light of the break which came in health some months ago.

And this brings me more immediately to my ~~real~~ relations with this constituency, and the understanding which was reached at the time, when after my defeat in Prince Albert

/our late dear friend

our late dear friend Dr. MacDiarmid offered to retire to make possible my re-entry into the House of Commons in time to continue the leadership at the first session of the new Parliament, which the Liberals of this constituency so generously offered to accept me as their representative in Dr. MacDiarmid's stead. Having stated at the General Election that I would not be leading the Party at another election, it was clearly understood at the time I became the candidate in the by-election that I would not be seeking re-election at another General Election. More than that, it was understood that with the public issues what they had become, and the responsibilities attaching to the office of Prime Minister, it might not be possible for me to spend much time in the constituency, notwithstanding its proximity to the Capital. I had hoped, ladies and gentlemen, that the nearness of Glengarry to Ottawa would enable me to see a good deal of the people of this County. Unfortunately, what with the sessions of Parliament, the representations of Canada at Conferences and meetings abroad, and the impaired condition of my health, it has not been possible for me to carry out to the extent I should have liked that hope and expectation. That, however, only makes more evident to me the extent of my obligation to the people of Glengarry for the consideration shown me in the discharge of my public duties and as their representative in Parliament.

I can say, I believe, that though I have seen but little of the constituency itself, I have with the aid of those associated with me been able to watch its interests closely and with fidelity. I might even go so far as to say that had anyone other than the Prime Minister been representing Glengarry in the last Parliament, the constituency itself might have disappeared at the time of redistribution. I claim no personal credit for that, as when I was elected Member for Glengarry it was generally believed that at the next redistribution, because of its size, this constituency might become part of a new and much larger unit of representation. The Committee, however, which had the matter in hand and which made its representations to the House of Commons, did recommend to Parliament that in the redistribution, no change should be made in the boundaries of Glengarry. As there will not be another distribution for another 10 years by which time, I hope the Constituency itself will have greatly increased in importance and in numbers, Glengarry will remain as it has been over the years, one of the best known of the many constituencies in our Dominion.

As already mentioned, I have felt as regards participation in the present campaign that it should be all in all, or not at all. You will excuse me, therefore, if this afternoon, I do not attempt anything in the nature of a political address.

I do not think there can be any doubt as to where I stand. I am solidly behind Mr. St.Laurent and the Members of the present administration. I believe wholeheartedly in his

I am not participating in the present election for the same reason, that I did not participate except on one occasion in the Debates in the House of Commons during the last Session.

I am here this afternoon for two reasons and for two reasons only. The first is, to thank the Liberals of Glengarry and in deed, the electors of Glengarry generally, for the honour conferred upon me by having elected me as their member in the last Parliament and thereby, enabling me to continue to their close, my duties as Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and its Prime Minister over many years, and thereby giving to my name through the years to come, an enviable association with this historic constituency.

It is something of which I am proud, indeed. It is something for which I thank you all with all my heart.

The other reason is to urge as strongly as I possibly can, that the people of the constituency support the present administration and that, as a means to that end, all present and others throughout the constituency unite as solidly as possible behind whoever may be the choice as Liberal Candidate in today's convention. It is not surprising that many names should be placed in nomination. It is natural that different parts of the constituency, and those of different callings should have a special interest in one or other of those whose names

may be placed in nomination. Once, however, a candidate is chosen, I would urge upon all that all personal interest - that all special interest of race or class or creed should be second to the all important objective of making certain the return of the Liberal Candidate for Glengarry in the next Parliament of Canada. It is in that way and in that way only, that you can be certain of returning the present administration into power and that is the all important consideration.

Let me as a last word, give my reasons for saying this. The world is in a period of transition. Look abroad where you will, in Europe or in Asia, menacing clouds are everywhere upon the horizon. We are living in confused, yes, dangerous times. In world affairs, Canada is today making an exceptional fine contribution. The Prime Minister and the members of his administration are held in high respect by the leaders of other nations everywhere. You know more who it is, to whom you are entrusting the affairs of Government: your affairs. Each particular period has its special needs for special men. You know the qualities for Government possessed by those who are members of the present administration.

Before you change, ask yourselves and demand from those who are seeking your support in the formation of new administrations: who are the men by whom they propose to surround themselves in the administration of Canada's affairs over the next 5 years; what their experience in Government has been,

and wherein they are likely to surpass those who today have in their hands the administration of public affairs. In other words, where you have in the Government today, men whose industry, intelligence and integrity are known and tried, Think twice before you ~~lessen or destroy their power~~, and give their trust and place into other and unknown hands.

D 56639

Chair to be taken by leading citizen.

Though retired, interested in affairs of country and Liberal policies.

Pleased to accept when asked:

(1) Opportunity of meeting fellow citizens - 50 years interested in city's affairs.

(2) ~~Courtesy to~~ Mr. St. Laurent - all pleased to honour.

(3) Have no doubt as to desire to see party returned under Mr. St. Laurent.

No need to speak of reasons for retirement.

Decision made in 1945.

No intention to take up time of speakers.

Order of proceedings.

Limitations of radio - 9.45 p.m. - speeches.

Procedure in parliament re debate on address

Re Leader of Opposition

Re McDonald of Carleton

Call on to address.

Liberal Rally
Parliament Hotel
Ottawa, June 29, 1949

file

D 56640

RT. HON. LOUIS ST. LAURENT

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Introductory Remarks:

Ladies and ~~Gentlemen~~: Fellow Canadians

In introducing Mr. St. Laurent, I may perhaps be permitted a word or two as to why I most earnestly hope that on Monday evening of next week the present Prime Minister may be continued in office by a substantial majority for his party and himself. I hope Mr. St. Laurent will receive from the people of Canada an endorsation of his leadership, so pronounced, that, over the next few years, it will serve to strengthen him in the guidance of our country's affairs, and, in like manner, strengthen the position of Canada among the nations of the world.

I may claim to have some special knowledge of the disinterested public services Mr. St. Laurent has already rendered our country. I think I know something of the qualities of his heart and mind. I believe him to possess, in exceptional measure, the foresight and temperament required to help solve, not only Canada's problems, but, in this very critical period of its history, to help meet the world's need. It is

/important to remember

important to remember that today our country's problems and the world's need are closely interwoven.

I shall never forget that it was at the time of Canada's greatest need in the past, that Mr. St. Laurent responded without hesitation, or a condition, to my appeal to him to become a member of the government. Canada had just lost the services of that great Canadian, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. As Prime Minister, I had lost a most trusted friend and my closest counsellor. Our country was at war. The world, it might be said, was at war. Who was to fill the all-important position of Minister of Justice which Mr. Lapointe had been holding? Who was to take his place in the direction of the nation's affairs, and, in particular, in the leadership of his native province? Those were questions of high import to which I had to find an answer.

Mr. Lapointe and I had spoken many times of the desirability of having Mr. St. Laurent become a member of the cabinet. I knew Lapointe's opinion of Mr. St. Laurent's sound judgment, rare ability and noble character. I knew of his wish to have Mr. St. Laurent in parliament and in the government. As I mentioned at the convention

in August last, this opinion was also held by Mr. Lapointe's Quebec colleague, Mr. Power, who was the first of the Ministers with whom I conferred after Mr. Lapointe's passing. Before the war, we had not been able to secure Mr. St. Laurent's consent to enter politics, but when the war came, and the call was imperative, his response, it might be said, was instantaneous. Had I not found Mr. St. Laurent willing to accept the great responsibility he did at that time, Canada's achievements during the war might have been vastly different than they were, and the unity of Canada far from what it is today. We do well, in facing the grave uncertainties of the future, to keep in mind what we possess of tried and trusted leadership from the past.

I wonder, Ladies and gentlemen, if you realize that it was in 1941 that Mr. St. Laurent entered the Ministry. That is almost 8 years ago. Mr. St. Laurent has been serving our country in its Parliament and Government ever since. Today, we are hearing much, and rightly so, of the value of experience in matters of government. Who, may I ask, of those who are seeking leadership in government today, are as experienced in the management of Canadian affairs as Mr. St. Laurent? He has held the highest offices of state. He has been Minister of Justice and Minister of External Affairs.

In the 20th Parliament recently dissolved, he was, at frequent intervals, the acting leader, and, throughout the whole of the last session, the leader of the House of Commons. He was also, time and again, the acting Prime Minister. Since November 15th, he has been Prime Minister. Today, he is the leader of the Liberal Party and leader of the Government in a nation-wide campaign. He has been tried and tested in all of these positions, and found wanting in none. In international affairs, his part has been such as to attract the attention, and to win the admiration, of many nations. He is already among the best known, and most trusted of world statesmen. In your interest~~s and mine~~, he merits all the support ~~we~~ I can give him on Monday next.

Speaking of the importance of experience in the administration of public affairs, much the same might be said of the support merited by the Ministry as a whole. You may search the world over, in no country will you find, in an over-all average, men of higher integrity and ability, greater intelligence and industry than we have in office in Canada today. It is, I believe, very much in the interest of our country that the government should not be changed at this time.

Never forget, the present is one of those mysterious periods of transition in world affairs. Very serious situations

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may arise at any time. We hope that all is going to be well. But we are bewildered by mists of uncertainty, and everywhere there are clouds on the horizon.

A nation's fate today tends increasingly to be in the hands of its leader. In Mr. St. Laurent, Canada has a tried and trusted leader. One who, at home, is known and experienced. One who abroad is respected and honoured. In cabinet council, in the councils of the party, in parliament, and on the public platform, Mr. St. Laurent has proved equal to any emergency that has arisen. He has won increasingly the confidence of those with whom he has been closely associated. He is revered by them. Nor is this strange since, in his personality, Mr. St. Laurent embodies all that we most seek and admire in the one who is to direct our country's affairs at home, and speak for our country abroad.

Mr. St. Laurent's modesty is so self-evident that we are apt to overlook the constructive power and strength of will which it conceals. He is sincerity itself. He is a lover of peace and good-will among men and nations, and is a promoter of both. His heart is with the people. More than all else, he seeks the improvement of their condition, and the enlargement of their opportunities in life. He is a true Canadian, an experienced political leader, and, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom we are all proud to remember tonight, a great gentleman.

~~Mr. St. Laurent~~ the Prime Minister and those by whom he is surrounded merit the continued confidence of all Canada. They will, I believe, receive no uncertain expression of it, at the polls on Monday next.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have now great pleasure in calling upon the Prime Minister to address you.

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St. Laurent Files, 1940-1948 - Chronological Subject List					
89		1940: First Session, Address in reply to Speech from the Throne: Speeches in Parliament	25 Jan. 1940	D 56646 - D 56650	
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KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 89, pages D 56646 - D 57253

Outline of Speech LWB

D 56646

Address in Reply
Jan. 25/40

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am attaching suggested rough outline of headings for House of Commons speech, and a few suggested opening paragraphs.

If you approve of the outline, I shall be glad to submit for consideration what further material you require in respect of any of the subject matters referred to. While departmental material is not yet all available, it is beginning to arrive, and can be condensed as you require it. It looks as though it will be voluminous, and in many instances probably of little direct use to you for your opening speech.

I would therefore appreciate your views of the proposed outline to guide me in the selection, condensation and submission of further material.

I am appending a few quotations.

I am also attaching the speech by Herbert Morrison which I mentioned when I had the honour of dining with you at Laurier House. He seems to have said some things very well. I hope you will find these extracts useful.

If you desire illustrations for any particular points which you desire to make, I have brought a number of books with me, and can probably find you something suitable.

Respectfully,

D 56647

Suggested Rough Outline of Headings for Speech

(A) Introductory.

1. Reaction of the Canadian people to the war and to the government's programme, stressing unity, willingness to sacrifice, offers of service and capacity of Canadian people for war organization and unified effort. Contrast methods of preparation and difficulties that must exist in a peace-loving democracy with those of dictatorships that owe their existence to war-like spirit and preparedness for conflict.

Make reference to Quebec election and essential patriotism of our people.

Stress once again the preparations that were made prior to last meeting of Parliament, the legislation that was then passed, and the active, persistent, patient, careful, prudent and economic progress of all branches of our war effort, emphasizing the absence of waste, ostentation and panic, and the enlistment by the government of the best military, naval and business brains of the country.

Refer also to the close understanding and co-operation between Canada and her allies, and our contribution in recognized essentials to the unified effort (in accordance with allied requirements and our own particular capacities.)

2. Outline the general progress of the war, summarizing military, naval and aerial activity, and the international prospect, paying a tribute to the spirit of the allied peoples, expressing horror at the wanton attack upon Finland, etc.

(B) Canada's War Effort.

Deal in detail with Canada's effort under the following headings: Mention that as a matter of fact we are more at war than we were in the opening months of last war. People are inclined to forget air and naval activities in this war, and to look only to infantry activity.

1. Financial, stressing war loan.
2. Industrial, detailing work of War Supply Board.
3. Agricultural: production activities, bacon agent, etc.,
4. Military, giving details of despatch of Canadian division overseas, paying tribute to officers and men, and enthusiastic welcome in Great Britain.
   Refer to training of troops in Canada and further recruiting.
5. Naval - giving details of naval development, stressing coastal defence, co-operation with British naval authorities in Newfoundland and West Indian protection.
   Give details (if they can be given) of ship-building

activities; pay tribute to convoy system.

6. Air Force - Repeat details of air training scheme, and give statistics, etc., of its progress to date.

7. Give general picture of War Information Service, censorship, Defence of Canada Regulations, stressing reasonableness of regulations and desire to give Canadian people and press fullest possible information on the basis of absolute truth.^^^*.

(C) War Aims and Peace Aims.

Define War aims and picture the kind of world that Canada, as a North American nation, free from racial hates and enthusiastic for international good-will and good neighbourhood, hopes to see established as a result of present sacrifices and agonies.

Express government's desire for citizens to think about and discuss freely these questions.

Request that frequent public opportunities be afforded all thoughtful men of all parties, by means of all media (including press, radio and platform) to make their constructive contributions to the crystallization of our national idealism and peace aims..

MM 4. Cadd. ① Labour and the war.
② Price Control.

(D) **Peroration.**

Express once again the conflict of ideals in the present war, the need for sacrifice, and Canada's willingness to sacrifice, the certainty of Canada emerging from the conflict more closely knit than heretofore, and with the respect of the world for its unselfish devotion to high causes.

Note:

It is suggested that the significance of the war in terms of sacrifice has not been made sufficiently manifest to our people who have perhaps been led to regard war as an occasion for some kind of unnatural and inflationary prosperity. An emphasis on the nature of the struggle and the demands that will probably be made upon all classes of our people is probably desirable.

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88		Speeches outside Parliament, 1949	19 May 1949 to 20 June 1949	D 56628 - D 56645	
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SPW/TS
12.2.40

D 56651

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Attached are suggested sub-headings for the Prime Minister's speech of January the 25th. As soon as they are approved, Mr. Herbert can arrange to have the speech printed and distributed.

The Federation have not earlier proceeded with the printing because they want to work out a complete coverage for their various pamphlets.

A. D. P. H.

D 56652

Suggested sub-headings for Prime Minister's Speech of January the 25th.

A. Parliament should not extend its own term.

B. Lengthy period between dissolution and general election.

C. Resolution of Ontario Legislature.

D. Political campaign already under way.

E. Constitution demands an appeal to the people.

F. Dissolution earlier not possible - war effort had first to be organized.

G. Dissolution later not feasible - anticipated Spring offensive in Europe.

H. The military vote.

I. Post-war problems

J. Significance of a war-time election.

K. The people have the final voice.

SPW/TS
12.2.40

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D 56654

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B. Lengthy period between dissolution and general election.

C. Resolution of Ontario Legislature.

D. Political campaign already under way.

E. Constitution demands an appeal to the people.

F. Dissolution earlier not possible - war effort had first to be organized.

G. Dissolution later not feasible - anticipated Spring offensive in Europe.

H. The military vote.

I. Post-war problems

J. Significance of a war-time election.

K. The people have the final voice.

File

D 56655

Suggested sub-headings for Prime Minister's

Speech of January the 25th.

A. Term of Parliament fixed by constitution.

B. Long time required for general elections.

C. Beginning of political campaign - Resolution of Ontario Legislature.

D. Canada's war effort prejudiced by political attacks.

E. An immediate appeal to people in national interest.

F. Organization of Canada's war effort well under way.

G. Importance of having elections over before Spring offensive in Europe.

H. Importance of giving defence forces most favourable opportunity to vote.

I. Importance of a new Parliament to deal with post war problems.

J. Importance of preserving people's rights in time of war.

K. Importance of Government's war effort having support of the people.

Hold PR

SPW/TS
12.2.40

D 56656

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A. D. P. H.

D 56657

Suggested sub-headings for Prime Minister's

Speech of January the 25th.

A. ~~Parliament should not extend its own term.~~ Term of Parliament fixed by Constitution

B. ~~Length of~~ period between dissolution and general election. by law required for general elections

C. ~~Resolution of Ontario Legislature.~~ Request of Federal campaign — resolution of provinces Legislatures

D. ~~Political campaign already under way.~~ Canada's war effort prejudiced by political attacks

E. ~~Constitution demands an appeal to the people.~~ An unusual appeal to people in national emergency

F. ~~Dissolution earlier not possible — war effort had first to be organized.~~ Prolongation of Canadian war effort until end of

G. ~~Dissolution later not possible - anticipated Spring offensive in Europe.~~ Importance of having election over before Spring Offensive

H. ~~The military vote~~ Importance of giving defence forces overseas opportunity to vote

I. ~~Post-war problems~~ Importance of new Parliament to deal with post war problems

J. ~~Significance of a war-time election.~~ Importance of preserving British rights in Canada

K. ~~The people have the final voice.~~ Importance of government with support of the people in war effort

war effort having support of the people.

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Broadcast by
Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King
Fri. Feb.23, 1940

Hastings of Pol's Speeches
file 2-4-3

D 56658

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort - How Best Promoted

"National" versus "Union" Government

Leader of Opposition holds opposite views

Merits of union government more apparent than real.

The true meaning of national government.

Union government - what it means.

Place of political parties in government.

Mackenzie King government a true national government.

Union government leads to dictatorship.

Union government a pretext for other ends.

Leader of Opposition in a quandry.

Who are to compose union government?

How will union government ministers find seats in Parl't?

No possibility of a Conservative govrnment

Opposition an essential part of parliamentary system

Liberals will constitute Opposition if present government not returned.

Responsibility for government one thing - monopoly of government another.

No patronage in Canada's war effort

Services of non-partisan character to be utilized in advisory capacity.

Dr. Manion begins at wrong time and wrong end.

Electors being led up blind alley.

An unquestioned mandate essential to Canada's war effort.

New dangers and terrors threaten world.

A strong and experienced government -
Canada's greatest need.

Broadcast No. 5 - March 21, 1940

243

D 56660

Gen Election Camp
1940
Mr King - 21/3/40

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. Your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision is being awaited with deep concern, not by our country only, but by the allied powers, and by the enemy.

You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on this election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy, cast in a war, where democracy is fighting for its existence.

On that day,

D 56662

On that day, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends, there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the lifetime of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots consider also that momentous fact.

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty, at all times.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty, each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future.

I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament, and an immediate election.

I, of course, have been

D 56664

I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I had however but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the allies, was the right thing to do? Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament and followed later by another in the country. You will probably agree also that I was right in making it possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and to have the elections concluded before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if the campaign were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close?

In deciding upon

In deciding upon the right course, in the perplexing situations which have arisen, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had, what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind throughout the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have too often been made, and are being made, without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

D 56666

In Parliament and during the present elections - as recently even as last night - I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. May I say that I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament, over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today, is not unlike that of the captain of a ship, when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state, just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and have the strength to perform the duties of my office.

But if I have to gain

But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that, in past years, I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war.

Most of my colleagues

D 56668

Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country, and particularly the conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs and inter-imperial relations. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received, and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention, and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. I might add that, in this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning, and days, and months, after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made.

In the part

D 56669

In the part which I have taken in the campaign, in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me, and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

In previous broadcasts,

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada - never forget that the two are inseparable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that they will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace.

Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task - the making of war and the making of peace.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported - men who, throughout, have been united, by a community of views?

Or to express it

D 56672

Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of whom are still unknown, and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies?

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubt be left in the mind of anyone that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration, similarly placed, could have done.

<u>It means you feel</u>

It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government(s action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However, great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion.

<u>Unless the war is won,</u>

Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one -- will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament, cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

<u>There is one other matter</u>

D 56675

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, there has been a deliberate effort to create suspicion and distrust, and to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?

Do I need to ask

D 56676

Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance, for one moment, the betrayal of the national trust, at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates in the cabinet upon him, who would, knowingly or negligently, permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct?

Hundreds of my

D 56677

Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me, in the course of the present campaign, that they propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilage and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for, in the way of honourable recognition, beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of men and women who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service.

It is, however,

D 56678

It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow, if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislatures, rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy, so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country, if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument, the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His trans-continental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem.

At no place has he

D 56679

At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you, is, that to redeem his promises, he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government, and then, in bringing together the men of conflicting political views, persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises

D 56680

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry, too, the taxpayers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that the present government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you, in time of peril, to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able, by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of its war effort until victory is achieved.

I believe that the public

D 56681

I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, the present government has done a good job.

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible, we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could, as a peaceful democracy, to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Let me recall to you,

D 56682

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, we had the courage to multiply the defence estimates -- and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy, for defence against a war, remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution; we vastly increased our trade, and established the friendliest relations with our immediate neighbour.

Since the outbreak of war, we have organised agriculture to meet war conditions. We have saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life.

<u>We have equipped</u>

We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for scandalous profit making.

D 56684

If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do.

We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task.

I urge upon you

D 56685

I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope. They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us.

Should this great task

D 56686

Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength of our united labours.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again willing to offer life itself upon the altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government.

For the voice of Canada

D 56687

For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is, moreover, the voice of a young and free nation which is giving of its best in the cause of human freedom. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood.

May the duty which you owe to Canada, and her future, guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

D 56688

CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

Unity and Freedom

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Wednesday, February 7, 1940:

How Canadian unity might have been destroyed

How Canadian Unity was achieved

Necessary freedom of action carefully safeguarded

Organization of Canada's war effort

Resolution of Ontario Legislature beginning of a political campaign

Parliament supreme over government but not over people

Canada's war effort the first consideration

Immediate election rendered imperative

The preservation of national unity

Efforts to maintain peace in Europe

Efforts to preserve unity in Canada

The people's right to decide upon leaders and policies

How best to give effect to will of people -
(a) in Canada's War Effort
(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

People themselves to decide Canada's future and their own fate

A united war effort of a united Canada.

Mrs Nallet

* * *

Final Revise by W.L.M.K.
February 7, 1940.

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

D 56689

PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the people of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early

stages of the conflict,

stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before,

or at the time of the Munich conferences,

D 56691

or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurance given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently,

and honourably.

and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew, as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know, that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them -,will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war - the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

In asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is

D 56693

impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it id not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile." What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the widdom of this precattion.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with

<u>the least possible delay</u>.

D 56694

the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and of the people into action. You know something of what, within five months' time, has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time already there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters, and shrink into insignificance, when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive,

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration, whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario, at the beginning of the New Year, not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada had not been passed, and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of parliament

<u>over the people.</u>

over the people. Parliament was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer, that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under

<u>conditions that would not</u>

conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

people in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and the regular business of Parliament, could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns - one carried on before dissolution, another after dissolution - and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interests of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did, in order that the unity of parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come - so

did our political opponents.

did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our second division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time, better suited to the needs of Canada and her allies, could have been selected than the present. Once the

stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is

<u>this true at a time</u>

this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well night every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

I have long held the belief

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

I think I know something of the love of

liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by parliament or the people; also, my refusal to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly

D 56704

pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow dountrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at stake. No parliament, least of all a parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined that.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are, for the most part, either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of methods, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that now is almost certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new

and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourself these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask, and to insist upon knowing, who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the

two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourself the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

D56710

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Wednesday, February 21, 1940:

Canada's contribution made possible through foresight

Needs of allied powers basis of Canada's war effort

The land - the sea - the air - industrial activity

Canada's position wholly different from that of 1914

The charge of "unpreparedness"

Outstanding features of government's war record

Earliest measures of cooperation - at sea, on land and in the air

The British Commonwealth joint air training plan

Agreement concluded in minimum of time

Air Training Plan may prove decisive factor in winning war

Development of plan proceeding rapidly

An army division already overseas- another shortly to cross

Army co-operation Air Squadron also proceeding overseas.

The navy performing silent and effective service

The home front - the furnishing of supplies

Railways, Airways, National Broadcasting essential factors ~~functions~~ in war economy.

Industry transformed to serve wartime needs

D 56711 King Broadcast No. 2

Broadcast No. 2

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.

(1) Canada's contribution made possible through foresight.

(2) Needs of allied powers basis of Canada's war effort.

(3) The Land - the Sea - the Air - industrial activity.

(4) Canada's position wholly different from that of 1914.

(5) The charge of "unpreparedness".

(6) Outstanding features of government's war record.

(7) Earliest measures of co-operation - at sea, on land and in the air.

(8) The British Commonwealth joint air training plan.

(9) Agreement concluded in minimum of time.

(10) Air Training plan may prove decisive factor in winning war.

(11) Development of plan proceeding rapidly.

(12) An army division already overseas - another shortly to cross.

(13) Army Co-operation Air Squadron also proceeding overseas.

(14) The Navy performing silent and effective service.

(15) The home front - The furnishing of supplies.

(16) Railways, Air ways, National Broadcasting essential factors in war economy.

(17) Industry transformed to serve war time needs.

(18) Enormous quantities of war supplies.

(19) Agriculture being adapted to war needs - the farmers' interests being safeguarded.

(20) The consumers' interests being watched.

D 56712

Ladies Gentlemen:

I have set before you the highlights of the record of the present administration ~~the organization of Canada's effort in the prosecution of the war~~ the Leader of the Opposition has condemned that record the issue of this election. Because of our record he has asked the people of Canada to defeat the government. We are not ashamed of what we have done; we are proud of ~~the way~~ in which our achievements ~~in organization~~ has organized Canada for war. We are quite prepared to be judged by the people on our record.

Broadcast No. 2 February 21, 1940

D 56713

* Corrected pp 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my last broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening, the Honourable Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be.

loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

D 56715

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England; the Second is well

advanced in training in Canada.

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advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the allied plans have been laid.

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today,

Germany fights on only one front.

Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today, Canada stands before the world as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and, in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Leader of the Opposition

D 56718

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts, and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in

peace time because he knew,

peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the first day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the first of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation

with the British government,

with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September the 8th.

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained air men and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September the 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information, we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as

it was required.

it was required. On that day the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power,

but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September the 26th it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact, and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October the 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November the 27th a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December the 17th, I gave to you over the radio

an outline of the plan,

an outline of the plan, which on that day had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October the 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian

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Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Every day since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed.

In addition to the 16 civil air ports already available, aerodrome sites have been inspected, surveyed, and are being established from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft, being supplied by the British Air Ministry, have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes, of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings, most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

I have already referred

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer: Major General A.G.L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The second contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the third contingent, Canada now has a complete division, and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile, the training of the second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have

been placed for the largest naval

been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life-line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force; over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed, every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done

D 56727

everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan, and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are our the front line of our home defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today, they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar

we have spent on the maintenance

D 56728

we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you in passing that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and Saint John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work, like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of

a well-directed and well-prepared

D 56729

a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also, that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada, and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

You all know

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts amounting in all to over $110,000,000. have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts, the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided solely by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely

what our own forces

what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less than the first.

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself in peace time once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of

<u>the necessities which keep</u>

D 56732

the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September the 3rd, set up the War-Time Prices and Trade Board. That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

D 56733

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war - a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present

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election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine the representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

Broadcast No. 4 — 5th Revise - March 8, 1940

D 56735

Canada and the War

THE TRAINING OF BRITISH PILOTS

AND THE JOINT AIR TRAINING PLAN

Mackenzie King Replies to Dr. Manion

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the (joint) air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, a pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprize are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misstating the facts concerning the training of British pilots in Canada, and Canada's vital contribution to the Plan itself. Misrepresentations of the kind cannot assist the prosecution of Canada's war effort. It may do an infinite amount of harm to the Allied cause.

Speaking in the House of Commons

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally, I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year.

In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year by the then High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to confer with me, he said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak.

I did not gather from anything

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I did not gather from a nything said that there was so much as a suggestion of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British government, as I understood it, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. Canada had been thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possessed large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We were much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal or request was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

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I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that apart from possible controversy which might arise, for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in Canada should be under the control of the Canadian government. With that stand, I believe all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided in Canada for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place.

The facts are on record. Moreover, the records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister, through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official and appreciative acknowledgment by the British government.

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty fifty Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary facilities and expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a special appropriation of six million dollars. This was over and above the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force for which provision was being made in the general estimates.

All these facts are on records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year .....Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October - I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it -- that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say: "Let us see what would have happened if the right hon. gentleman (that is myself) had said "yes" to them at that time, as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation, if not as evidence of his study, was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a months after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing, in the British House of Commons, the proposal for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures, and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech.

The figures Dr. Manion quoted as being Sir Kingsley Wood's were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. They were part of a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech, and the reporters' guess.

<u>Does Dr. Manion really believe</u>

Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood, or the British government, had ever, at any time, any idea of establishing air training shhools in Canada, in peace time, to train 25,000 British pilots a year? This figure will, I believe, be found to represent more than ten times the number of pilots trained in the United Kingdom, in peace time, in any year prior to the war. Moreover, Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced, and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say, and continues, today, to say that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada, and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

<u>Just listen to this.</u>

D 56745

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused, and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago, that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of the alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing plants which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

Dr. Manion says

Dr. Manion says that "they" - whoever "they" may be - came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him.

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance, and, on June 21st, 1938, we were officially thanked by the British government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada.

D 56747

In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was here from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful, and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed. Only yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood told the British House of Commons that the first military aircraft manufactured in Canada for the British government had already been flown. He added that large additional orders had recently been placed in Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan would have been further advanced, and would have cost Canada less, had the Canadian government not refused to accept the proposals which Dr. Manion continues to allege were made by the British government.

I have proved toYyou

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I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. Apart from this, however, the Commonwealth Plan could not possibly have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact, however, is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined, settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled.

By our action at that time,

D 56749

By our action at that time, the development of the present plan was materially assisted and accelerated. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that, when the Plan was proposed by the British War Cabinet, the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre, for the whole Commonwealth, of this great joint training enterprize. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, it has made Canada, in the present war, a pivotal centre for the purpose of final victory.

D 56750

(Conclusion of Prime Minister's Radio Address - March 8, 1940)

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On December 17th, in a public interview given on the eve of his departure from Canada, Lord Riverdale, the head of the British Air Mission, said: "We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your Air Force officers. This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it." Speaking in his native city of Sheffield, upon his return to the United Kingdom, Lord Riverdale again referred to what had been accomplished at Ottawa. He described the work of the several Missions "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire."

At this moment of political controversy, Lord Riverdale's appreciation may not be without its value in assisting you to form a fair and impartial judgment.

D 56751

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government.

I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common

views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not

necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has

in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be

anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly per-

forming its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been

made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing— Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans.

We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles.

All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account

of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 7th February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested

on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions

that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament

had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all

be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at

stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most com-

pletely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded.

We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

A Radio Address by

Right Honourable

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Ottawa, 21st February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

The second of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 21st February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening last, Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> **"Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King Government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."**

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My

colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, manpower and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort

was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct, and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

The Land—The Sea—The Air—Industrial Activity

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In

those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Charge of Unpreparedness

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session.

He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

Outstanding Features of Government's War Record

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September 8th.

Earliest Measures of Co-operation—at Sea, on Land, and in the Air

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training, and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained airmen and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day, the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These

things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Agreement Concluded in Minimum of Time

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United

Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November 27th, a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which, on that day, had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

Air Training Plan May Prove Decisive Factor in Winning of War

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing

to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

Development of Plan Proceeding Rapidly

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the Agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Everyday since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. Some forty complete airports were available as a result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British Air Ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force, to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

An Army Division Already Overseas— Another Shortly to Cross

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First

Division of the Canadian Active ServiceForce. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer, Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

Army Cooperation Air Squadrons Also Proceeding Overseas

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The Navy Performing Silent and Effective Service

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North

Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the

nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

Railways—Airways—National Broadcasting: Essential Factors in War Economy

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our national defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you, in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the

nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and St. John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry Transformed to Serve Wartime Needs

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The

delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

Enormous Quantities of War Supplies

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting, in all, to over $110,000,000, have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was

necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less then the first.

Agriculture Adapted to War Needs— the Farmer's Interest Safeguarded

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

The Consumers' Interest Watched— Prices Controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September 3rd, set up the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was

entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1940 CAMPAIGN.

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd March, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1940 CAMPAIGN.

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 23rd March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the last of the broadcasts in the present campaign, I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking to the men and women of my native province. As most of you are aware, I was born and educated in Ontario. I have lived here for the whole of my life. With the province and its capital city, Toronto, there are personal and family associations which extend over more than a century and a quarter. They are intimately connected with the establishment and defence of political freedom. This evening, I would like to make clear wherein the main objective of the government in the prosecution of Canada's war effort has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad.

Defence of Freedom at home and abroad.

Amidst the din and turmoil of a political conflict, it is not always easy for those in the thick of the fight to appreciate the full significance of the battle in which they are engaged. We are, however, sufficiently near the end of the present elections for all to discern the main objectives of our

campaign. The government has maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we have been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation, and, I trust, to the expansion of freedom across the seas. I would like you to have that picture in your minds when you go to the polls on Tuesday next. It will help you to appreciate the part which each one of you, as a citizen of Canada, can have in the making of history.

Doing the Right Thing.

I know that many of you have been perplexed by not a few of the matters to which frequent reference has been made by our political opponents. You want to be sure in your own minds that in the important actions which our opponents have questioned or condemned, the present administration has done the right thing. Above all, you want to be sure that you are doing the right thing if you cast your ballot, in support of the present government, as I hope you may feel the interests of the country demand.

Let me proceed to remove what doubts may still exist, and make clear to you the full significance of the course which we have followed and the position we have taken.

In this old province of Ontario, throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed largely to the exclusion of all others: they are the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th, and Dr. Manion's proposal for a so-called National Government. The one relates to the past, the other to the future. Tonight I propose briefly to discuss both.

Representatives, Government and Parliament all responsible to the People.

In matters of government, the final test of all actions and policies is whether they serve the interests of the people better than some other course. Government is not conducted to serve the political interests of the opponents of an administration, or the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. The interests of the people themselves are the supreme concern of democratic government. You, the people, would do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State. Your representatives in Parliament do not constitute the power of democracy. Neither the government, nor even Parliament, is sovereign. Your representatives, your government, and your Parliament, are your servants; all alike are finally responsible to you, their masters. Once you allow yourselves to be blind to this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as possessing rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy, once you think of the government as supreme over Parliament, or of Parliament as supreme over the people, the whole structure of representative and responsible government will begin to crumble, and the basis of democratic freedom and popular liberties will eventually be destroyed.

The Dissolution of Parliament more than Justified.

The fact that after five sessions of a Parliament elected in 1935, a dissolution in 1940, under any circumstances or at any moment, could be called into question, when the law of the land requires a general election at least once in every five years, shows how completely some persons have overlooked, if indeed they have ever fully understood, the safeguards by which our liberties are secured. It should never be forgotten that only by free and regular elections is democracy itself preserved.

Burke long ago pointed out that it is not the will of the House of Commons but the will of the country that should prevail if government by the people is to survive. I might add that our democratic system of government is even less likely to be preserved if, in the House of Commons, the wishes of an Opposition or of any minority group, are to be allowed to interfere with or to delay an appeal to the country by a government whose sole and final responsibility is to the people. This is particularly applicable in the case of the

present administration which, right to the end of Parliament, continued to enjoy the unbroken support of the largest following any Ministry has had in the Canadian House of Commons.

Prime Minister's duty to protect People in rights secured by Constitution.

The British system of government places certain responsibilities upon the Prime Minister which he alone can discharge. It is a special duty for him to see that the Constitution is at all times upheld, and this in spirit as well as in letter. Not only does the letter of the Constitution require that an election be held at least every five years, but the spirit of the Constitution requires that where any great question arises, upon which the people have not had an opportunity to pronounce at the previous election, they shall be given that opportunity, even if it involves the dissolution of Parliament some considerable time in advance of the end of its normal life. To see that the electorate is afforded such opportunity is part of the special responsibility of the Prime Minister.

Election at earliest possible date imperative.

Obviously, that opportunity could not be given at the outbreak of war. It was then my duty to have Parliament summoned immediately, that it might decide upon the all-important question of Canada's participation and, in the event of any participation, make the necessary provision for the conduct of the war. Once it was decided that Canada should enter the war at the side of Britain and France, it was not less imperative that there should be no delay in the immediate organization of our war effort. As soon, however, as that organization was sufficiently effected to permit of an election being held, it was clearly my duty to see that, with as little delay as possible, the people were given the opportunity to say who, during the next five years, were to represent them in their Parliament in the making of war, and may we not also pray, in the making of peace.

Speaking out of the wealth of his long political experience, I once heard Sir Wilfrid Laurier describe the Constitution, in its bearing upon the relationship between Parliament and the people, as "the Ark of the Covenant." It is by upholding the Constitution that the rights of the people are preserved.

National interest the first consideration.

In the performance of this task, as with all else, a Prime Minister is responsible not only for what he does, but for what he fails or refuses to do. Please remember this when you ask the reasons which led me to advise dissolution at the time I did, and under the circumstances then existing. In advising dissolution, I had to consider not only what the situation was, but how it might develop as a result of the dissolution of Parliament. I had equally to consider what situation was likely to develop if dissolution were deferred.

Just consider the position we would now be in, if I had not taken the course I did. In all probability, Parliament would still be sitting, with dissolution probable at any time, and a general election certain as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before.

What would have followed had parliament not been dissolved.

Today we would probably have been just on the eve of a general election campaign, which would have taken the next eight weeks. It might not have come until June or July—June is the month Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon for an election. After eight weeks or more of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been at the end of that time? I wonder how this country would have appeared in the eyes of our allies, and also in the eyes of the enemy! Today, instead, the election which preserved your rights is happily almost over.

Obvious advantages which have followed dissolution.

The people of Canada have been enabled, in the past eight weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time when the allied war front in Europe has been comparatively quiet. What is even more important, if the present administration is returned, the government itself will, without further interruption, be in a position to give its whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort. Are we not fortunate indeed that the men in our fighting forces have already cast their ballots, and that the election will be over before the intensity of wholesale and concentrated warfare descends upon Europe. If I had not acted as I did, I would, at this moment, have been rightly receiving the strongest condemnation for failing to foresee the consequences of delay. And I would have been properly blamed for those consequences.

Highest interests of the people served.

I now ask you whether the interests of the people of Canada have not been better served by my action in accepting the challenge, immediately the efficiency of our war effort was called into question. The dissolution may have upset the well-laid plans of men more concerned with their own personal and political advantage than with Canada's war effort. But, since there had to be an election this year, I am confident that the people of Canada will rejoice when this campaign is ended, and they have returned, as I believe they will, a strong government backed by an unquestioned mandate —a government able and anxious, once again, to give its full and undivided attention to the winning of the war.

I knew that by dissolving Parliament I was subjecting my colleagues and myself to attack. I knew that, in the campaign, our opponents would make a hundred irresponsible and reckless charges while we were replying carefully and accurately to one. If there was any political advantage in the dissolution of Parliament, it was not an advantage to the Liberal party or to the present administration; it was an

advantage to our opponents. Had we kept Parliament in session we could have replied fully and completely to their unfounded and irresponsible charges. We were convinced, however, that the needs of Canada and her allies had imposed upon us for more important tasks than the waging of a political campaign in Parliament, and a continuation of that campaign a few months later in the country.

Striking vindication of democratic government.

I do not think I should let the present occasion pass without citing for you the opinion, on the dissolution, of the best known authority on the constitution of the British Empire and responsible government in the Dominions. That authority is Mr. Berriedale Keith, of Edinburgh University. I quote from a letter written by Mr. Berriedale Keith and published in "The Scotsman" of Edinburgh, on January 27th, two days after the dissolution of our Parliament. It reads: "It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces. The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth." This, I believe, ladies and gentlemen, will be the verdict of history.

Reasons for an election in time of war.

Criticism of the dissolution has, from the beginning, been voiced by those who were disappointed and frustrated by the unsuccessful attempt to prolong the life of Parliament with the object of forming a union government. You will recall how many were asking: "Why have an election at all in time of war?" Perhaps you have been among the number who have felt that an effort should have been made to continue Parliament in existence indefinitely. Parliament could only have been kept in existence beyond five years by over-riding

the Constitution, and by depriving you of the right to choose whom you wished to manage your affairs in time of war. Had members of the House of Commons joined in extending the life of Parliament, without authority from the Constitution or from you, they would have completely usurped all your rights and powers.

Abraham Lincoln faced with a similar situation.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with the problem of an election in war time in circumstances even more difficult. The Constitution of the United States for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution was not framed to cope with civil war. Lincoln maintained that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded, and that America's free institutions had already been destroyed in a war for freedom. "We cannot", he said, "have free government without elections." The elections were held. Lincoln and his government were returned, and the world was shown that, even in the midst of a civil war, democracy and freedom could be maintained.

Chapters in the history of democracy.

I venture to say that when Tuesday next is past, it will be the proud boast of the people of this country, if not indeed of the whole British Empire, that Canada has added another chapter to the history of democracy in the new world. For our country will have shown, that under British parliament institutions, it is also possible for a free people, at a time of war, to preserve their electoral freedom and the fundamental liberties which it secures.

The case for and against National Government.

Let me now say a few words about the proposal for national government as it has been discussed in the present elections. What Dr. Manion means, when he speaks of

national government, is a coalition, or union government—a government composed of members of different political parties who combine their forces to achieve a given end. There may be times when this form of government may be desirable. In some circumstances, it may even be a necessity. Such a situation may arise when a government and an opposition are so evenly balanced that party government is well-nigh impossible. This was the situation after the union of Upper and Lower Canada before Confederation. No party could secure a clear majority, and, without a coalition, government itself could not be carried on. This was the situation which led George Brown and others to join with Sir John A. Macdonald to form a coalition government.

Circumstances have also arisen in which men of opposing parties regard a specific policy as essential to the welfare of the country, and see no way of securing its adoption except by combining their forces in a union government. This was the case in 1917, when the union government of Sir Robert Borden was formed to put through conscription. Neither of these situations presents itself in Canada today, and neither seems likely to arise.

Motive underlying Dr. Manion's advocacy of National Government.

All that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a national government.

There is a right way and a wrong way to go about every thing. If Dr. Manion, and those who are supporting his idea of national government, ever had any real desire to form such a government, they would not have expended so much of their efforts on antagonizing and villifying the very men with whom they would have to co-operate in the affairs of government. Instead, they would have done their utmost to conciliate them, and to remove any feelings of personal antipathy and antagonism from those with whom they differed politically.

Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden.

Dr. Manion has referred to the coalition or union governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden. Neither Sir John A. nor Sir Robert struck their party colours and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the rags and tatters that remained. Neither of them "submerged," as Dr. Manion says he has done, the party which had made him its leader. They recognized that, with the destruction of party identity, the elements of coalition and union necessary to form a national government themselves disappeared. Sir John did not seek to destroy the character of the men with whom he was to have an intimate and close association in government. On the contrary, he sought to bury every feeling of personal and political difference, and to build up in the minds of the public a feeling of confidence in those with whom he was associated in the coalition government.

Dr. Manion and his lieutenants.

When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join him in forming a union government, he did not begin by saying of them, as Dr. Manion said of me at Halifax some days ago, that they were "neither mentally nor temperamentally qualified to head an administration".

Dr. Manion's abuse and irresponsibilities have been so extravagant that even he can scarcely hope that you will accept his statements at their face value. Sir Robert Borden would not have said, nor would he have permitted any of his supporters, in his presence and without rebuke, to say of a Minister of the Crown what was said in Dr. Manion's presence of the Minister of National Defence at his public meeting at Toronto. These were the words used: "That dyspeptic little son of Mars has been a standing joke in every military camp since he blossomed forth as our new war lord last September."

Evidence of Nazi mentality in public utterances.

These words were used of a Minister of the Crown who, in the last war, enlisted as a private. They were used of a man who was gassed in the last war. They were used of a

man whose physical and moral courage has triumphed over the physical handicap which is the heritage of his war service. They were used of a man who did not seek the portfolio of Minister of National Defence, but accepted its burdens as a patriotic duty.

The words were used by a man who is not without ambition to occupy the position now held by the honourable, and able public servant whose sterling qualities and patriotic services he so contemptuously dismisses.

I suggest that you examine with care the words spoken at Dr. Manion's meeting. Is there not in their use something singularly akin to the language and the methods of those very Nazis whose system is endangering freedom the world over. What will become of Canada if the mentality and the methods implied by that utterance ever become a part of the supreme authority in our country?

Impossibility of Dr. Manion now forming a National Government.

I ask you to consider carefully whether men of this type can hope to unite Canada in a national government pledged to a vigorous war effort. Dr. Manion and his associates by seeking throughout the campaign to question the motives, to decry the ability and the integrity, and to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents have, by these attempts to create suspicion and prejudice, removed every possibility of a national government with Dr. Manion at its head. It is too late now for Dr. Manion and his supporters to change their tactics, either toward the Conservative party, which they have submerged, or toward the Liberal party, which they have sought to defame. Fortunately, however, it is not too late for you to express your condemnation of methods which threaten to destroy our public life.

The governments of the United Kingdom and Australia.

You are being told by our opponents that Canada alone of the democratic countries has not adopted National Govern-

ment as a device for carrying on the war. The United Kingdom and Australia are held up as examples for Canada to follow. It is true that the government of the United Kingdom is called a National Government, but it is such only in name. It was not in any event formed to carry on the war. It was formed in 1931, to meet a financial emergency. It was faced from the outset with a vigorous opposition. That opposition has remained throughout and is stronger today that it was in 1931. As you well know, Mr. Atlee, the Leader of the Labour Party, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Leader of the Liberal party, have co-operated in Parliament in the prosecution of the war, but have remained leaders of the Opposition. They felt that they could best serve the public interest at this time of war by declining office and by remaining in active Opposition in loyal fulfilment of their parliamentary function.

In Australia, until a few days ago, they had a minority government. The parties in Opposition had many more members than the government party. Recently the minority parties formed a coalition. The largest single party in Parliament, the Labour Party, is still in opposition, and a very formidable opposition it is.

Impossible for Dr. Manion to form a strong united government.

I think all will agree that what Canada needs most at this time is a strong, united representative government. May I ask those of you who may still feel inclined toward Dr. Manion's idea of national government will a vote for Dr. Manion's candidate help to establish the strong government we most need? That depends first of all on Dr. Manion's chance of securing a majority in Parliament. Without a majority he will have no opportunity to form any government, national or otherwise. What are his chances? In some thirty constituencies he has no candidates. He had given up hope in them before the contest began. He no longer has the united support of the historic party whose name and traditions he threw away. Has he found recruits in other parties for

his so-called "national government" party? We now have the answer. One of his supporters has told us that among the candidates supporting Dr. Manion are two Liberals and one man who previously belonged to no party! The two Liberals mentioned are as unknown to me as I imagine they are to most of you. I doubt if they will be classed, even by Dr. Manion, as Cabinet timber.

Attempt to form another one-man party.

Dr. Manion's is the third attempt in five short years to create a one-man party in Canada. Mr. Stevens tried with the success you know. Mr. Herridge has tried without success. Dr. Manion has a little more audacity than his predecessors. He is not content to call his experiment a party, he calls it a government.

You know and I know, and I believe Dr. Manion knows, he will not secure a majority from his own candidates. But suppose the present administration should fail to elect enough supporters to give it a majority, and, that instead, Dr. Manion's supporters, plus the C.C.F., plus a few Social Credit-New Democrats and Independents have a combined majority. What kind of government will result? Will it be the kind of government Canada wants in war-time? Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort effectively?

Serious consequences were present government to fail of a majority.

And how would all this look to the outside world? How would it be viewed in Germany? The government which had taken Canada unitedly into the war would have been defeated. Four conflicting groups would be contending for power. The three groups who together had defeated the government would be without any basis of common action; one opposed to giving military aid to the allies, one for conscription, the third and largest without any fixed policy at all. The old Conservative party would be gone, and its so-called "national" successor trying in vain to form a government.

The present administration would either have to try to carry on with a daily prospect of defeat, or we would have to resign, go into opposition and leave those who had defeated us to form a government.

Danger of War Cabinet becoming a debating society.

If the present administration resigned in such circumstances, Dr. Manion would naturally be called upon to form a government. Could he form any government, let alone a strong government? Where would he find allies? The C.C.F. leaders have repudiated such an alliance in advance; the New Democracy has not committed itself. Perhaps the price of their support would be an experiment in social credit and monetary inflation. But what would such an experiment do to Canada's war effort? It might well, by destroying our credit, destroy the country altogether.

In such a combination, who would be the Ministers? Can you imagine an effective government stretching all the way from genuine Conservatism to the extremity of monetary theorists? The cabinet would cease to be a maker of policy and a director of administration. It would become a debating society. And all this at a time when the war would probably be growing in intensity, and when Canada would, as never before, need a strong government with unquestioned popular support.

Government's return evidence of a united war effort of a united Canada.

Let me now present the alternative. What will happen if the present government is returned with a clear and substantial majority? It will mean that the government which brought Canada into the war at the side of Britain and France, has been sustained. It will mean that men and women of all provinces, of all creeds and classes, have given their support to a tried and experienced administration, for the united war effort of a united Canada. It will mean that once

the heat of the campaign has passed, our citizens will be able to forget party differences, and join with the war administration in the winning of the war. The return of the present administration will, without question, be held as the greatest evidence of the unity of the nation in its war effort. Such a result would do much to sustain the morale and to uplift the spirits of those at whose side Canada fights for victory, freedom, and an enduring peace.

An appeal to the Canadian people.

Ladies and gentlemen: Since the outbreak of war, causes have not changed, issues have not changed. Today, we see them in clearer outline than they appeared before our eyes in the tragic month of September. On the day when His Majesty the King proclaimed a state of war between the United Kingdom and Germany, it was my duty and my privilege to speak to the people of Canada. At that time, I concluded with an appeal which I would like to repeat to you tonight:

"The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow-Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

The real aim:—Victory, Peace, Freedom.

At this time, all our thoughts should be concentrated upon one object. That object is a great united national effort to achieve victory, to secure peace, and to maintain freedom, not only in Canada but for Britain and France and wherever tyranny and aggression have sought to extend their sway. Victory, Peace, Freedom, these three—how may each one

best be attained, and maintained? That is the thought I would like you to have in your minds as you go to the polls on Tuesday next.

The real issue:—Canada's destiny and the fate of the world.

Remember that the real issue which lies before us all is nothing less than our future destiny and the fate of the world. May Divine Providence strengthen us in our determination, and guide you in your choice.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested

on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions

that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament

had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all

be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at

stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most com-

pletely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

"Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded.

We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort to a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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✓	①	Feb	7	Unity & Freedom ✓	*
✓	②		21	War Record	*
✓	③		23	National Govt	*
✓	④		27	Winnipeg	
✓	⑤		29	Prince Albert	
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✓	⑨		21	Ottawa — Chaos before Elections	*
✓	⑩		28	Ottawa — Defence of Freedom	*.
✓	⑪		25	Ottawa	
	⑫		26	Ottawa	

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89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
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89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
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89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

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Copy of Article sent to "Liberty" Magazine.

Ottawa, February 3, 1940.

THE ISSUE IN THE ELECTION

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

During the special September session of the Canadian Parliament, His Majesty King George Vl formally declared the existence of a state of war between Canada and Germany. The Canadian decision, on which His Majesty acted, was freely made by the people's representatives in the Parliament of Canada. It expressed a united and a practically unanimous resolution to place our nation and its resources at the side of the Allies in the struggle against Nazi aggression and persecution. That unity, which, six weeks later, was confirmed in the most emphatic manner by the electors of the Province of Quebec, was clearly shown to all the world, friends and foes alike.

The outcome of the political contest in Quebec expressed a truth which may well be graven on the hearts and in the minds of all who concern themselves with public questions in Canada today. It is that those who raise cries of faction or disunion, and appeal to prejudice, racial, religious or social, hoping by the fomenting of discord to gain personal or political advancement will in

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the end find themselves truly judged and repudiated by the strength of Canadian opinion.

The most effective immediate contribution which Canada could possibly have made to the cause of the allied forces across the Atlantic was the convincing and undoubted evidence she gave of unity of purpose and determination in the face of the enemy. A programme for carrying on the war which would have divided Canada and set one section against another would have helped neither the Allies nor ourselves. Free consent of the people must be the underlying strength and true basis of all our achievements in the field of action.

In five short months, we have laid the foundation of a war effort capable of steady expansion. Much has been accomplished. What has been done is a symbol of our growing strength.

This country was quickly placed in a position to defend itself from enemies without and within its borders. Our naval vessels and coastal air patrols at once assumed their stations, accepting the responsibility of protecting our shores and our commerce, in active co-operation with the Allies. Troops have been recruited and trained, some to serve in home defence, others to bring active aid to the Allied forces at the front. Perhaps the greatest task we have undertaken is that embraced within the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Of this gigantic undertaking

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Canada has assumed the major share, both in outlay and in direction. As the plan develops, it will give the Allies unquestioned ascendancy in the air and may well prove the dominant factor in ultimate victory.

On the economic front, our preparations have been equally thorough. They have been designed for steady progress to ultimate triumph, rather than for present spectacular display. Canadians, by their offers of voluntary service in many directions, and by their overwhelming response to the first war loan, have, on this front, also, shown their united determination.

The details of the war effort of the government are, however, not the real issue in the present election. What is at issue is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. The Canadian people are being asked to say by what government and by what policies the war effort of Canada is likely to be most effectively carried on. This will involve affirmation of the belief that the success of its war effort, not less than the permanent interest of the country, lies in the preservation of its unity in war as in peace. It is my conviction that the verdict will be emphatic. The people of Canada will, I believe, repudiate the feverish advocates of action for action's sake, regardless of how ill-conceived and ill-directed the action proposed may be. They will not support the sowers of the seeds of dissension, but rather those

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who, calmly and persistently, have achieved national unity, and whose policies will continue to keep, as the essential support of the common cause, a united Canada. The people of Canada know that division within our ranks constitutes a fundamental and fatal weakness alike to the cause of war, and to the cause of peace.

In the few weeks before the calling of this general election, it became increasingly clear that to certain public men, the maintenance of national unity had ceased to present itself as a duty. This has been shown by bitter partisan and personal attacks upon myself and upon the members of the government generally, which could have no other intention than to undermine confidence in the leadership of the nation in times of war. With these persons, reason has been abandoned as a restraint upon criticism. Abuse has been substituted for argument, and, as is generally the case, where the purpose is mainly to gain political advantage, the government, in the measures it has taken, has been blamed, at one and the same time for going too far and for not going far enough.

The government, in organizing and developing Canada's war effort, has sought to interpret fairly and honestly the will of the Canadian people. It has been accused of failing to discharge this duty effectively. Under such a charge, not to allow the people themselves to say in whom they have confidence would be to frustrate the national effort and

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to imperil national unity. We have therefore appealed to the people. To them, and to them alone, are we responsible. Of the people we ask a direct and unquestioned mandate. We desire no victory for the sake of party. Party is not an end, it is a means to an end. That end is the government of the country, under a democratic system, by those who enjoy the confidence of the people. We believe that no government can serve either the interests of the people, or the cause of the Allies, without the assured support of the country.

There is talk of a so-called "national" government. The present administration believes that the only true national government is one which is based upon the will of the people as expressed at the polls in a general election, and which, because of possessing the confidence of the country, is thereby best able to enforce its policies and to maintain national unity. We do not believe that a national government can be founded either upon an extension by Parliament of its own life, or upon a false union of conflicting opinion. That way lies the road to dictatorship. We believe that a free people do not need to resort to a dictatorship in the defence of democracy.

Today, freedom and free institutions face dangers in many places and from many sides. A truly national government, a government which has the support of the majority in

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a freely elected Parliament, which enjoys the confidence of the people, which trusts the people and is trusted by them, can be depended upon to carry out the will of the nation in the prosecution of a war to defend freedom at home as well as abroad. We are appealing to the people for the support which is essential to carry on and complete this great task.

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89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

D 56763

TRIBUTES

to

THE LATE LORD TWEEDSMUIR

Governor General of Canada

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister of Canada

I.

Broadcast Over the National Network of the
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
Sunday, February 11, 1940

II.

To the Press of Canada
Monday, February 12, 1940

OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1940

D 56764

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Out of that knowledge and understanding, there came an enthusiasm for this country, its institutions, its traditions and its people almost unique in our history. And if Lord Tweedsmuir knew the Canadian people as few, if any, Governors General had known them before, the Canadian people learned to know him and to hold him in unsurpassed affection.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		1940: General Elections, 1940: Liberty Magazine Article. Speeches outside Parliament	3 Feb. 1940	D 56757 - D 56762	
89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Mar. 1940	D 56810 - D 56821	
89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
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89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

A. D. P. H. D 56780 file

To see. This has already been dictated to Handy over the telephone. Savard called me to insist that P.M. speaks in French. Perrin says it very important.

JLW

Montreal, March 12/40

E-188
1940

D 56781

Suggested sentences to be delivered in French by the Prime Minister at the beginning of his speech at the Forum on March 12th:

Le grand plaisir que j'éprouve de me retrouver dans la province de Québec s'accompagne d'un vif sentiment de gratitude pour votre accueil cordial qui me rappelle celui que vous m'avez fait en mil neuf cent trente-cinq.

Dans cette élection où des questions d'une si grande importance sont en jeu, j'ai confiance que la province de Québec parlera avec la même voix qu'il a fait entendre dans tout le pays, et même au delà des mers, le vingt-cinq octobre dernier.

243

Outline of Speech

by

MACKENZIE KING

D 56782

Montreal, March 12, 1940.

Much said in present campaign about two things:

1. The dissolution of Parliament,

2. The desirability of forming a "national" or union government.

We are today in a better position to judge, to see exactly, the true significance of each of these matters.

For most people it is always difficult to look ahead, to see what lies beyond today or tomorrow - to be other than controlled by their immediate feelings and prejudices. That is why in the present campaign you have heard so little about what, after all, is most important - how your affairs and the affairs of this country are going to be managed in the next 5 years, and so much about a lot of things that belong to the past, and will never be thought of or heard of again after the 26th of this month.

Yet, it is with the future that the new Parliament will be concerned.

Let us now consider why a new Parliament is necessary.

First of all, why do we have a Parliament at all?

That the will of the people may be carried out, since all cannot participate, we must have representation.

Since representatives (like people themselves) have different views, therefore the views of the majority must prevail.

To ascertain views of the people and of the majority, political parties are necessary.

The majority becomes the government - the minority the Opposition.

This is the way every legislature, conducts its business in a free country, under a democratic system.

This doesn't mean that the government, representing the majority, has everything its own way - a monopoly of government.

There are two all-important controls:

1. the Opposition has rights and continues to function;

2. while Government decides policy, the real work of administration of the

country's affairs is carried on by the public service, which is composed of men of all parties - advantages of a permanent civil service.

I might add a third -

3. The two Houses of Parliament:

the Senate has an equal voice with House of Commons on most matters.

There has never been a time since I have been leader of the party when the party has had a majority in the Senate: 1921-25; 1925-26; 1926-30; 1935-40.

A government in bringing forward its measures has always to take account of how they will be received

(a) by the Opposition,

(b) by the Senate.

I might add - the press, and all agencies that affect public opinion.

Work of government in war, as well as in peace, is carried on by Parliament as a whole. It is opinion that governs, and every Member of Parliament has utmost freedom of expression of his views.

Only one body superior to Parliament -

Only one set of persons whose views are of more importance than those of representatives of the people in Parliament, and that is the people themselves.

How rights of people to expression of their views secured by the Constitution:

1. elections to be held at least once in every five years;

2. elections to be held at any time when in opinion of those carrying on the work of government, the interests of government and of the people so demand.

The situation in January of this year.

Late Parliament elected in 1935.

Had to be an election in 1940.

Usually there is one session a year, and an election once in every four or less years -

This was true throughout Sir Wilfrid's time and has been true throughout my time at least when Liberals in office. The Conservatives have frequently held on till last minute, e.g.:

D 56784

Conservative Government elected in 1891 - 1896;
Borden " " 1911 - 1917;
Bennett " " 1930 - 1935;

1. There had been 5 sessions of the late Parliament.

2. There had been (a) at session of 1939, expectations of a general election when session over;

(b) demands for a general election in summer.

3. There had been a condemnation of the war effort of the present administration - resolution by Legislature of largest province of the Dominion.

That resolution was supported by members of both political parties in the province - by some of one party, by all of the other party.

The fact that its motive was personal, political, vindictive, or whatever it may have been; that it was condemned by many of those who supported it; that it did not represent their real views, and certainly not the views of the province, did not affect its significance:

1. in the eyes of the people in other parts of the Dominion;

2. in the eyes of the allied powers;

3. in the eyes of the Germans;

or 4. in the use that it was intended should be made of it once Parliament had met again in regular session.

The fact was it stood out on the records of the Legislature and stands there today, and will continue to stand as a condemnation of the present government until on March the 26th it is answered by the people themselves in a voice so effective that no one will ever dare quote it again, except as a condemnation of those in the Legislature who joined to give it their support.

There was only one way in which to settle that question - a question which involved the policy of the government with respect to Canada's war effort, and not only the policy of the government, but the ability and capacity of its members to administer Canada's affairs at a time of war, and that was to allow the people to speak for themselves. This was essential in the interest of the country, its war effort and the cause of the allies, at the earliest moment possible.

What would have been said if any other course had been followed:

Let us picture the situation as it would have developed as it would be today.

Remember every one knew that the Session if it went on was to be followed by a general election.

Parliament would have begun debating the Address.

D 56785

Immediately a political battle would have begun in the House of Commons;

What it would have been like we now know from the speech Dr. Manion delivered on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th. He gave then in part the material he had in readiness for Monday the 29th.

Every other party leader and speaker would have followed with speeches not meant to help win the war, but to help him and his party win at the coming election.

The government would have next introduced the Estimates.

Still later the Budget. Every item in the Estimates would have been made a target for criticism on the score that the government was going too far, or not far enough, was helping this constituency or province, while neglecting some other constituency or province. A similar effort to score political capital would have been made with respect to every tax imposed. Some interest or class or part of the country, it would have been said, was being favoured while some other interest, or class or other part was being asked to carry more than its share of the burden, and so on and so on -- not a word would have been said as to what might be necessary to win the war, everything would have been said with an eye to winning the election.

Even the slightest indication of possible oversight, or error, however completely it might owe its existence to the imagination or suspicion of a political opponent, would have been made to assume proportions of a political scandal of the first magnitude, -- and all this regardless of the effect it might have upon Canada's war effort in the eyes of our allies or of the enemy.

The government would, from day to day, have been prevented from making headway with the business of government in order that amunition for a general election might be manufactured, printed at the public expense, and sent out in the form of speeches delivered in Parliament. At the same time, its opponents outside as well as inside Parliament would have kept firing at the administration.

Then what would have followed? We would have been told, and this in the most emphatic manner, that in continuing to carry on the work of government we were simply seeking to hang on to office - were postponing the day of dissolution because of the certainty of meeting defeat - that we had long since lost the confidence of the electorate - that the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was right, that if we had had any appreciation of our duty to the people we would have dissolved the moment that resolution was passed. When the time of dissolution finally came, the country would have been told that the government had meant to hang on to office to the last minute, that we would have probably done what a previous government had done in war time - amended the constitution, formed a union government and tried carrying on indefinitely if the combined opposition had not prevented anything of the kind and driven us at last to the country.

It is all very well for Dr. Manion and those who are supporting him on the platform and in the press to say the government should at least have met Parliament and given to Parliament an account of the way they had managed the affairs of the country; and that after Parliament had had a brief short session in which everyone would have co-operated and been glad to co-operate, we could have brought on the elections. But are you so sure matters would have worked out that way? I am perfectly sure they would not.

I come now to something which it will be easier for you to understand today than it was six weeks ago, and I ask you to keep it very much in mind during the next fortnight. Even more, I am going to ask the people of this country to have it in their minds from month to month throughout this very fateful year. It is

something which in your interests, in the interest of the allies, and particularly in the interests of Canada's war effort I myself have always to keep very much in mind.

Unless we were to violate the constitution of this country an election had to come this year. - Some say, no, that we might have amended the constitution. My reply to them is that no power is given us by the constitution to take any such step. But they say, it was done in 1916 at a time of war. - I say it should not have been done then. Parliament took from the people and to itself at that time a right it should not have taken.

The people were deprived of the right of saying, every five years, who their representatives for the next five years should be. When the same Parliament tried again, in 1917, to perpetuate itself on the ground that the war was still on, it was seen clearly that war itself was no justification for such a step. The proposal had to be abandoned, and an election was held while the war was on.

I made clear at the special war session of Parliament last September that I would countenance nothing of the sort. As between the supremacy of the government and the supremacy of Parliament, I stated I had always stood and would continue to stand for the supremacy of Parliament, but that whenever, the question was one between the supremacy of Parliament, and the supremacy of the People, I was wholly and entirely, 100 percent, for the supremacy of the people. On this basis alone can we continue to enjoy in this country free representative institutions and responsible government. Indeed, it is only on this basis that we are entitled to continue to be called a democracy.

If then an election had to come this year, was if not all to the good, altogether in your interests, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the interests of the Allied Forces, and in the interests of our young Canadians who were enlisting in the defence forces on land, on sea and in the air, that it should be over just as soon as possible, and, if at all possible, out of the way before the German offensive commences, as it is almost certain to commence in the early spring.

Just consider the position we would now be in if I had not taken the course I did. Parliament in all probability would have still been sitting, with the probability of a dissolution at any time, and the certainty of a general election as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say, the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England will be able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe; others will vote before leaving Canadian soil, and all under conditions which will make for a fair and honest election.

Even more important, however, is the fact that not only will the people of Canada have been enabled, as they have during the past six weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself, whatever government it may be, will have been placed in a position to give its

whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort at a time that this is certain to be most needed. If March 26th is passed before the whole European situation reaches its most alarming and appalling stage, we shall have reason to be thankful indeed. One thing is certain, we cannot expect fighting to be confined to the sea and the air much longer, nor to be on the limited scale it has been thus far. It is well for all of us that the elections are now so nearly over. Just imagine the agony of mind of every elector in Canada if, on top of two months political contention in Parliament, we had now to look forward to another two months of the same sort of thing in the country, with, in addition, as I greatly fear will prove to be a fact, war raging on an intensified scale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

The obvious desirability of having the appeal at this time, and having it over just as soon as possible, is so apparent that, but for two questions, no one of intelligence would, I think, have doubted for a moment the wisdom of and the necessity for the course taken.

The first question is why have an election at all in time of war? That, I think, I have already completely answered. This war may continue for many years. It is not going to end whenever we wish it to end. It will not end until the resources of war itself - till one or other, if not all, of the participants, and the resources on which they are dependent for victory, are exhausted. Would any one wish to have a Parliament, chosen in 1935 without any reference to war, continue on indefinitely through the forties, with no chance given the people to say whom they wished to manage their affairs in so critical a period? Meanwhile, the whole parliamentary situation, and the situation throughout the country, would have steadily deteriorated. Moreover, in a war to preserve freedom, such a course would have meant the destruction of our own free institutions.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with a similar situation, though one, if anything, even more difficult. The constitution of the United States called for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution never contemplated, and was not framed, to cope with a situation at a time of civil war, and that the elections, which were prescribed by the Constitution, could not be held under such circumstances. Lincoln held that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded; and that, in a war for freedom, America's free institutions had already been destroyed by the forces that were opposing freedom. "We cannot," he said, "have free government without elections." He held the elections. Lincoln and his government were sustained, and the world was shown that elections could be held under democratic institutions at a time of civil war and that democracy and freedom could be maintained despite the consequences of war. "The elections", said Lincoln, "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." "Until now", he added, "it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility." It will be possible to say the same of Canada, with respect to war, after the 26th of the present month.

The other question which naturally suggests itself is why, in the circumstances, did I wait till Parliament was called together before asking for a dissolution? The answer to that is very simple. I had given my word at the special war session of Parliament not to bring on a general election between the closing of one session and the opening of another, or, in other words, before Parliament was again called together. I said Parliament would likely be called together in January, but might be called together before that time. I did not say that Parliament would be continued in session, once it was called together. That would have meant tying the hands of the government regardless of what the public interest might demand.

What I said - I quote my exact words - they will be found in the records of the Parliamentary debates of September 12th, 1939:

"It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring honorable members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile."

I need not remind you what had taken place meanwhile. The Ontario Legislature's resolution was passed on January 18th. But for having promised to bring the Members together in January, if not before, I would have asked for dissolution on the day following the passing of the Ontario Resolution. I did the next best thing. I asked. for an immediate dissolution, once members had assembled, and announced the government's intention to dissolve in the Speech from the Throne.

It must be apparent, from what I have said to you, and from what you yourselves have had opportunity to witness since January 25th. that in taking the step I did at that time I was but fulfilling my constitutional duty as Prime Minister, once I saw that a general election at the earliest moment possible had become necessary in the interests of the country, of Canada's war effort, and of the Allied cause, so to advise the Governor General, regardless of what inconvenience it might occasion the Members of Parliament, most of whom were my own supporters, or however much the step itself might be misinterpreted and misrepresented in the course of the elections themselves.

It has been said I was "scuttling" Parliament. May I say that those who make this assertion were prepared, if such were the case, to scuttle the people. If I were scuttling the Ship of State, those who opposed the step were prepared to scuttle the Nation. The people, not Parliament, are the source of all political authority and power. There are times and seasons for all things. The time for a new Parliament had come; to attempt to carry on with a Parliament that had already had five sessions, with the knowledge that a general election was immediately to follow, would have been to ignore altogether the effect of such a course upon Canadian unity, upon Canada's war effort, and upon the cause of the Allies. Far from scuttling Parliament, I was in fact taking the necessary steps to bring into being at the earliest moment possible, at a time of war, a new and truly representative Parliament to replace a Parliament that had never been elected to serve the people's interests at a time of war, a Parliament that had nearly run its course and was doomed at any moment to die. At this very moment, I would have been receiving the strongest condemnation for not having foreseen the condition that was certain to arise, and would have been blamed for every consequence of it. That condemnation would have grown in intensity and volume every month that I had failed to permit an immediate appeal.

At times of political controversy, it is often difficult to see matters in their true light. The observations of impartial authorities, especially if they are known to be authorities on the British Constitution, may therefore be of value in helping us to reach a just conclusion. I think I am right in saying that there is no student of British parliamentary institutions in the British Empire whose opinions on matters of the kind is more widely sought or highly regarded than are those of Mr. Berriedale Keith, the author of many well known works on government in Great Britain and the Dominions. In a letterto "The Scotsman", in Edinburgh, published almost immediately after the dissolution of our Parliament, Mr. Berriedale Keith expressed his views in no uncertain terms. After saying that the criticism against myself, because of the dissolution, was clearly unjustified, Mr. Berriedale Keith went on to sum up the situation. He did so in the following words:

"Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; today, it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division overseas and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces."

Mr. Barriedale Keith concludes with the following words:-

"The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of a democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

That, ladies and gentlemen, will, I believe, be the verdict of history upon the most important decision I have had to make in the course of my public life. It is a decision the necessity for, and the wisdom of which I have never for a moment been in doubt. It is a decision which all who believe in free representative institutions and in responsible and democratic government may well be proud. It is a decision to which I believe the widest and most definite approval will be given by the people of Canada on the 26th of this month.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		1940: General Elections, 1940: Liberty Magazine Article. Speeches outside Parliament	3 Feb. 1940	D 56757 - D 56762	
89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Mar. 1940	D 56810 - D 56821	
89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
89		Obituaries. Speeches in Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 56829 - D 56852	
89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

D 56790

General Election Campaign - 1940

Mr. King's Meeting - Massey Hall,
Toronto, March 14th.

Mr. King's speech at Massey Hall ..... 1.

Speeches by: Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Rogers,
Sir William Mulock and
Mr. Nixon..... 2.

Editorial Comment ..... 3.

News Items ..... 4.

Photographs ..... 5.

D 56791

Mr. King's Speech

Massey Hall, Toronto

March 14th.

D 56792

Toronto Star

Text of Mr. King's Speech

D 56793

Toronto Telegram

Report of Mr. King's Speech

D 56794

Speeches by

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe ..... a.

Hon. Norman McL. Rogers ..... b.

Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock ..... c.

Hon. H. C. Nixon, Provincial Treasurer for Ontario. ..... d.

D 56795

Editorial Comment

Toronto Star ..... a.

Windsor Star ..... b.

D 56796

News Items

Toronto Star ..... a.

Toronto Globe and Mail .... b.

Toronto Telegram ..... c.

D 56797

Photographs

D 56798

General Election Campaign - 1940

Mr. King's Meeting - Massey Hall,
Toronto, March 14th.

Mr. King's speech at Massey Hall ..... 1.

Speeches by: Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Rogers,
Sir William Mulock and
Mr. Nixon..... 2.

Editorial Comment ..... 3.

News Items ..... 4.

Photographs ..... 5.

D 56799

Mr. King's Speech

Massey Hall, Toronto

March 14th.

D 56800

Toronto Star

Text of Mr. King's Speech

D 56801

Toronto Telegram

Report of Mr. King's Speech

D 56802

Speeches by

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe ..... a.

Hon. Norman McL. Rogers ..... b.

Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock ..... c.

Hon. H. C. Nixon, Provincial Treasurer for Ontario. ..... d.

D 56803

Editorial Comment

Toronto Star ..... a.

Windsor Star ..... b.

D 56804

News Items

Toronto Star ..... a.

Toronto Globe and Mail .... b.

Toronto Telegram ..... c.

D 56805

Photographs

King

March 5, 1940.

D 56806

MEMORANDUM RE MASSEY HALL MEETING

Place: Massey Hall, approximately 3000, overflow meeting Metropolitan Church, seating 400-500.

Date: Evening, March 14th. Doors open 7.30 p.m. Meeting commences 8.30 p.m.

Tickets: (a) Platform, 250 for:

(1) Candidates - invitations have been sent out to many ridings. Their wives will sit in specially reserved seats.

(2) Officers of the Central Liberal Association and Toronto Liberal Women's Association.

(2a) Past Presidents Toronto Central and Toronto Women's Liberal Associations.

(3) Presidents of Toronto Ward Associations.

(4) Special Guests, i.e. persons who were given special tables at the August dinner here.

(b) General Admission.

Sound Amplification: for street outside, Massey Hall and for the gymnasium.

Music: 48th Highlanders Band.

Additional Entertainment: 7.30 to 8.30 being arranged.

Chairman: ~~J. B. Cooper, President of Toronto Central Liberal Association.~~ Senator A C Hardy

Candidates: to be introduced by B. J. Sullivan.

Decoration for interior of Massey Hall: Plans being drafted by Robert Simpson Co. Limited.

Program: Meeting will open 7.30 with God Save the King, to 8.30 music and entertainment.
8.30 on, Mr. King, Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Rogers.

D 56807

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

General Elections, 1940

Speeches

1940

Date	Place	Occasion	Subject	
Feb. 7	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast	Parliament and the People: Unity and Freedom.	1.
Feb. 21	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast	War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.	2.
Feb. 23	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast	Canada's War Effort--How Best Promoted: "National" versus "Union" Government.	3.
Feb. 27	Winnipeg	Election Campaign Public Meeting	Events leading to outbreak of war: National Government: Dissolution of Parliament: record of Government in aviation.	4.
Feb. 29	Prince Albert	Election Campaign Public Meeting	Dissolution of Parliament: Empire Air Training Plan: Royal Visit: Department of National Defence.	5.

Date	Place	Occasion	Subject
Mar. 9	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast	The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan. 6.
Mar. 12	Montreal	Election Campaign Public Meeting	Dissolution of Parliament: National Government: necessity of preserving freedom of thought and speech and retaining unity. 7.
Mar. 14	Toronto	Election Campaign Public Meeting	National Government: Unity: Minister of National Defence: Air Training Scheme. 8.
Mar. 21	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast	The Choice that Lies before the Electors: A Final Word to the Canadian people. 9.
Mar. 23	Ottawa	Election Campaign Broadcast (Ontario)	Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad. 10.
Mar. 25	Ottawa	Election Campaign Public Meeting	Dissolution of Parliament: National Government: Tribute to Civil Service. 11.

Date	Place	Occasion	Subject	
Mar. 26	Ottawa	Return of Liberal Party	Expresses thanks to electors.	12.

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89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date Mar. 26 40.

D 56810

Subject

To Push War Effort "With All Our Might" If Govt. Is Returned

At Huge Wind-up Rally in Auditorium, Prime Minister King Appeals for A Substantial Majority Over All Other Parties.

Says Fall of Regime Would Hearten Nazis

Seating Capacity Taxed as Leader, Col. Ralston and Local Candidates Speak. Mr. King Proud of Part In Improving Capital.

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King appealed for a substantial Liberal majority over all other parties in the House of Commons, and promised that if the government were re-elected it would "go right along with the war effort with all our might and main," in delivering an election eve address last night.

Many Have to Stand.

Following tradition, the Prime Minister wound up the Liberal campaign in the Capital. He spoke to a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 persons that filled the regular seats and the center floor of the Auditorium, with many persons standing around the sides.

When Mr. King, Col. J. L. Ralston, minister of finance, the two official candidates in the Ottawa ridings and other speakers had finished, hundreds of persons crowded on the platform to wish the Prime Minister and the Liberal candidates the best of luck. Hundreds of others participated in a long ovation.

Defeat of the present administration would bring dislocation of Canada's war effort and hearten the enemy, while a resounding Liberal triumph would encourage the Allies and discourage the enemy, the Prime Minister said.

Strong Majority Urged.

"The government needs all the support it can get at the present time. The only way in which the present government can deal with the war is to have so strong a majority at its back that we will be able to carry on, no matter what may arise, according to the will and the wish of the people."

Mr. King said the electorate should see that Hon. Dr. R. J. Manion "was the first to go."

When a heckler asked, "What about yourself?" Mr. King immediately turned to the answer of the question with the most spirited oratory of his address. If Dr. Manion were to go, he said, there remained no man to carry out his policies or a single one of his promises.

"If I am beaten tomorrow, I have fifteen men in my government, any one of whom could be prime minister." He asked where a better qualified man could be found than his co-speaker, Col. Ralston. And what he said for him he could apply equally to any member of his cabinet. "Everyone of them is capable of carrying on the government."

Know What Britain Wants.

Not an hour would be lost in carrying on. The administration knew what Britain wanted done and how it was to be done. Each cabinet minister knew his own department and those who had been helping in war service. He

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... D 56811 .....

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paid tribute to the civil servants "No government could carry or for a day without them. They know our minds and what is to be done. Nothing will have to be done anew."

Dr. Manion had given all sorts of promises which only he could pretend to carry out. The Conservative party would have honored only one fraction of them, for they would ruin the country. If anyone was considering voting for Dr. Manion because he made more promises than anyone else they should reconsider.

"You should think carefully of the vote you cast tomorrow. You are making history."

Memorial Symbol.

Taking the symbol of the National Memorial, Mr. King said it was a memorial to the memory of the men in the last war and stood for victory. He mentioned His Majesty's words in dedicating it: "Without peace there can be no enduring freedom and without freedom no enduring peace." Peace and freedom were linked together.

"That is what we are fighting for; but before either can be won there must be victory. You must decide how best by your vote you can bring victory and enduring peace and enduring freedom."

At the beginning of his address, Mr. King said that he had heard and read so much about himself in this campaign he began to truly wonder "what sort of a fellow I am."

Resident Here 40 Years.

He had lived in Ottawa for 40 years and it was a pleasure to address his fellow citizens. In that time he became as well known to as many people as children knew his dog, Pat, in Sandy Hill.

Some of the reasons advanced for changing the government he found extraordinary. One was that he was not a married man and did not have a large family. "No doubt that was great loss to the country," he said amid laughter; "but how would that help win the war?"

He also happened to have a house in the country for 40 years, where he could enjoy rest and quiet. In England such a residence was specially provided for the prime minister and it was 25 miles from the seat of government instead of Kingsmere's 12 miles. "That is an extraordinary reason why you should change the government."

Ottawa Improvements.

Speaking of Kingsmere, he said that he believed the day would come when it and other suburban areas would be as much a part of the city itself as Rockcliffe was today. He took great pride and joy in the fact that "he had a small part" in improving Ottawa.

"When the proper time comes, I will not only continue that work but will also improve the environs."

Political meetings were not "vaudeville performances" and a general election campaign not a marathon race, said the Prime Minister in reply to criticism that he had failed to make a Dominion-wide election tour. He had learned in politics that no matter what he did, his opponents would say he should have done the opposite.

"If I had done the opposite, my opponents would have told me that I did not think anything of the country, but was putting party above the country. When I said the situation was so serious, what was I doing running all over the country? In this stress of affairs I felt it was my duty to stay in the Capital as long as I was Prime Minister."

In Excellent Health.

One advantage was that he was in better physical shape than Dr. Manion. That was important in his position. He had to think every hour of the day not only of the problems of the day but also of the days to follow. He had to think of the gravest problem which might face him at any single moment. A man in a position like that needed a clear mind and the soundest judgment.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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56812

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Early in March of 1939 he had called in Dr. Manion and other party leaders and gave them confidential information received from abroad indicating the seriousness of the situation. On March 7 of the same year Dr. Manion made a speech in which he said Mr. King was bringing up the "phantom" of war to frighten them without any more basis in it than the idea of evading the issue of a question put to him. He had also accused the Prime Minister of trying to draw a red herring across the trail of a critical situation.

"How could I co-operate with a man like that?" the Prime Minister asked. "Without confidence and mutual trust there can be no co-operation."

Refers to Hill Address.

Mr. King referred to an address of his "good friend" H. P. Hill, K.C., and said that he had always appreciated the importance of not binding the government to appeal to the people at any moment. Mr. Hill was right in saying that he would call Parliament but he had been careful to say that after following the usual procedure of calling the House in January it would then be determined what steps it would be necessary to follow under the circumstances that obtained at that time. What were those circumstances?

The legislature of the largest province in Canada introduced a resolution condemning the war effort of the government, sponsored by the premier and supported by the opposition. If he had ignored this challenge, it would have been said that all he cared about was hanging on to office instead of letting the people say in what government they should put their trust. Quite apart from that, there were oher strong reasons why Parliament should be dissolved.

About An Early Election.

Grattan O'Leary, another "good friend," had also condemned the Prime Minister, making speeches as to why an early election should not be held. "Mr. O'Leary was speaking in Vancouver on Jan. 24 and said there would be grave injury to this country if we did not have a general election at the earliest possible time. The earliest possible time as I could see it was Jan. 25 and I made it the earliest possible time. Now Mr. O'Leary said I was wrong. He also said that Canada needs a strong government and a strong opposition to carry on the war effort. Today he is advocating a national government which would do away with all opposition. What do you make of that?

"He also said, 'We must have a change of government but by that I don't mean turning the present government out of office.' He is going to get a fresh parliament but how strong the opposition will be I am not going to say at present. None of us know the policy of a national government such as Mr. O'Leary is advocating and none of us know its members.

"There may come a time when a Union government or a coalition may be necessary but you have heard what Macdonald and Borden did. The reason was that the parties were so evenly divided in old Canada before Confederation.

No Need For Coalition.

"Catholics and Protestants were fighting and there could be no government at all. We have had no situation of that kind in Canada at this time and I don't think we ever will have. There is no need for a coalition.

"Three years after the beginning of the last war the situation arose where it was thought advisable to have conscription. Sir Robert Borden said he believed the issue was one which could be put through only by joining the men of both parties and they went to the country on it. The whole strength of a Union government depends on the men who compose it and the whole thing depends on knowing the men and what their policies are. Is there a man or woman in this audience who knows the persons who would compose Dr. Manion's National Government?

"Dr. Manion has said that in order to form a National Government it would be necessary to submerge the Conservative party. Imagine my position had I said that to my followers."

Recalls Stevens' Break.

Mr. King then related what had happened in the last election when Hon. H. H. Stevens broke away from the Conservative party to form his own Reconstruction party. He traced the formation of the party from its beginning.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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D 56813

"When the result of the last election became known only one of the candidates that had represented that party was elected, and that was Mr. Stevens himself. I am not saying that is going to happen to Manion but that is a possibility.

"In the present situation what is going to happen to Dr. Manion's party if he is defeated? He has not one follower who can be named to carry out his promises."

Could Fill His Shoes.

In answer to a query put to him by a member of the audience, Mr. King said that if he himself met defeat at the polls there were 15 equally qualified men in his government "who could fill my shoes."

"What better man could you get than a man who has already spoken to you here tonight—Col. Ralston? If I am returned to office my government will go right on with the war effort with all its might and main. Not an hour will be lost in carrying it out. Already we have complete knowledge of the plans and aims of the British and French governments. Each man in my cabinet knows the work being carried on in his department."

Tribute to Civil Service.

At this point Mr. King paid glowing tribute to the inestimable value of the work carried on by the Civil Service, without which, he said no government could carry on.

Returning to the question of what would happen if Dr. Manion was defeated, Mr. King said "he is the only one in his party who could ever pretend to carry out his promises. The Conservative party would not honor one fraction of them."

"Dr. Manion is the first leader ever to term his party a 'government' party before it was elected. If he is elected he will indeed have an N.G.—no government—party.

Manion's Problem.

"Where is Dr. Manion going to find his ministers? He will have a problem on his hands. Do you think he can pick enough men from his candidates to form a government? When he does get in power, unless he already has his ministers in the House, he will have to hold by-elections to get them and it takes just as long for a by-election as for a general election.

"What condition is this country going to be in if we have no session of Parliament for another seven or eight weeks? Just imagine the situation of a group of men trying to take hold at this time when the country is at war.

Imagine the position in which this country would be in the eyes of Great Britain, France and the enemy.

No Easy Task.

"I ask you to put yourself in what will be my position in the next few years. I never thought I would live to be the leader of a government when the country was at war. Do you think my task will be an easy one? Can you imagine a greater responsibility resting on the shoulders of anyone? I ask you to support this government. There is only one way in which Canada can speak with a voice in this cause and that is by supporting the government that brought the country into this war and carry it out united.

"What will be the interpretation in Germany if this government is defeated? They know now that we are a united country. The best war effort can only be maintained by a united country.

"In the last Parliament I had around me sixteen colleagues, every one of whom, with the exception of one who was lost through death and two others through illness, stood by my side. In this campaign not one of them has asked for a post here or a position there for fear the government would be defeated.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 56814

Subject .....

"After the election of 1935 my government had the largest majority ever recorded but prior to dissolution of this same Parliament my majority was even larger. I believe we have given the strongest reason for support when we give you that example of unity. Such unity in government is a national government in the true sense of the word."

Introduces Leader.

Duncan MacTavish, K.C., introduced Mr. King. He said it would be superfluous to introduce Mr. King to an Ottawa audience but he did wish to emphasize his great Canadianism. He paid tribute to the Prime Minister's personal qualities and his abilities in giving leadership.

Expresses Thanks.

In expressing thanks to Mr. King, W. J. Egan said his speech contained malice towards none and was given with no bitterness whatsoever. It was another reflection of the proven sincerity, ability and honesty of purpose with which the Pime Minister went forward "with the dignity due to Canada and his high office."

"What a record of foresight, effort and consequent results one could extol in respect of your devotedness to Ottawa as the Capital city of Canada. The past bespeaks well all that you have in mind for the city's future."

The best vote of thanks, appreciation and confidence that could be placed on the record was to vote for the official Liberal candidates "so that Canada will continue to go forward with the Prime Minister of today, tomorrow and the next five years."

Jean Richard, president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, spoke briefly, thanking the speakers for their able addresses.

Candidates Speak

Speaking first in French, Mr. Pinard said he could not be expected to deal with war issues in view of the fact that Mr. King and Mr. Ralston would discuss them later.

The speaker added there never had been any interference by the King government with Civil Service increases and promotions and there never would be. He concluded by saying there was no doubt the Liberal government would be sustained in today's election, and urged the electors to vote for decency and right.

Introduces McIlraith.

"The Civil Service is a very important feature in Ottawa life and the members may be assured that our candidate will have an understanding and sympathetic grasp of their problems," Senator Wilson said in introducing Mr. McIlraith to the audience.

"He is a young man of splendid character and conscientious in the discharge of any duty."

All those who have taken an active part in the campaign know that the men and women of this country are interested today as never before in the problem of government and in winning the war, Mr. McIlraith said.

Win the War, Main Issue.

The main issue put forward in all his addresses was that of winning the war. Canada is grimly united, as never before, to the end that the righteous cause shall triumph, that Canada may achieve a victorious and enduring peace.

"The issue is whether our war aims can be achieved by a government of experienced men of one mind and working as one or whether we are going to hand over the great task to unknown group of men of varied views and little experience," he said.

He believed that the results at the polls Tuesday would be surprisingly unanimous.

Praises His Leader.

"There is no man living who could equal Mr. King's record in creating a permanent spirit of Canadian unity. There is no man who could have handled those vast issues pertaining to Canadian, Empire and world politics.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

56815

His love of humanity, his scholarship, his high principles of conduct, honor and action is the reason why "we are giving him today our implicit trust."

At the campaign outset he determined not to do or say anything which would lessen Canada's unity of purpose or interfere with the war effort; to keep personalities in the background, and to answer personal attacks, not by personal attacks, but by argument and reason.

"Our opponents have failed entirely to appreciate the destructive nature of some of their platform utterances. There has been speech after speech, and criticism after criticism, from the National party leaders which could not help but give comfort to our country's enemies and tend to shatter Canadian unity," the Liberal candidate said.

The National Government leader and his chiefs have been the main offenders in breaking what he termed "those ordinary rules of courtesy which should apply at all times." Personal attacks had been made on public men without a shred of evidence being offered to justify them.

"It would be a national misfor-

ne for Canada to have at the head of its government a man who is not prepared to practice these ordinary rules of common courtesy."

He expressed his thanks to Prime Minister King, Col. Ralston and Senator Wilson for their presence at the meeting.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date Mar. 26/40.

D 56816

Subject

To Push War Effort "With All Our Might" If Govt. Is Returned

At Huge Wind-up Rally in Auditorium, Prime Minister King Appeals for A Substantial Majority Over All Other Parties.

Says Fall of Regime Would Hearten Nazis

Seating Capacity Taxed as Leader, Col. Ralston and Local Candidates Speak. Mr. King Proud of Part In Improving Capital.

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King appealed for a substantial Liberal majority over all other parties in the House of Commons, and promised that if the government were re-elected it would "go right along with the war effort with all our might and main," in delivering an election eve address last night.

Many Have to Stand.

Following tradition, the Prime Minister wound up the Liberal campaign in the Capital. He spoke to a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 persons that filled the regular seats and the center floor of the Auditorium, with many persons standing around the sides.

When Mr. King, Col. J. L. Ralston, minister of finance, the two official candidates in the Ottawa ridings and other speakers had finished, hundreds of persons crowded on the platform to wish the Prime Minister and the Liberal candidates the best of luck. Hundreds of others participated in a long ovation.

Defeat of the present administration would bring dislocation of Canada's war effort and hearten the enemy, while a resounding Liberal triumph would encourage the Allies and discourage the enemy, the Prime Minister said.

Strong Majority Urged.

"The government needs all the support it can get at the present time. The only way in which the present government can deal with the war is to have so strong a majority at its back that we will be able to carry on, no matter what may arise, according to the will and the wish of the people."

Mr. King said the electorate should see that Hon. Dr. R. J. Manion "was the first to go."

When a heckler asked, "What about yourself?" Mr. King immediately turned to the answer of the question with the most spirited oratory of his address. If Dr. Manion were to go, he said, there remained no man to carry out his policies or a single one of his promises.

"If I am beaten tomorrow, I have fifteen men in my government, any one of whom could be prime minister." He asked where a better qualified man could be found than his co-speaker, Col. Ralston. And what he said for him he could apply equally to any member of his cabinet. "Everyone of them is capable of carrying on the government."

Know What Britain Wants.

Not an hour would be lost in carrying on. The administration knew what Britain wanted done and how it was to be done. Each cabinet minister knew his own department and those who had been helping in war service. He paid tribute to the civil servants: "No government could carry on for a day without them. They know our minds and what is to be done. Nothing will have to be done anew."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

D 56817

Date .....

Subject .....

Dr. Manion had given all sorts of promises which only he could pretend to carry out. The Conservative party would have honored only one fraction of them, for they would ruin the country. If anyone was considering voting for Dr. Manion because he made more promises than anyone else they should reconsider.

"You should think carefully of the vote you cast tomorrow. You are making history."

Memorial Symbol.

Taking the symbol of the National Memorial, Mr. King said it was a memorial to the memory of the men in the last war and stood for victory. He mentioned His Majesty's words in dedicating it: "Without peace there can be no enduring freedom and without freedom no enduring peace." Peace and freedom were linked together.

"That is what we are fighting for; but before either can be won there must be victory. You must decide how best by your vote you can bring victory and enduring peace and enduring freedom."

At the beginning of his address, Mr. King said that he had heard and read so much about himself in this campaign he began to truly wonder "what sort of a fellow I am."

Resident Here 40 Years.

He had lived in Ottawa for 40 years and it was a pleasure to address his fellow citizens. In that time he became as well known to as many people as children knew his dog, Pat, in Sandy Hill.

Some of the reasons advanced for changing the government he found extraordinary. One was that he was not a married man and did not have a large family. "No doubt that was great loss to the country," he said amid laughter; "but how would that help win the war?"

He also happened to have a house in the country for 40 years, where he could enjoy rest and quiet. In England such a residence was specially provided for the prime minister and it was 25 miles from the seat of government instead of Kingsmere's 12 miles. "That is an extraordinary reason why you should change the government."

Ottawa Improvements.

Speaking of Kingsmere, he said that he believed the day would come when it and other suburban areas would be as much a part of the city itself as Rockcliffe was today. He took great pride and joy in the fact that "he had a small part" in improving Ottawa.

"When the proper time comes, I will not only continue that work but will also improve the environs."

Political meetings were not "vaudeville performances" and a general election campaign not a marathon race, said the Prime Minister in reply to criticism that he had failed to make a Dominion-wide election tour. He had learned in politics that no matter what he did, his opponents would say he should have done the opposite.

"If I had done the opposite, my opponents would have told me that I did not think anything of the country, but was putting party above the country. When I said the situation was so serious, what was I doing running all over the country? In this stress of affairs I felt it was my duty to stay in the Capital as long as I was Prime Minister."

In Excellent Health.

One advantage was that he was in better physical shape than Dr. Manion. That was important in his position. He had to think every hour of the day not only of the problems of the day but also of the days to follow. He had to think of the gravest problem which might face him at any single moment. A man in a position like that needed a clear mind and the soundest judgment.

Early in March of 1939 he had called in Dr. Manion and other party leaders and gave them confidential information received from abroad indicating the seriousness of the situation. On March 7 of the same year Dr. Manion made a speech in which he said Mr. King was bringing up the "phantom" of war to frighten them without any more basis in it than the idea of evading the issue of a question put to him. He had also accused the Prime Minister of trying to draw a red herring across the trail of a critical situation.

"How could I co-operate with a man like that?" the Prime Minister asked. "Without confidence and mutual trust there can be no co-operation."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 56818

Refers to Hill Address.

Mr. King referred to an address of his "good friend" H. P. Hill, K.C., and said that he had always appreciated the importance of not binding the government to appeal to the people at any moment. Mr. Hill was right in saying that he would call Parliament but he had been careful to say that after following the usual procedure of calling the House in January it would then be determined what steps it would be necessary to follow under the circumstances that obtained at that time. What were those circumstances?

The legislature of the largest province in Canada introduced a resolution condemning the war effort of the government, sponsored by the premier and supported by the opposition. If he had ignored this challenge, it would have been said that all he cared about was hanging on to office instead of letting the people say in what government they should put their trust. Quite apart from that, there were oher strong reasons why Parliament should be dissolved.

About An Early Election.

Grattan O'Leary, another "good friend," had also condemned the Prime Minister, making speeches as to why an early election should not be held. "Mr. O'Leary was speaking in Vancouver on Jan. 24 and said there would be grave injury to this country if we did not have a general election at the earliest possible time. The earliest possible time as I could see it was Jan. 25 and I made it the earliest possible time. Now Mr. O'Leary said I was wrong. He also said that Canada needs a strong government and a strong opposition to carry on the war effort. Today he is advocating a national government which would do away with all opposition. What do you make of that?

"He also said, 'We must have a change of government but by that I don't mean turning the present government out of office.' He is going to get a fresh parliament but how strong the opposition will be I am not going to say at present. None of us know the policy of a national government such as Mr. O'Leary is advocating and none of us know its members.

"There may come a time when a Union government or a coalition may be necessary but you have heard what Macdonald and Borden did. The reason was that the parties were so evenly divided in old Canada before Confederation.

No Need For Coalition.

"Catholics and Protestants were fighting and there could be no government at all. We have had no situation of that kind in Canada at this time and I don't think we ever will have. There is no need for a coalition.

"Three years after the beginning of the last war the situation arose where it was thought advisable to have conscription. Sir Robert Borden said he believed the issue was one which could be put through only by joining the men of both parties and they went to the country on it. The whole strength of a Union government depends on the men who compose it and the whole thing depends on knowing the men and what their policies are. Is there a man or woman in this audience who knows the persons who would compose Dr. Manion's National Government?

"Dr. Manion has said that in order to form a National Government it would be necessary to submerge the Conservative party. Imagine my position had I said that to my followers."

Recalls Stevens' Break.

Mr. King then related what had happened in the last election when Hon. H. H. Stevens broke away from the Conservative party to form his own Reconstruction party. He traced the formation of the party from its beginning.

"When the result of the last election became known only one of the candidates that had represented that party was elected, and that was Mr. Stevens himself. I am not saying that is going to happen to Manion but that is a possibility.

"In the present situation what is going to happen to Dr. Manion's party if he is defeated? He has not one follower who can be named to carry out his promises."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

56819

Could Fill His Shoes.

In answer to a query put to him by a member of the audience, Mr. King said that if he himself met defeat at the polls there were 15 equally qualified men in his government "who could fill my shoes."

"What better man could you get than a man who has already spoken to you here tonight—Col. Ralston? If I am returned to office my government will go right on with the war effort with all its might and main. Not an hour will be lost in carrying it out. Already we have complete knowledge of the plans and aims of the British and French governments. Each man in my cabinet knows the work being carried on in his department."

Tribute to Civil Service.

At this point Mr. King paid glowing tribute to the inestimable value of the work carried on by the Civil Service, without which, he said no government could carry on.

Returning to the question of what would happen if Dr. Manion was defeated, Mr. King said "he is the only one in his party who could ever pretend to carry out his promises. The Conservative party would not honor one fraction of them."

"Dr. Manion is the first leader ever to term his party a 'government' party before it was elected. If he is elected he will indeed have an N.G.—no government—party.

Manion's Problem.

"Where is Dr. Manion going to find his ministers? He will have a problem on his hands. Do you think he can pick enough men from his candidates to form a government? When he does get in power, unless he already has his ministers in the House, he will have to hold by-elections to get them and it takes just as long for a by-election as for a general election.

"What condition is this country going to be in if we have no session of Parliament for another seven or eight weeks? Just imagine the situation of a group of men trying to take hold at this time when the country is at war. Imagine the position in which this country would be in the eyes of Great Britain, France and the enemy.

No Easy Task.

"I ask you to put yourself in what will be my position in the next few years. I never thought I would live to be the leader of a government when the country was at war. Do you think my task will be an easy one? Can you imagine a greater responsibility resting on the shoulders of anyone? I ask you to support this government. There is only one way in which Canada can speak with a voice in this cause and that is by supporting the government that brought the country into this war and carry it out united.

"What will be the interpretation in Germany if this government is defeated? They know now that we are a united country. The best war effort can only be maintained by a united country.

"In the last Parliament I had around me sixteen colleagues, every one of whom, with the exception of one who was lost through death and two others through illness, stood by my side. In this campaign not one of them has asked for a post here or a position there for fear the government would be defeated.

"After the election of 1935 my government had the largest majority ever recorded but prior to dissolution of this same Parliament my majority was even larger. I believe we have given the strongest reason for support when we give you that example of unity. Such unity in government is a national government in the true sense of the word."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

56820

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The main issue put forward in all his addresses was that of winning the war. Canada is grimly united, as never before, to the end that the righteous cause shall triumph, that Canada may achieve a victorious and enduring peace.

"The issue is whether our war aims can be achieved by a government of experienced men of one mind and working as one or whether we are going to hand over the great task to unknown group of men of varied views and little experience," he said.

He believed that the results at the polls Tuesday would be surprisingly unanimous.

Praises His Leader.

"There is no man living who could equal Mr. King's record in creating a permanent spirit of Canadian unity. There is no man who could have handled those vast issues pertaining to Canadian, Empire and world politics.

His love of humanity, his scholarship, his high principles of conduct, honor and action is the reason why "we are giving him today our implicit trust."

At the campaign outset he determined not to do or say anything which would lessen Canada's unity of purpose or interfere with the war effort; to keep personalities in the background, and to answer personal attacks, not by personal attacks, but by argument and reason.

"Our opponents have failed entirely to appreciate the destructive nature of some of their platform utterances. There has been speech after speech, and criticism after criticism, from the National party leaders which could not help but give comfort to our country's enemies and tend to shatter Canadian unity," the Liberal candidate said.

The National Government leader and his chiefs have been the main offenders in breaking what he termed "those ordinary rules of courtesy which should apply at all times." Personal attacks had been made on public men without a shred of evidence being offered to justify them.

"It would be a national misfor-

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tune for Canada to have at the head of its government a man wh is not prepared to practice thes ordinary rules of common cour tesy."

He expressed his thanks t Prime Minister King, Col. Ralsto and Senator Wilson for thei presence at the meeting.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		1940: General Elections, 1940: Liberty Magazine Article. Speeches outside Parliament	3 Feb. 1940	D 56757 - D 56762	
89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Mar. 1940	D 56810 - D 56821	
89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
89		Obituaries. Speeches in Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 56829 - D 56852	
89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

File

D 56822 OK

Radio Broadcast by the Prime Minister — March 26, 1940

Ladies & Gentlemen:

From the beginning of the campaign to this hour, I have never doubted that on the day of polling, the people of Canada would make clear that the interests of our country would be best served by continuing in office the present administration. For the evidence of your continued confidence, support, and encouragement, I give you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our humble and heartfelt thanks.

I am sure that tonight there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that, today a new Parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being ~~today~~, to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war. I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me tonight, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine, to know that the votes of all our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas, or in Canada have been safely recorded and this year's general election ~~is now~~ completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe. You will never know how

relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel, that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to other countries, that it has been possible for ~~our country~~ Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this, I am deeply grateful to you.

I believe that all who have given the present administration their support today have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time. Not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless, cruel and brutal of foes. This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone. It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men and women who have given the government their support today will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history, and the safe-guarding of liberty.

You have seen with clear eyes that the great issue before us has in reality been the only issue which matters. It has been the war effort of a free people

D 56824

fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us. I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you, yourselves, have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

By your votes, you have expressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life. I would xx particularly like to extend my congratulations to the City of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honoured itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great Minister of National Defence whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities,

<u>and to refrain</u>

and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave behind it, bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this, not only because such conduct is, I believe, foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labours and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured, will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

I can find no words which better express my feelings tonight than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of Civil War. "While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results."

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

Now that the elections

Now that the elections are over, I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this braod land forgetting the differences of the past to join their strength together in the fight for ~~freedom~~, victory, peace and ~~peace~~ freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within everyone of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

D 56827

Date Mar. 27/40

Subject

Prime Minister Voices Thanks To The People

Mr. King Urges Differences Now Be Forgotten in Common Effort for Freedom and Victory.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night broadcast a message to the people of Canada thanking them for support given his administration in the Dominion election and promising that "the government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada."

In Common Cause.

Mr. King said the result of voting expressed "disapproval of which if permitted to gain foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life."

The Prime Minister suggested that with the elections over differences of the campaign be forgotten in a common effort to attain victory, peace and freedom.

Quoting the victory speech made by Abraham Lincoln after the Civil War election in the United States, Mr. King said "it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

(Following is text of the Prime Minister's speech:

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I am sure that tonight there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that today a new Parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being, to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war. I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me tonight, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine, to know that the votes of all our soldiers, sailors and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas, or in Canada have been safely recorded and this year's general election completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe. You will never know how relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel, that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to other countries, that it has been possible for Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this, I am deeply grateful to you.

Highest Possible Service.

I believe that all who have given the present administration their support today have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time. Not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless, cruel and brutal of foes. This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone.

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen D 56827

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

D 56828

Name of Publication.....

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It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men and women who have given the government their support today will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history, and the safeguarding of liberty.

The Great Issue.

You have seen with clear eyes that the great issue before us has in reality been the only issue which matters. It has been the war effort of a free people fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us. I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you, yourselves, have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

To City of Kingston.

By your votes, you have expressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life. I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to the city of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honored itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great minister of national defence whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities, and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave behind it, bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this, not only because such conduct is, I believe, foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labors and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured, will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

Quotes Lincoln.

I can find no words which better express my feelings tonight than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of Civil War. "While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed **or pained by the results.**

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

Now that the elections are over, I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this broad land forgetting the differences of the past to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

Ladies and gentemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within everyone of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada.

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89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

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D 56829

Tribute to Deceased Members

Rev. Walter George Brown, M.A., B.D., (Saskatoon City)
d. at Ottawa, April 1, 1940

Dr. A. B. Hyndman, (Carleton), d. at Carp, Ontario,
April 9, 1940.

The House will, I am sure, join with me in paying a tribute of respect to the memory of two honourable members whom death has removed in the few short weeks between the general elections and the assembling of Parliament. Some months ago, during the 1939 session, I had occasion to mention that in no previous Parliament has the hand of death removed so many members from our midst. It is my painful duty, today, to give voice to the feeling of sorrow which arises from the passing of two gentlemen, alike distinguished and respected, in their professional callings.

Reverend W. G. Brown was born and was educated in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and had had a long and fruitful ministry in the Presbyterian Church in Canada, of which he had been Moderator in 1931-32. He was first elected to the House of Commons, as Member for Saskatoon,

at a by-election on December 18th of last year. At the general elections he was again the United Reform candidate for his home riding, and though he was prevented by the illness which eventually proved fatal, from engaging in the campaign, he was successful in carrying the seat. The news of his death, less than a week later, came as a painful shock.

Dr. Hyndman had represented Carleton County since 1935, when he was first elected in this traditionally Conservative riding. Throughout the whole of Eastern Ontario, which he had known from his childhood, he had a wide acquaintance, and both through his professional skill and his concern for the agricultural community of an important farming country, he was personally admired and respected. His death has removed from the House an outspoken advocate and a man of great personal charm. I should like to express to my honourable friends opposite, our sense of loss in Dr. Hyndman's passing.

The House will look to you, Mr. Speaker, to convey to the families of the deceased members the feelings of sympathy which are shared by all honourable members of this House.

JAG/PM
30.4.40

56831

Tribute to Deceased Members

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JAG/PM
30.4.40

D 56833

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D 56834

at a by-election on December 18th of last year. At the general elections he was again the United Reform candidate for his home riding, and though he was prevented by the illness which eventually proved fatal, from engaging in the campaign, he was successful in carrying the seat. The news of his death, less than a week later, came as a painful shock.

Dr. Hyndman had represented Carleton County since 1935, when he was first elected in this traditionally Conservative riding. Throughout the whole of Eastern Ontario, which he had known from his childhood, he had a wide acquaintance, and both through his professional skill and his concern for the agricultural community of an important farming country, he was personally admired and respected. His death has removed from the House an outspoken advocate and a man of great personal charm. I should like to express to my honourable friends opposite, our sense of loss in Dr. Hyndmen's passing.

The House will look to you, Mr. Speaker, to convey to the families of the deceased members the feelings of sympathy which are shared by all honourable members of this House.

D 56835

JAG/PM
30.4.40

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D 56836

at a by-election on December 18th of last year. At the general elections he was again the United Reform candidate for his home riding, and though he was prevented by the illness which eventually proved fatal, from engaging in the campaign, he was successful in carrying the seat. The news of his death, less than a week later, came as a painful shock.

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The House will look to you, Mr. Speaker, to convey to the families of the deceased members the feelings of sympathy which are shared by all honourable members of this House.

Perhaps you will also allow me to mention, Mr. Speaker, the passing of the late Alfred Edgar MacLean, one of the oldest members of the House, which occurred in the interval between the opening of the special session of last September, and the concluding session of the last Parliament.

Mr. MacLean had represented Prince constituency of Prince Edward Island, continuously for 18 years and was, at the moment of his passing, senior among all the members from the Maritime Provinces. It was he who succeeded me in the representation of the constituency for which I was first returned to this House, after I had become leader of the Liberal party, and for this personal reason, not less than because of his long experience in the public life of his home province, I greatly valued his judgment and political wisdom.

Within my acquaintance there were few, if any, members more assiduous in their devotion to the interests of their constituency. Nor, despite the fact that he spoke only rarely in debate, was he any less faithful in the discharge of all his Parliamentary responsibilities. Most of all I recollect his kindliness of heart and his loyalty, alike to his friends and to the cause which he supported.

D 56838

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Obits

D 56841

Re: Alfred Edgar MacLean

As honourable members are aware, in the interval between the close of the special session and the opening of the present session, the House lost one of its oldest members in the passing of the late Alfred Edgar MacLean.

Mr. MacLean was first elected to Parliament in the general election of 1921 as the member for the constituency of Prince, Prince Edward Island. He was returned at each subsequent general election, so that, at the time of his death, he had been a member of this House continuously for over eighteen years.

Before he entered the federal arena, Mr. MacLean had been for two terms a member of the government in the provincial legislature of Prince Edward Island. Still earlier, he had over eight years service in a representative capacity in one of the Island's local municipal organizations.

It is not surprising that, because of his long association with the constituency of Prince, Mr. MacLean had come to be regarded as one who held, as it

were, by proprietory right, the seat which he occupied in this Parliament. It was not, however, by length of association so much as by efficiency of service that Mr. MacLean's hold upon the constituency had become so strong. I doubt if there was in this Parliament another member who personally knew the larger percentage of his constituents or who sought more assiduously to serve their individual and collective needs than Mr. MacLean.

Mr. MacLean's interests and services were by no means confined to the constituency he represented. As I have intimated, through his membership in the government of Prince Edward Island, he was brought into immediate touch with the affairs of the province, and as a member of this House over so long a period of time with the business and problems of our country. He gave to these matters close study and attention.

At the time of his death, Mr. MacLean was senior among all the members from the Maritime provinces, and was rightly regarded as an outstanding authority on matters relating to that part of Canada. While not prominent in debate, Mr. MacLean was, as respects his proceedings generally, as faithful in the discharge of

his duties as a member as he was in watching the interests of his own constituency both here and in the Island itself.

Honourable members will perhaps permit me to make mention of a circumstance which served to bring me into close touch with Mr. MacLean, and to take a special interest in his career. When, at the Liberal convention of 1919, I became leader of my party, I was without a seat in this House of Commons. A vacancy existed in the constituency of Prince, Prince Edward Island. I was invited by the Liberals of the constituency to become their candidate at the pending by-election. Through a courtesy similar to that which has just been extended to my friend and colleague the Minister of Finance, who now represents the constituency, the Conservatives of Prince County refrained from placing a candidate in opposition, and I was, thereby, permitted to secure the seat by acclamation. When the general election of 1921 took place, my friends in the constituency were kind enough to ask me again to

be their candidate, but having the desire to contest the constituency of North York, in which I had been defeated in the election of 1917, and having been invited by the Liberals of North York Again to become their candidate, I accepted the nomination of that constituency and became its member in 1921.

To Prince constituency, therefore, I owe a very special debt of obligation and one which I shall always gratefully remember. I shall remember with equal gratitude the loyal support given by Mr. MacLean to the party and its principles and to myself as its leader through the eighteen years he was a member of this House.

Members generally will, I believe, join with me in expressing regret at a loss which will be felt in the passing of one of its veteran members whose fidelity to duty and kindliness of nature, and loyalty alike to cause and friends, will long be remembered.

be their candidate, but having the desire to contest the constituency of North York, in which I had been defeated in the election of 1917, and having been invited by the Liberals of North York Again to become their candidate, I accepted the nomination of that constituency and became its member in 1931.

To Prince constituency, therefore, I owe a very special debt of obligation and one which I shall always gratefully remember. I shall remember with equal gratitude the loyal support given by Mr. MacLean to the party and its principles and to myself as its leader through the eighteen years he was a member of this House.

Members generally will, I believe, join with me in expressing regret at a loss which will be felt in the passing of one of its veteran members whose fidelity to duty and kindliness of nature, and loyalty alike to cause and friends, will long be remembered.

REPEAT
REPETITION

for 1940
2nd Session

DRAFT

D 56845

TRIBUTES TO DECEASED MEMBERS

The late A. E. MacLean (Prince)

As Honourable Members will recollect, it has from time to time, been my painful duty to turn aside from the ordinary business of Parliament to pay brief tributes to the memory of Members who have been taken from our midst by death.

Since this present Parliament first assembled in 1935, more than a score of its Members have passed away. Since the conclusion of the Special Session last autumn, we have lost a Member who had been continuously a Member of this House for the past eighteen years. I refer, of course, to the late A. E. MacLean, representative for the constituency of Prince in Prince Edward Island, who, alike from his long service to this House and his assiduous attention to the interests of his constituents, had become one of the best known and most respected figures of this House.

Mr. MacLean was one of the group of Members - now as few as twelve - who were first returned to the House of Commons at the General Elections of 1921. Of this group, as few as eight have been continuously

D 56846

Members of this House since that time, and of those Members who have sat continuously since their first election, there are but nine whose terms have been longer than was Mr. MacLeans. His passing, therefore, removes one of the veteran Members of our Parliament and one who was, at his death, senior among all the Members from the Maritime Provinces.

Honourable Members will be aware that when I was honoured by election to the Leadership of the Liberal party in 1919, I entered this House at that time as Member for Prince. The courtesies extended to me by the electors of Prince Edward Island I have never forgotten. When I relinquished my connection with this constituency, at the time of the General Elections of 1921, to contest the riding for which I subsequently sat, I was succeeded in Prince by Mr. MacLean and he had been consequently since that time the representative of Prince Constituency.

We give perhaps less attention to day than formerly to that most stalwart tradition of Parliamentary representation which relates to the

D 56847

interests of the constituents whom a Member represents. In the whole of my association with this House, I can recollect no Member who was more zealous or more understanding on behalf of the electors who sent him to the House of Commons.

Mr. MacLean was born and educated in Prince Edward Island and he had achieved more than provincial reputation in the silver fox industry in which he had been a pioneer in Prince Edward Island. He had served on many Committees of this House and had been in the forefront of those who sought to increase the industrial and commercial prosperity of the Maritime Provinces.

Perhaps, apart altogether from the sustained and dis[redacted]cerning way in which he represented the interests of his constituents, Mr. MacLean will be best remembered as a champion and an unflinching exponent of Liberal principles. In a House of this size, and in one whose Membership of necessity changes considerably from one election to another, the passing of a Member who had carried his constituency at no less than five General Elections, is an occasion for

D 56848

more than ordinary expression of regret. The last months of Mr. MacLean's life were clouded by a painful illness which he bore with the utmost fortitude and patience. Even while the Special Session of Parliament was assembled last September, Mr. MacLean wrote me from his hospital bed on matters of business arising in the House. I mourn his passing, not only as a veteran Member, but as a most loyal and constant supporter whose judgment and advice on problems with which he had particular acquaintance I greatly valued.

The House will look to you, Mr. Speaker, to convey to Mrs. MacLean the feelings of sympathy which I am sure will be shared by all Honourable Members of the House.

D 56849

Maclean was one of group of 12 present members first returned to this house at the general election of 1921. He was one of 8 who, first elected in that year, sat continuously until this Parliament.

Of those members who have sat continuously since their first election, there are but 9 whose terms have been longer than Mr Maclean, and he was senior among all the members from the Maritimes.

A. E. Maclean d. 28/10/39

D 56850

B. C.	H. H. Stevens	1911	Kootenay W
	A. W. Neill	1921	Comox-Alberni
Manitoba	[A. L. Beaubien]	B/E 1921	Provencher
	Hon T. A. Crerar	1917	Churchill not C
	H. Leader	1921	Portage not C
	W. J. Ward	1921	Dauphin not C
J. S.	Woodsworth	1921	Wpg N Centre
	Hon. W. D. Euler	1917	Waterloo N not C
	A. C. Casselman	1921	Grenville-Dundas not C
Ontario	J. L. Church	–	T-Broadview not C
	J. H. Harris	–	T-Dunport
	Miss McPhail	–	Grey-Bruce
	M. C. Senn	–	Haldimand
	D. Spence	–	Parkdale
	Hon H. A. Stewart	B/E –	Leeds

D 56851

pt I.

✓ A. E. Macleau 1921 Prince

	White	1888	not continuous Westmount
✓	Lapointe	1904	Quebec East
✓	Carden	1911	Richelieu Verchères
✓	Hon P. F. Casgrain	1917	Charlevoix-Saguenay
✓	H. Deslauriers	—	Rtl St Mary
✓	J. T. Fafard	—	Montmagny L'Islet
✓	Hon C. G. Power	—	Quebec South
	T. Vien	—	Outremont not c
✓	E. C. St. Pere	—	Hochelaga

	Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King	1908	Prince Albert not c
	J. F. Johnston	1917	Lake Centre not c
✓	Hon. W. R. Motherwell	1921	Melville

D 56852

Laporte 1904
Cardin 1911
Stevens 1911
Euler 1917
Casgrain —
Deslauriers —
~~Tafard~~ —
Power —
St. Pere —

~~Mathewell~~ —

~~1921 Neill~~
1921 ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~ ||

1921 Continuous

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		1940: General Elections, 1940: Liberty Magazine Article. Speeches outside Parliament	3 Feb. 1940	D 56757 - D 56762	
89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Mar. 1940	D 56810 - D 56821	
89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
89		Obituaries. Speeches in Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 56829 - D 56852	
89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

Speech delivered by P.M.
on May 11, 1940

Invasion of the Low Countries

D 56853

D 56854

Broadcast by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
May 10th, 1940.

In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of the Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world. To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of twenty-five years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face far greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

With pride we re-join the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

For one hundred years the people of the Netherlands have known peace. The history of their

rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men. No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in

D 56856

Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. To-day's news, although terrible, has shown that stout-hearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the Allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the Allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the Allied powers and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict. I am sure that each one of you will keep

a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand or head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our Allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have joined the company of nations that are defending in arms the cause of human freedom.

D 56858

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May 10th, 1940.

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D 56862

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With pride we re-join the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

For one hundred years the people of the Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

D 56863

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King Speech

May 10 1940

D 56865

In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of the Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world. To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of twenty-five years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face far greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

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King Speech, 1939
May 10/1940

D 56865

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 56866

No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men. No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. Today's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more

D 56867

hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the allied powers and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict. I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand or head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have joined the company of nations that are defending in arms the cause of human freedom.

D 56868

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D 56869

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D 56870

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D 56871

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King broadcast
May 10, 1940

D 56874

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D 56875

No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men. No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. To-day's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressers a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more

D 56876

hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with ~~our allies~~ Allied Powers, and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict. I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand ~~and~~ of head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have ~~taken~~ joined the cause up arms in the cause of human freedom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date May 11/40

D 56877

Subject

"Unwavering Support" Of Canada Is Pledged To Belgium, Holland

Prime Minister King Declares "The Greatest Battle in The Greatest War for the Greatest Cause Has Begun." Condemns German Violation of Low Countries in Strongest Language. Envoys of Invaded Nations Also Deliver Messages.

Pledging Canada's "unwavering support" to The Netherlands and Belgium, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast last night over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, said "the greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun."

In the strongest language, Mr. King condemned German violation of the low countries. "No words could adequately condemn the treachery and barbarisms which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany," he said.

"No one knows where the next blow may fall but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished."

Have Made Preparations.

The Prime Minister said the Canadian government is in continuous consultation with the Allied powers "and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict."

Baron Robert Silvercruys, Belgian minister to Canada, also spoke on the broadcast and said that no nation can claim a cleaner record of honesty than Belgium and that the German pretext for the invasion, to the effect that neutrality had not been preserved "is but an insult added to a grave injury."

For us Belgians, the hour of trial has come. The loyalty which we displayed as an independent and neutral nation, we shall now demonstrate anew on a field where Belgian determination, courage and constancy will have a renewed vigor."

A message by F. E. H. Groenman, Netherlands minister to Canada, who was en route to Ottawa at the time of the broadcast, was read on his behalf. The minister said the German invasion was a sign of weakness on the part of the Nazis.

Mr. King's Message.

Following is text of Mr. King's message:—

"In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of The Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date..... D 56878

Subject.....

"To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of 25 years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

Of Common Sacrifices.

"With pride we rejoin the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

"For 100 years the people of The Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

"No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men.

No Limit to Nazi Lust.

"No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

"While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort.

"Today's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Significance of Cause.

"Six months after the last war began, the position of the Allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the Allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled.

"The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigor. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the Allied powers, and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict.

Spare No Effort.

"I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand and of head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

"Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the minister of Belgium to Canada and a representative of the minister of The Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands which today have joined the company of nations that is defending in arms the cause of human freedom."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 56879

SHAKE WORLD FOUNDATIONS.

Following is a partial text of Baron Silvercruys' message:

"The day which is now drawing to a close was marked in western Europe by an explosion that may shake the foundations of the world. The might of Germany has suddenly broken loose, in a savage endeavor to reach the very heart of the British Empire.

"For months past, the Nazi plotters in Berlin had cast their eyes on Belgium and The Netherlands, which formed an obstacle to their lust for conquest.

"It is 1914 all over again and, for Germany, necessity knows no law. Small nations have no business blocking the road, when a totalitarian state is bent on rushing forward a mechanized army. This time, no ultimatum was delivered. A greater crime was committed. The aggressor struck at daybreak and the country woke from the slumber of peace to find herself at war.

Belgium Beyond Criticism.

"No nation can claim a cleaner record of honesty, than Belgium. Her international obligations were determined by mutual agreement with her three great neighbors. Her conduct was beyond criticism and beyond reproach.

"It will be remembered that in a note addressed on April 24, 1937, to the Belgian government, the British and the French agreed to release Belgium from any obligation resulting from the Locarno agreement, which agreement had been repudiated by Germany. At the same time they pledged assistance to Belgium, should the latter be attacked by another state. On October 13, 1937, six months later, a similar pledge was made by the Nazi government.

Fulfilled Task.

"For eight months, Belgium fulfilled scrupulously, in good faith, and to the best of her ability, the task entrusted to her by the great powers. She kept her word. The German government have broken theirs. The flimsy pretext which they advance is but an insult added to a grave injury.

"For us Belgians, the hour of trial has come. The loyalty which we displayed as an independent and neutral nation, we shall now demonstrate anew on a field where Belgian's determination, courage and constancy will have a renewed vigor.

Rally to the King.

"I should like to add a special word to my compatriots in Canada. Their thoughts naturally revert to the homeland. There is deep anxiety in their hearts. Let me say to them that united, faithful and loyal Belgium will face the new ordeal in the spirit of 1914. We shall rally to the king, who, like his father will lead us through the days of darkness.

"To you, my Canadian friends, I need not recall our remembrance and sacred memories. Those of this Dominion who lie in our soil at Saint-Julien, Poelcapelle, Paschendaele, they know the steadfastness of our purpose. In the present struggle, there are still nations who can look one another in the face and say: "For all contributions to victory and to peace, for better and for worse, you can count on us."

War Without Precedence.

Following is a partial text of the message read on behalf of Mr. Groenman:

"The Netherlands' government has informed its representative in Canada that a state of war has arisen.

"The beginning of the war was without precedent for not only without ultimatum, but even without any warning, The Netherlands' frontiers were passed by German troops and Netherlands' flying fields were bombed. Invasion has been looming over us ever since September, but we thought that the more we prepared for it and the less we talked about it the better it would be.

Sign of Weakness.

"Now the dastardly monstrous thing is taking place, and the fact that we were prepared for it will make it a much more difficult thing to accomplish than it would have been in 1914, when the Germans invaded Belgium, but let Holland alone.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 56880

"Invasion of Belgium and Holland together now increases the armed forces of Germany's enemies overnight by about one million well-armed and well-trained men.

"Germany is strong, but what she does now is a sign of weakness. She is desperate. I cannot predict how successful she will be, but one thing is certain, that this will cost her dear."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		1940: General Elections, 1940: Liberty Magazine Article. Speeches outside Parliament	3 Feb. 1940	D 56757 - D 56762	
89		Tweedsmuir, Lord, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11-12 Feb. 1940	D 56763 - D 56779	
89		General Elections, 1940, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Mar. 1940	D 56780 - D 56789	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Mar. 1940	D 56790 - D 56809	
89		General Elections, 1940, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Mar. 1940	D 56810 - D 56821	
89		General Elections, 1940: Election Results. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Mar. 1940	D 56822 - D 56828	
89		Obituaries. Speeches in Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 56829 - D 56852	
89		Netherlands & Belgium Invasion by Germany. Speeches outside Parliament	10 May 1940	D 56853 - D 56880	
89		Second Session Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	17 May 1940	D 56881 - D 57139	

P. M's

D 56881

Short notes. 1940

Mover & Seconder

sent Mr. Arland.

6/sept/45

AS

D 56882

20.v.40

Pleasure large number of old members
Welcome to new members

Congratulations -
speeches of mover and seconder.

Member for Lotbinière
Member for Vancouver North.

Able and truly eloquent.

What they signify of promise,
of manner in which problems will
be dealt with.

Responsibility and opportunity of
new members.

Re: speech of member for Lotbinière.

Difficult to say whether
pleasure greatest at admiration
felt for speech of member
itself or the pride which his
distinguished father must have
felt at having his son at his
side in House of Commons,

and being assured that the work
to which he has devoted his
life so earnestly will be
carried on in association
with one who bears his name
and fame.

May 18, 1940

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

D 56883

Re: Speech on Address

As requested by the Prime Minister the following are attached:

1. Summary of Air Training Agreement
2. United Kingdom Government statement re. Air Training Plan
3. Extracts from Lord Riverdale's statements (with clippings attached)
4. Prime Minister's announcement of Government Programme at War Session (Extract from Hansard)

A note on the Australian Army, together with some tables on the Australian War Effort are attached. They may be useful if comparisons are made by the Opposition.

J. W. P.

D 56884

I have, at the moment, under consideration with my colleagues, the best arrangement it may be possible to make whereby a Minister of the Crown, in co-operation with the Minister of National Defence, may be enabled to give his undivided time and attention to air activities and, in particular, to a close supervision and, so far as may be possible, the expedition of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

The government has taken all possible steps to prevent sabotage and subversive activity, by propaganda or otherwise, against the allied cause. Our efficient Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other branches of the government concerned are fully aware of the situation, and have taken action wherever warranted. I wish, however, in this connection, to make two appeals. I appeal to all citizens of foreign extraction to remember that they are living in a land which is fighting to maintain the freedom which they now enjoy, and the possibilities of international goodwill which enabled them to settle in our midst. I appeal, also, to all members of the public to refrain from persecution and panic action against harmless and law-abiding people who share our life and in most instances our common citizenship.

(See page 20a)

In view of the critical turn of events in Europe within the last few days, and in the light of information obtained by the Minister of National Defence on his recent visit to England, the government has decided to take

JWP/TAS
16.5.40

D 56886 file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

re: Speech on the Address

Attached are the following tables:

1. Royal Canadian ~~Air Force~~ Navy (showing ships, personnel and disposition of forces, with a comparison with March, 1915);

2. Canadian Active Service Force (showing personnel and disposition, with a comparison of figures for March, 1915);

3. Royal Canadian Air Force (showing personnel, disposition and development of Air Training Plan, and aircraft figures with a separate table for production in Canada);

4. Defence Purchasing Board and War Supply Board (summary of purchases by commodity, latest figures available).

There are, in the course of preparation, the following additional tables:

✓ Summaries of equipment actually delivered to the three Services;

✓ Financial statement of the cost of the war to date, and the estimated cost for the current fiscal year, together with a comparison of similar figures for 1914-15.

There is also attached:

1. A memorandum on the Air Training Plan, prepared by Air Vice-Marshal Croil for the Acting Minister of National Defence, which contains

D 56887

valuable material on the question of possible acceleration.

2. A chronological table;

3. Some notes on the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, together with a brief summary of the recommendations.

J. W. P.

Prime Minister's marked copy
Address in reply to Speech from Throne
Mr. Hughes Lapointe

Vol. LXXVIII.—No. 2

D 56888

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION

Friday, May 17, 1940

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

FRIDAY, May 17, 1940.

The house met at three o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of National Revenue): I desire to lay on the table of the house the report of the Department of National Revenue for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1939; and a return showing all appointments, with salaries, under the 1928 amendment of the Department of National Revenue Act for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1939.

In so far as the export petroleum and pulpwood regulations are concerned, none have been promulgated since the last return was made to parliament.

(For complete list of departmental and other reports and papers tabled, see Votes and Proceedings, No. 2, of May 17, 1940.)

EUROPEAN WAR

INQUIRY AS TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, with your permission I should like to address a question to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). In view of the serious although, I hope, not critical situation which apparently has developed on the western front during the last few hours, is he prepared to make any statement to the house at this juncture?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): My hon. friend was kind enough to mention to me in advance of this afternoon's sitting that he would ask the question which he has just put to me. I might point out, as the house will observe, that there are no orders on to-day's order paper except the special order for the consideration of the address, to which precedence was given by resolution of the house yesterday; the procedure will be to take up at once the consideration of the address. However, the house will, I believe, agree that my hon. friend was quite right in availing himself of the earliest opportunity to ask the question he has just asked. I draw attention to the absence of orders of the day on to-day's order paper only lest some other members might feel that they were not being accorded an equal right if His Honour the Speaker ruled we should proceed at once to the consideration of the address.

Our most recent information indicates continued penetration by German forces along the Franco-Belgian border west of Sedan. For the most part the enemy forces engaged consist of mechanized forces assisted by aircraft. The situation is serious but is not considered critical. The French command are taking energetic steps, in cooperation with the United Kingdom, and it is expected the situation will be stabilized. The British and French air forces have proved very effective and a British air raid on the Ruhr has done great damage to the enemy. There is no doubt, however, that the situation is grave.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): With the permission of the house, may I add this. There is no doubt, as the Prime Minister has said, that the situation is very serious; let us pray that it is not critical. Having regard to that fact, may I, on behalf of the party which I have the honour to represent in this house, offer to the Prime Minister and the government our whole-hearted support in any measures or actions which he may desire the house to take at this time.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I express to the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) my own very deep appreciation, and equally that of the government as a whole, of his kindness in availing himself of the earliest opportunity to offer to the government his support and that of his party in such action as the government may deem it necessary to take at this critical time. My hon. friend's words were not unexpected; I felt that we should be able to rely upon his helpful cooperation at a time such as this.

2—1940—1½

D 56891

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

ADDRESS IN REPLY, MOVED BY MR. HUGUES LAPOINTE (LOTBINIÈRE) AND SECONDED BY MR. JAMES SINCLAIR (VANCOUVER NORTH)

The house proceeded to the consideration of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Administrator at the opening of the session.

M. HUGUES LAPOINTE (Lotbinière): Monsieur l'Orateur, j'apprécie à sa haute valeur le grand honneur que le très honorable premier ministre (M. Mackenzie King) a bien voulu me faire au début de cette importante session d'un nouveau Parlement. En mon nom et au nom de ceux qui m'ont élu pour les représenter dans cette Chambre, je désire lui exprimer ma profonde gratitude.

Il y a ici un grand nombre de nouveaux députés qui, comme moi, ont été convoqués au Parlement de la nation pour la première fois, et je suis heureux de constater que la jeunesse a eu sa juste part des résultats du dernier scrutin. Il y a certes longtemps que le Parlement canadien n'a réuni autant de jeunes députés, et je crois que le pays a raison de s'en féliciter. Je suis certain que leur présence n'aura pas pour effet de diviser la Chambre en compartiments répartis suivant les divergences d'âge, mais qu'elle assurera plutôt une plus grande compréhension des graves problèmes qui nous seront soumis. Il est essentiel, dans une période critique et difficile comme celle que nous traversons, que le Gouvernement ait la coopération des citoyens de tous les âges et de toutes les classes. Le manque d'expérience des nouveaux députés sera compensé, je n'en doute pas, par la sincérité qu'ils apporteront à l'exécution de leur tâche et par leur désir de mettre tout leur talent et toute leur énergie au service de la patrie. L'après-guerre présentera des problèmes d'une acuité troublante, et dont la jeunesse, plus que toute autre classe de la population, devra inévitablement subir le contre-coup. De leur solution dépendra l'avenir de notre génération et de celles qui viendront immédiatement après nous.

Nous avons le sentiment de coopérer à une tâche grande et utile, et les nuages qui obscurcissent l'horizon mondial accroissent le sens des responsabilités inhérentes à notre mandat.

Le très honorable premier ministre a remporté, le 26 mars dernier, la plus grande victoire personnelle jamais remportée par un chef de gouvernement au Canada. Jamais un témoignage de confiance de la part des électeurs n'a été plus éloquent. C'est l'âme collective de la patrie canadienne qui s'est exprimée lors du dernier scrutin, et la victoire du premier ministre a été la victoire du bon sens. L'œuvre de guerre du Gouvernement a été jugée, et le peuple l'a approuvée par un verdict éclatant. Pour nous, de la province de Québec, la dernière élection a eu une signification toute particulière. Elle a démontré que la province avait confiance en ses représentants; d'ailleurs, elle l'a prouvé éloquemment à deux reprises. Le vote du 26 mars n'était que la confirmation du vote du 25 octobre, alors que certains chefs politiques avaient cru habile de livrer une lutte provinciale sur le terrain fédéral; et je dois dire que nous avons éprouvé une légitime fierté, au cours de la dernière campagne fédérale, en apprenant que, dans certaines autres provinces, la lutte se livrait à l'aide du slogan: *Do like Quebec, vote unity*. Le vote du Québec a aussi prouvé que la province accepte ses devoirs, comme elle est jalouse de ses droits.

L'approbation unanime que le peuple canadien a donnée à la politique du premier ministre a fait de son gouvernement un gouvernement véritablement national. La majorité compacte qui l'appuie n'est pas composée de groupes disparates. C'est tout le pays qui y est représenté.

La victoire du Gouvernement a aussi une autre signification. Elle a démontré que les injures et les insultes, les attaques malicieuses et personnelles ne sont pas reçues avec faveur pendant une crise comme celle que nous traversons, et que le peuple ne laisse pas calomnier impunément ses meilleurs serviteurs.

Dans le comté de Lotbinière, qui m'a fait l'honneur de m'élire, comme dans plusieurs autres comtés, la lutte s'est faite sur la question de notre participation à la guerre. La réponse a été éclatante et c'est avec fierté que je la transmets à la Chambre.

Sur cette question de participation à ce grand conflit, me serait-il permis, monsieur l'Orateur, de citer les paroles d'un prédicateur éminent, dont les sermons et les conférences ont été suivis par toute l'élite montréalaise, durant ces derniers mois. Le Révérend Père Ducatillon prononçait, le 5 avril, une conférence magistrale qu'il intitulait: "Le véritable enjeu de la guerre, la civilisation". Après avoir démontré le rôle du christianisme dans la civilisation mondiale, et l'œuvre païenne que le nazisme et le communisme ont entreprise, le distingué religieux concluait:

Personne n'a le droit de se désintéresser du conflit actuel car il représente la guerre pour ou contre le droit, pour ou contre la culture, pour ou contre la civilisation.

Nous avons vu les traités violés, les nations envahies; en un mot, tout ce qui a maintenu

D 56892

la civilisation jusqu'à nos jours et tout ce qui a pu assurer la sécurité des peuples a été foulé aux pieds.

Il y a à peine quelques jours, trois pays neutres, dont la seule faute est d'avoir fait confiance à de solennels engagements, ont été victimes de leur bonne foi et ont été traîtreusement attaqués. Je m'incline particulièrement devant l'héroïque Belgique, martyre de la dernière guerre, qui défend encore son territoire contre cette nouvelle invasion des barbares.

Voudrait-on prétendre que tout cela ne nous intéresse pas? Voudrait-on prétendre que cette bête féroce déchaînée sur le monde ne constitue pas un danger pour nous? Voudrait-on prétendre que nous pouvons demeurer indifférents au sort de la liberté et des principes auxquels tous les hommes libres ont été attachés avec ténacité depuis des siècles? Pour ma part, je ne croirai jamais que mes compatriotes puissent, avec indifférence, laisser sombrer ces principes dans le flot grandissant des doctrines et des pratiques abominables des dictatures hitlérienne et communiste. Pouvons-nous rester neutres lorsque cette doctrine diabolique que "la force prime le droit" menace le monde entier?

Nous croyons à une justice et à une vérité éternelles, phares qu'un nuage passager peut voiler pour un temps, mais qui réapparaissent et brillent de leur éclat souverain, guides d'une humanité qui croit et qui espère. Et ce sont ces vérités-là que nous défendons.

D'ailleurs, quelles seraient pour nous les conséquences d'une victoire ennemie? Je n'ai jamais été et je ne serai jamais un protagoniste ardent d'un impérialisme outrancier. L'histoire universelle nous enseigne que les empires étant essentiellement des édifications humaines, ils sont marqués du sceau de l'imperfection, mais je n'hésite pas à affirmer qu'à cette période critique dans la vie de tous les peuples, alors que l'existence même des institutions démocratiques est menacée, le démembrement de l'Empire britannique, tout comme la défaite de notre alliée, la France, serait une catastrophe irréparable et ouvrirait la porte à toutes ces doctrines subversives que craignent ceux-là mêmes qui, dans certains milieux, croient de bon ton de dénoncer le système actuel. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que le démembrement de l'Empire britannique est un des buts de guerre du Reich, et Hitler s'est toujours fait fort de prédire que l'Empire croulerait le jour où une guerre européenne se déclarerait.

Or, monsieur l'Orateur, je le demande aux honorables députés de cette Chambre, je le demande à mes concitoyens, ne sommes-nous pas intéressés, dans les circonstances actuelles, aux conséquences d'un tel démembrement? Qu'adviendrait-il de nous si une telle catastrophe se produisait? Que deviendraient ceux qui, actuellement, critiquent les liens qui nous unissent à l'Angleterre? Croient-ils pour un instant que l'Allemagne victorieuse oublierait le Canada avec toutes ses ressources et ses richesses? Croient-ils que nous, Canadiens, petit peuple de quelque dix millions, occupant un territoire qui est cinq fois celui de la France, pourrions maintenir l'indépendance et l'autonomie dont nous jouissons aujourd'hui? Croient-ils surtout que nous pourrions longtemps conserver notre caractère ethnique, notre mentalité, notre liberté et notre foi?

Je sais que l'on a fait de nombreuses hypothèses sur les conséquences d'une victoire ennemie. Certaines gens ont prétendu que celle-ci apporterait une autonomie plus grande à notre pays parce que, disent-ils, nos voisins du sud ne permettraient jamais une invasion allemande au Canada.

Je ne partage pas cette opinion, assez dénuée de fierté. Sans doute il existe entre les Etats-Unis et le Canada des relations de bon voisinage qui nous sont d'un précieux concours dans le conflit actuel. Notre situation géographique, nos intérêts économiques nous lient intimement. Mais, n'aurions-nous pas à craindre que tous ces facteurs contribuent à ébranler notre situation comme entité distincte parmi les nations du monde et ne conduisent inévitablement à une absorption totale, qui, pour être supérieure à une dictature allemande, ne constituerait pas moins l'anéantissement complet de tout canadianisme? Pour ma part, je dois avouer que je préfère demeurer bon voisin.

Monsieur l'Orateur, le pays a voulu se laisser conduire par un homme qui sait où il va, qui montre un évident souci de l'intérêt national et qui inspire confiance. N'est-ce pas le devoir de tout citoyen imbu d'un véritable esprit de civisme de s'unir derrière ceux que le peuple a clairement désignés comme ses gouvernants à cette période de notre vie nationale?

Oublions donc les différends qu'une lutte électorale a pu créer entre nous. Ne laissons pas de mesquines considérations personnelles intervenir dans la solution des problèmes nationaux.

Le pays est entré dans la guerre librement, en nation libre. Il l'a fait, non pas sous la dictée d'une puissance étrangère, pas plus que par un acte d'un gouvernement étranger, mais par un acte de son Parlement, qui a librement voté la participation au conflit européen. Le

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peuple a approuvé cet acte du Gouvernement canadien dans les circonstances que vous connaissez.

N'est-il pas nécessaire, alors, que tous coopèrent à l'œuvre déjà commencée? N'est-il pas opportun, alors, que l'unité réalisée se manifeste dans tous les domaines, afin de poursuivre efficacement le travail acompli depuis septembre dernier? Notre pays est trop grand, il est trop beau pour que nous le laissions se diviser, se désunir au moment où notre unité doit être la plus forte. La nation est un corps vivant dont tous les mouvements sont solidaires, et celui qui tenterait de briser cette solidarité, au moment où elle est essentielle, commettrait un acte de trahison.

L'œuvre commencée doit être continuée efficacement et l'union sacrée qui s'est réalisée à l'occasion de la guerre doit être maintenue. Aussi, devons-nous vouer toutes nos énergies à atteindre ces deux objectifs, sans lesquels nos efforts seraient, à mon avis, complètement inutiles. Ces deux buts sont solidaires l'un de l'autre. Le premier ne peut être atteint sans l'existence du deuxième.

Pour atteindre ce premier but, je soumets qu'il est impérieux que le Gouvernement maintienne la politique qu'il a énoncée lors de la déclaration de la guerre, et qu'il a exécutée depuis avec énergie et décision. Cette politique a pris en considération les méthodes les plus efficaces d'exercer l'effort canadien et d'aider nos alliés.

Puis-je tout spécialement mentionner l'action de notre pays dans l'élaboration et le développement du grand projet concernant les forces aériennes du Commonwealth? L'expérience des derniers jours a démontré la nécessité impérieuse d'une puissante flotte aérienne, et l'activité du Canada dans ce domaine devra être d'une importance vitale dans l'issue du présent conflit.

Je désire aussi féliciter le Gouvernement de n'avoir rien négligé pour assurer et maintenir notre situation financière et économique. Notre coopération à la cause alliée ne sera utile qu'en autant que nous serons une nation forte, non seulement au point de vue moral, mais aussi au point de vue économique. La présence d'un pays en banqueroute aux côtés des nations alliées serait un passif et non pas un actif pour la cause que nous défendons.

De plus, le Gouvernement devra appliquer les mesures nécessaires pour que la vie normale soit ébranlée le moins possible par le choc de la guerre. Déjà, des lois ont été adoptées qui ont empêché l'exploitation que le consommateur canadien connut de 1914 à 1918. Dans le même but, le Gouvernement a soustrait l'administration du ministère de la Défense nationale au favoritisme politique. Par l'entremise de la Banque du Canada, le crédit du pays a été stabilisé. Sans doute, d'autres mesures devront être adoptées au fur et à mesure que certains problèmes se présenteront. La conduite efficace de la guerre exigera incontestablement des sacrifices de la part du peuple canadien, qui devra consentir à des restrictions de toutes sortes, mais les sacrifices en commun sont un gage d'union, et nous avons le droit d'espérer que la nation canadienne sortira de la guerre plus forte et plus unie.

Ce deuxième objectif, le maintien de l'unité canadienne, nous devons le réaliser et le préserver, si nous voulons assurer l'avenir de notre pays. Le Canada doit rester uni. Nous sommes en guerre librement et volontairement. L'effort du Canada est volontaire et devra rester volontaire. Les suggestions contraires, qui se font dans certains milieux isolés, conduiraient à une catastrophe.

Le Canada combat pour défendre la morale internationale, l'inviolabilité des traités, le respect des engagements sacrés. Il ne laisserait jamais violer impunément les engagements solennels que nos hommes publics ont donnés à la nation.

Il faut que rien ne se fasse, il faut que rien ne se dise qui puisse briser l'unité nationale. De grâce, monsieur l'Orateur, ne répétons pas les erreurs de la dernière guerre et agissons de sorte qu'une fois le conflit terminé, nous continuions à être une nation homogène.

N'oublions pas que nous sommes d'abord Canadiens et que nous devons penser et agir en Canadiens. A ce sujet, qu'il me soit permis de rendre hommage à la mémoire d'un homme dont la disparition a grandement affecté toute la nation canadienne: lord Tweedsmuir. Après quelques années seulement parmi nous, il avait réussi à nous comprendre et à nous aimer et son passage au Canada aura eu l'effet de donner à plusieurs des leçons de réel patriotisme. Lord Tweedsmuir disait un jour que le premier devoir de loyauté d'un Canadien était envers le Canada. Je crois que c'est là l'esprit qui doit animer tous les membres de la Chambre au cours du prochain Parlement.

Il est une autre tâche qui incombe au Gouvernement dans les circonstances présentes, c'est de préparer le terrain pour la période d'après-guerre. Là encore, nous devons tirer une leçon de la dernière guerre. Si la participation au conflit européen crée des problèmes d'un ordre particulier, le retour à la vie normale une fois la guerre finie est peut-être aussi difficile.

Je disais tout à l'heure que la présence d'un grand nombre de jeunes députés devrait aider

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à la solution des problèmes nationaux. Les problèmes d'après-guerre doivent retenir leur attention particulièrement.

C'est la jeunesse de notre pays qui sera appelée à faire les plus grands sacrifices durant les sombres années que nous devrons peut-être traverser. Les jeunes gens qui sont déjà rendus outre-mer, ceux qui s'y rendront sous peu, ont le droit de s'attendre qu'en retour des sacrifices qu'ils font, leur gouvernement agisse de telle façon que le retour au pays ne soit pas pour eux une aggravation de leur sort. Des dispositions devront être prises pour permettre le rétablissement dans la vie normale de ceux qui n'ont pas craint de compromettre leur avenir pour servir la cause de la justice et défendre la civilisation menacée.

Cette préparation pour la période d'après-guerre, elle doit s'étendre à d'autres domaines. S'il est de notre devoir comme nation libre d'aider à secourir la civilisation en danger, nous devons en même temps rechercher une formule qui assurera à l'humanité des jours plus heureux.

Les peuples ont cru passionnément, au moins pendant un temps, à l'avènement d'une paix durable et à l'efficacité d'institutions propres à procurer la solution pacifique des conflits. L'échec de la Société des Nations n'empêche pas cette espérance de renaître aujourd'hui. L'humanité disparaîtrait si elle s'abandonnait au désespoir. L'opinion publique dans les pays démocratiques se rend compte du danger mortel que représenterait pour la civilisation occidentale le triomphe des partis hitlériens ou staliniens au sein de la communauté internationale. Elle réclame une formule meilleure et plus efficace que celle de 1919.

A quoi serviraient les sacrifices consentis, les pertes subies, si le règlement qui suivra le présent conflit ne constituait, lui aussi, qu'une trêve de vingt ans entre deux guerres?

Pour ma part, j'ai confiance que la divine Providence qui a toujours veillé à nos destinées le fera encore, et qu'elle inspirera les nations qui se sont levées pour protéger la paix et la liberté des peuples contre ce que l'on a justement qualifié: "le front commun de la barbarie".

Monsieur l'Orateur, c'est notre grand désir que le Canada exerce dans la famille internationale une influence heureuse pour la paix du monde et l'établissement de meilleures relations entre les peuples. Mais cette influence ne sera importante que si nous accomplissons d'abord, chez nous, les réformes qui feront de notre nation un peuple uni et fort du point de vue social, économique et politique.

C'est pourquoi je suis heureux que le rapport de la Commission chargée d'étudier les relations et les sphères d'activités de ce Parlement et des Législatures provinciales soit maintenant soumis à la Chambre. C'est peut-être le document le plus important qui ait été préparé depuis la Confédération. Il est l'œuvre d'hommes éminents, experts en droit constitutionnel; puis-je mentionner que le président, M. le docteur Joseph Sirois, fut mon professeur à Laval. Ils ont apporté à leur travail leur science, leur patriotisme et leur expérience.

Leurs recommandations devront être considérées par les divers gouvernements intéressés, à la lumière des conditions nouvelles de notre vie nationale.

Les Pères de la Confédération n'ont certainement pu prévoir les changements qui se sont opérés depuis soixante-quinze ans, et si des modifications doivent être faites à raison de ces changements, nous ne devons pas hésiter à les faire.

Pour cela, la plus grande coopération doit exister entre le gouvernement central et les provinces. Là aussi les considérations d'intérêts purement politiques devront être exclues. Nos concitoyens, d'ailleurs, feront les distinctions nécessaires et ne refuseront pas d'accomplir les réformes requises, même si certaines gens se donnent la mission facile de défendre les droits et les principes que personne n'attaque et qui devront rester inviolables.

Je ne connais pas de plus grand danger pour une minorité en ce pays que de s'opposer aux réformes que nos conditions sociales imposent et de bloquer un progrès reconnu et nécessaire.

Je ne saurais clore ces remarques sans exprimer notre profonde satisfaction de l'accès au poste de Gouverneur général du Canada de son Excellence le comte d'Athlone. Notre nouveau vice-roi a eu une carrière distinguée et sa nomination est un grand honneur pour notre pays.

Le comte d'Athlone et son Altesse Royale la Princesse Alice recevront partout en ce pays une loyale et enthousiaste bienvenue.

Leurs relations intimes avec Leurs Majestés le roi George et la reine Elizabeth resserreront encore davantage les liens qui nous unissent à nos gracieux souverains, dont la visite au Canada, l'an dernier, restera à jamais inoubliable.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable developments of the present war has been the joining of France and England into one nation for all military and economic purposes. Many prophesies have been made regarding the outcome of this union after the war. At the present time their imports are for the use of both nations, their monetary systems have been harmonized, custom barriers have been adjusted. In short, the whole economic life of the two nations has been coordinated for the purpose of war. The

understanding between these two countries is being observed in other spheres of activity. Their literature is being fully exchanged and the teaching and learning of each other's language has increased tremendously. In short, the union between the two countries has been not only material, but also intellectual and spiritual. What the outcome of this union will be after the war, it is hard to tell. Some observers have gone so far as to prophesy the union of France and England into one nation.

At a reception given at the Sorbonne to Lord De La Warr, former president of the Board of Education in the British government, Monsieur Albert Sarraut, Minister of Education in the government of France used these words:

It is our intention to spread as much as possible the study and use of the English language in France and vice versa. To speak another language is not sufficient. We shall teach France to the English people and England to the French people. We aim to create such a mutual understanding, that it shall not be necessary any longer to interpret words which will be understood immediately in their deepest sense. When we have finished with war, we hope that our children will be ready to help us in the task of rebuilding the world, not through the efforts of two people of different ideas, but through those of one common spiritual nation and one uniform civilization.

Whatever changes are being made, it seems certain that from the war will emerge a new relationship between France and England which will surely have its effects in future history and which will serve as a symbol of bonne entente for the other nations of the world. If so, I feel that we, Canadians, should rejoice at such an outcome and feel a legitimate pride in that we have already realized such a union.

In saying so, may I be permitted modestly to point out that never before in the history of our country has this union been more complete than it is now and that it has been under the leadership of two men whose whole careers have been devoted to this task, and who have for such a long time cooperated in intimate friendship and collaboration. I refer to the Right Hon. the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and to the Right Hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe).

Monsieur l'Orateur, j'ai l'honneur de proposer, appuyé par l'honorable député de Vancouver-Nord (M. Sinclair) que l'adresse suivante soit présentée à Son Excellence l'Administrateur du Gouvernement du Canada:

Qu'il plaise à Votre Excellence:

Nous très fidèles et loyaux sujets de Sa Majesté, les Communes du Canada, assemblés en Parlement, prions respectueusement votre Excellence d'agréer nos humbles remerciements pour le gracieux discours qu'elle a adressé aux deux Chambres du Parlement.

[Mr. Hugues Lapointe.]

Mr. JAMES SINCLAIR (Vancouver North): Mr. Speaker, in rising to second the resolution which has just been moved by the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Hugues Lapointe), I must confess that I was never before so aware of my own limitations as I was after hearing his brilliant and eloquent address. The right hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Ernest Lapointe) during his long and distinguished career in Canadian public service has enjoyed many great personal triumphs, but I know that none has ever made him feel prouder or happier than he is at this moment after hearing his son so ably begin what will undoubtedly be a parliamentary career as long and successful as that of his distinguished father.

May I offer to you, Mr. Speaker, my congratulations upon your election by this honourable house to the distinguished position which you now occupy. What little confidence I may possess this afternoon is because of my consciousness that I can seek shelter and sanctuary in these somewhat strange surroundings under the sway of your kindly Doric.

May I also, if indeed that be not temerity, offer my sincere felicitations to the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) upon the honour that his party has conferred upon him. I am assured that his great gifts will be a real asset to his party, to parliament and to our country.

May I in a special way thank the right hon. the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) for the honour he has done my constituents in Vancouver North in selecting me to second the motion for an address in reply to the speech from the throne. On their behalf, too, may I congratulate him on becoming Prime Minister for the fifth time. Four years ago he was elected to office by the mandate of the Canadian people, supported by the greatest majority ever accorded to any Canadian Prime Minister. To-day, after an election fought solely on his administration since that time, we find him returned to office with a majority surpassing even that of 1935. No words of mine, nor for that matter of the most able and eloquent member of this house, could so strikingly testify to his outstanding qualities of leadership as did the collective voice of the Canadian people from Cape Breton to Nootka sound when it spoke on the 26th day of March of this year. The record of his administration and the repeated and overwhelming approval given to him by the people of Canada mark the Prime Minister as our greatest leader since confederation.

All Canada was saddened this spring by the death of the governor general, Lord Tweedsmuir. We have always been fortunate in the calibre of the men who have held this high office, and it is not an exaggeration or a reflection to say that none was as highly and as warmly regarded by the common people of Canada as was Lord Tweedsmuir. Of humble parentage, he won his education in a manner which is traditional with Scottish scholars, by bursaries at Glasgow university, by fellowships at Oxford. His administrative ability was early recognized, and he went to South Africa as one of that group of brilliant young men who were trained for public service by Lord Milner. Then came literature—fiction, history, and, above all, incomparable biography.

He served with distinction in the great war, and afterwards returned to public life as a member of the mother of parliaments. When he came to Canada we already felt that we knew him well through his books, and soon we all had a chance to see and hear and meet him. We saw him in our great cities; we saw him in the pioneer settlements on our distant frontiers; we saw him in the small communities which are the real Canada, and we marvelled at his untiring industry and his burning desire to know our country from coast to coast and our people through and through.

He had the same great love of the outdoors that so many Canadians have, and we from British Columbia are proud to think that the mountains and valleys, the lakes and streams, and the great forests of the broad ranges of Tweedsmuir park will be forever a fitting and evergreen memorial to this man whom I can rightly call a great Canadian. The man who was born John Buchan, a s n of the manse, and who died the first Baron Tweedsmuir, a great proconsul of a great empire, may best be described in the words he himself used of Lincoln:

He conducted the ordinary business of life in phrases of homespun simplicity, but when necessary he could attain a nobility of speech and a profundity of thought which have rarely been equalled. He was a plain man, loving his fellows and happy among them, but when the crisis came he could stand alone. He could talk with crowds and keep his virtue; he could preserve the common touch and yet walk with God.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that you will understand me when I say that we who hail from the far west felt a very natural pride yesterday when parliament was opened by the Administrator, Chief Justice Sir Lyman Duff. This great jurist, who by his profound learning has brought added dignity and prestige to his high office, first achieved recognition in the fair city of Victoria.

The people of Canada look forward with the greatest pleasure to welcoming the new governor general, the Earl of Athlone, and his gracious lady, when they come to our shores in the near future. It is a curious coincidence that the noble earl should come to us at this time; for twenty-six years ago, just before our entry into the last war, he was designated our governor general. At that time he asked to be excused so that he could go on service in France, and throughout that war he served with great ability and distinction. Subsequently he became the governor general of South Africa and he so completely captured the hearts of the people of our sister dominion that they asked him to remain for a second term. We are indeed fortunate to have this great soldier and statesman as governor general during the dark days ahead.

I understand that it is the privilege of the member performing this pleasant task to say a few words about his own constituency. Vancouver North, the riding which I have the honour to represent, is not as its name suggests, a part of the great city of Vancouver. It lies to the east, to the north and to the northwest of that city, extending from the banks of the Fraser river across Burrard Inlet, and then up the coast for some two hundred miles. I feel quite safe in saying that it is the most diversified industrial riding in British Columbia, containing as it does logging camps, sawmills, pulp and paper mills, the greatest copper mine in the British empire, shipyards, oil refineries, railway shops, extensive salmon and cod fisheries, quarries, grain elevators and a number of manufacturing plants.

The chief problem of this riding has always been to find world markets for the many products of its industries. In no part of this country have the trade expansion policies of the preceding administration been of such immediate and practical benefit, and the people of my riding are keenly appreciative of the great efforts of the government in this connection. In recent months the war has considerably increased the demand for the products of my riding, but unfortunately it is becoming exceedingly difficult to secure adequate cargo space to transport these goods to overseas markets. In the timber industry especially this condition has become serious, and it is my hope that the government will soon consider measures looking to its alleviation.

My riding also includes three of the loveliest suburbs of Vancouver, but I regret to say that two of these municipalities are in the hands of receivers. It is the feeling of the residents of North Vancouver that their financial difficulties are mainly due to the action taken in removing most of the taxable waterfront in North Vancouver from the municipal assessment rolls, and to the operation by a national agency of the Second Narrows

bridge which was built and financed by the people of this district. At a later date I hope to draw the attention of the government to these matters in greater detail.

My riding has one other important asset, one which I believe is often claimed for other ridings. I believe that nowhere in Canada is there such a magnificent and varied display of scenic grandeur as is to be found on the coast of British Columbia. Our snow-capped mountains, our beautiful lakes and streams; our matchless coastline indented with innumerable great bays and deep fiords and dotted with countless islands; our unexcelled hunting, fishing, mountaineering and ski-ing, and above all, our salubrious climate, which is the envy of all Canada, serve to make the coast of British Columbia the mecca of tourists and sportsmen from all corners of the globe.

Transcending and overshadowing every other issue before this house, Mr. Speaker, is the war in which the British and French nations are engulfed. This war is not of our seeking, but is a conflict which was forced upon us when it became apparent that the brutalities, the treacheries and the aggressions of nazi Germany directed against its small and defenceless neighbours were destroying the peace of the entire world and could not be curbed by mere appeals for decency and tolerance and justice or by the ordinary processes of international law. To preserve the rights for which our forefathers fought and died since Magna Charta, the people of Canada, speaking through their freely chosen representatives assembled in parliament, decided that the time had come to meet force with force. Some two months ago the people of Canada approved the united war effort of the preceding administration. The people of Canada now expect this government to press forward with all the resources at their command to help our allies bring this dreadful conflict to a speedy and successful conclusion.

There were some who believed that complete neutrality should be Canada's attitude; they cited the long and successful neutrality of the Scandinavian and low countries as proof of the wisdom of that course. The terrible events of the last month must have proved a rude awakening to these people.

The preceding administration was elected in peace time, to govern this country in peace time, long before the war clouds began to gather in Europe. We should remember that despite vigorous opposition this government began to build up our national defences and to prepare the skeleton organization for the control of the economic resources of this country should war develop. We on the Pacific coast have had a better opportunity than most people in other parts of Canada to see and appreciate the great work of the Department of National Defence in providing us with an adequate system of coastal defences. The people of Vancouver Centre recently showed their approval in no uncertain terms of the man chiefly responsible for that program of coast defence.

The present government takes over its duties refreshed and invigorated by the overwhelming mandate of the people of Canada, and is directly charged with the great task of immediately supplying the maximum military, financial and economic aid to our allies in this death struggle. I am sure that in this house to-day partisanship will be cast aside and members of all parties will devote all their energies to assisting the government in this great task.

Mention is made in the speech from the throne of increased taxation to assist in financing the war. I think everyone in Canada realized that increased taxation must come. I am sure no one objects, because everyone understands only too clearly that if we lose this war, we lose everything. No financial sacrifice can equal that of those who are leaving homes and loved ones behind and offering their lives for their country.

Second only in importance to our great war effort is the planning for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of this country after the war is won. It has been said that no peace-loving democracy is ever adequately prepared for war. It is surely equally true that a democracy at war should plan and prepare for peace.

There has been another bitter struggle in this country during the last ten years, a struggle which has been carried on, grimly and silently, in far too many Canadian homes. I refer to the never-ending struggle against unemployment, poverty and disease, against old age haunted by the fear of want; the struggle of the youth of the country who have been frustrated in a desperate search for gainful employment. These are the enemies which destroyed the struggling post-war democracies of central Europe; these are the foes we must conquer in the post-war years if Canada is to survive as a free country.

The measures adopted by the preceding administration to combat these conditions were proving increasingly successful in peace time. I need mention only briefly the expanding markets provided by their trade policies; the beginning of a national forestry plan through dominion-provincial forestry camps; assistance in the development of tourist and mining roads and trails; vocational training in the cities and farm training in rural areas for our young people; municipal assistance, the National Housing Act, home improvement loans, and numerous great public works projects.

This programme must of necessity be greatly extended and expanded to meet the needs of the post-war years.

We must plan to reconstruct not only our industrial and economic organizations but also the social structure of this nation. It has been increasingly apparent in recent years that grave difficulties in government are occasioned by the present division of responsibility among the federal, provincial and municipal authorities. The British North America Act was drawn up in 1867 to meet the needs of the Canada of that time, a Canada vastly different from the Canada of to-day; a Canada, for example, in which our present chief problem, unemployment, did not exist. It is high time that the constitution of Canada was revised to bring it abreast of present conditions in this modern changing world. It is a matter of satisfaction, therefore, that the report of the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations has been tabled, and it is the hope of all Canada that out of the recommendations of this report the framework of a new Canada may be designed which will allow the governments of this country to grapple effectively and efficiently with the problems which will develop in the post-war years.

As the representative of an industrial riding I am gratified to learn from the speech from the throne that an amendment of the British North America Act is being sought to permit the introduction of a national scheme of unemployment insurance. Such legislation will be most welcome in every part of Canada. While it is true that unemployment insurance is no solution of the problem of unemployment, it will serve as a buffer to lessen the shock of unemployment on the individual as well as on the community at large.

Measures for the rehabilitation of our soldiers when demobilized will of necessity, I think, have to be expanded to include provisions for war workers and others who will be directly or indirectly affected by the cessation of hostilities. The government will probably profit by the experience in the matter of soldiers' civil reestablishment after the last war.

The honour of seconding the address in reply to the speech from the throne is one which any young member may well prize, since it affords him an opportunity to speak to the house so soon after his arrival, to felicitate the leaders of his country, to mention briefly the problems of his riding, to review with pride the past accomplishments of his party, and to hold out high hopes for the success of the program outlined in the speech from the throne. To-day, however, this honour seems singularly unimportant; for the minds of all of us here are heavily burdened with just one thought, the progress of the war in which we are now engaged.

For far too long we have taken for granted the rights and privileges of British subjects, and the vast resources and the boundless opportunities of this land of ours. Now that all of this is in jeopardy we realize that these things are infinitely precious, that life without them would be impossible. Our freedom of speech, our freedom of person, our freedom from racial and religious intolerance, our right to elect freely by secret ballot, our government—all these things will surely perish if we lose this struggle.

Until a month ago it was generally thought that this war was to be a defensive war, a war of exhaustion and attrition in which the economic resources of the nation would eventually be of more value than the military organization. The events of the last month have changed the whole outlook. The German hordes have swept across Denmark and Norway and are now sweeping across the low countries. It is apparent that man power and the material of warfare are the crying needs of our allies, and it is our manifest duty to aid them in this way as speedily as possible, no matter what the cost may be.

Dominating this building in which we sit is a peace tower erected to commemorate the sacrifices of the last war. In that tower is a hall of remembrance to sixty thousand Canadians who gave their lives for their country. Across Canada from coast to coast are tens of thousands of returned soldiers whose lives have been broken by the injuries they sustained in the last war. These are terrible reminders to us of the price other Canadians paid that we might have this freedom.

This parliament meets in the darkest days since our nation was born. The hopes and the prayers of all Canada are with us to-day. This is no time for complacency. It is a time for united effort, for ceaseless endeavour; above all, for action, fearless action. This is the time to subordinate all other efforts in order to smash away the political bickerings and the departmental red tape which in the past have impeded democratic action. This is the time to mobilize with ruthless speed every resource of this vast country.

We, the Commons of Canada, assembled in these four walls, have the power to do these things, and the people of Canada who sent us here expect us to use that power so that we and our allies, with God's aid, may win a peace which will ensure the freedom of the peoples of this world.

On motion of Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury) the debate was adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

D 56899

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION.

The following is the English translation of a Speech delivered in French on the date indicated

Friday, May 17, 1940

Mr. HUGUES LAPOINTE (Lotbinière): Mr. Speaker, I appreciate as a high privilege the great honour which the Prime Minister has kindly conferred upon me at the beginning of this important session of a new parliament.

In my name and on behalf of those who have elected me as their representative in this House, I wish to tender him my heartfelt thanks.

There are here many new members who, like myself, have been summoned for the first time to the nation's parliament, and I am pleased to note that youth has secured its just share of success at the last election. Indeed, the Canadian Parliament has not since a long time numbered so many young men among its members, and I believe that the nation is justified in being glad of that. I am sure that their presence will not have the effect of dividing this House into groups made up according to age disparities but that it will rather insure a greater understanding of the serious problems which will be laid before us. It is essential, during the troublous and difficult times in which we are are now living, that the government should have the cooperation of citizens of all ages and classes. What the new members lack in experience will undoubtedly be offset by their sincerity in the performance of their duty and by their desire to dedicate all their talent and energy to the service of their country. The post-war period will give rise to problems disturbingly acute, the impact of which will unavoidably be felt more severely by youth than by any other class of the population. On their solution will depend the future well-being of our generation and of those which are still unborn.

We feel that we are cooperating in a great and useful work, and the clouds which are now darkening the world's horizon heighten the sense of responsibility which is an inherent part of our mandates.

The Right Honourable the Prime Minister achieved, on March 26 last, the greatest personal victory ever won by a government leader in Canada. No mark of confidence from the electorate has ever been so striking. The collective spirit of the Canadian nation found its expression in the recent vote and the prime minister's victory was the triumph of common sense. The government's war effort has been appraised and the people have endorsed it with a clear-cut verdict. For those of us who are from the province of Quebec the last election had a particular significance. It indicated that the province trusted her representatives; indeed, she gave an unmistakable proof of that trust on two occasions. The vote of March 26 was merely a confirmation of the verdict of October 25, when certain political leaders thought it clever to wage a provincial campaign on federal grounds, and I must say that we had a feeling of legitimate pride, during the last electoral campaign, when we heard that in some other provinces the contest was being waged on the slogan "Do like Quebec, vote unity." The vote in Quebec has shown that the province is just as mindful of her duty as she is jealous of her rights.

The unanimous approval which the Canadian people gave to the prime minister's policy has made his government truly national. The compact majority which supports him is not made up of loosely connected groups. It represents the whole country.

The government's victory has still another significance. It has shown that abuse and insult, and malicious personal attacks are not looked upon with favour during a critical period like this one and that the people will not allow their best servants to be slandered with impunity.

In the constituency of Lotbinière, which has done me the honour of electing me, as happened in several other constituencies, the contest was on the question of our participation in the war. The answer has been unequivocal and I am proud to transmit it to this House.

Upon this question of participation in this great conflict, I should like, Mr. Speaker, to quote the words of an eminent preacher whose sermons and lectures have been heard by distinguished audiences in Montreal during these latter months. On April 5th, Rev. Father Ducatillon delivered a masterly lecture which he had entitled "Civilization, the true stake for which the war is being fought".

After showing the part played by Christianity in the world's civilization, and the pagan programme which Naziism and communism have initiated, the distinguished cleric concluded as follows: "No one is justified in keeping aloof from the present conflict, since it is war for or against right, for or against culture, for or against civilization."

We have seen treaties broken, and nations invaded; in short, everything that has upheld civilization until now and everything that could ensure the security of nations has been trampled upon.

Just a few days ago, three neutral countries whose only fault was that they trusted in solemn covenants, fell victims to their good faith and were treacherously attacked. May I mention in particular the heroic Belgians, those martyrs of the last war, who are once again defending their land against that new invasion of barbarians.

Will any one say that we are not interested in all that? Will any one say that the wild beast which has broken loose upon the world does not constitute a danger for us? Will any one say that we can remain unconcerned about the fate of liberty and of those principles to which all free men have clung tenaciously for so many centuries?

For my part, I refuse to believe that my fellow citizens can stand by unconcernedly while these principles are engulfed in the surging tide of the abominable doctrines and practises of the Hitlerian and Soviet dictatorships. How can we remain neutral when this diabolic doctrine of "Might is right" threatens the entire world?

We believe in eternal justice and truth, twin beacons a passing cloud may dim momentarily, but which must reappear and shine forth with a sovereign radiance, to guide a civilization founded on Faith and Hope. Such are the truths we are committed to defend.

Now what would be for us the consequences of a German victory? I have never been, nor do I intend ever to become an ardent supporter of out-and-out imperialism. History teaches us that empires, being essentially the product of human enterprise, can never as such stand wholly free from imperfection. Yet I state without hesitation that at this critical moment in the lives of all nations, when the very existence of our democratic institutions is threatened, the dismemberment of the British Empire, as well as the defeat of France our ally, would be an irreparable catastrophe, opening wide the gates to all the subversive doctrines which are not without causing a certain degree of apprehension to the very ones who have made it fashionable, in certain circles, to denounce the present system. Everyone is aware that the dismemberment of the British Empire is one of the avowed war aims of the German Reich, and Hitler has never ceased to predict that the Empire would crumble the day war was declared in Europe.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask the hon. members of this house, I ask all my fellow citizens, would we not be deeply affected under the present circumstances by the consequences of such a dismemberment? What would become of us in the event of such a disaster? What would become of those who have, at the moment, nothing but criticism for the ties that bind us to England? Do they believe for a second that a victorious Germany would pay little heed to Canada with her immense resources and wealth? Do they believe that we Canadians, a small nation of some ten million people, occupying a territory five times the size of France, could safeguard the freedom and autonomy we enjoy to-day? Do they believe, especially, that we could long maintain our racial characteristics, our mentality, our liberty and our faith?

I am aware that numerous hypotheses have been advanced with regard to the consequences of an enemy victory. Some have claimed that in such circumstances there could only accrue a greater measure of autonomy to our country because, they allege, our neighbours to the south would never permit a German invasion of Canada.

I do not share this opinion which is rather devoid of pride. It is undoubtedly true that there exist between Canada and the United States friendly relations which are extremely helpful to us in the present conflict. Our geographical position as well as our economic interests bind us strongly together. On the other hand, is there not reason to fear that these very factors may tend to weaken our position as a separate entity among the nations of the world and inevitably lead to a total absorption which, though preferable to German domination, would nevertheless mean the complete disappearance of everything Canadian? For my part, I confess that I would rather remain a good neighbour.

Mr. Speaker, the country has rallied to the leadership of a man who is sure of his ground, whose concern for our national interests is everywhere manifest and who is worthy of trust. Is it not therefore the duty of every patriotic citizen to give wholehearted support to those whom the people have unequivocally chosen as their leaders during this trying period of our national life?

Consequently, let us now forget any disagreements which may have arisen between us during the last campaign. Let us not burden with personal considerations the solution of our national problems.

This country has entered the war of its own volition, as a free nation. It has done so, not under the orders of a foreign power nor by act of a foreign government, but by an Act of its own Parliament freely voting to participate in the European conflict. The people have recently approved this stand of the Canadian Government, in circumstances with which you are all familiar.

Is it not thus imperative that all cooperate in the effort already launched? Is it not necessary that the unity so achieved be made evident in all fields of endeavour, in order to advance efficiently the work accomplished since Canada is too great and beautiful a country for us to allow her to be divided by misunderstanding at a time when we should be strongly united. A nation is a living organism whose functions are all interdependent, and anyone attempting to destroy this solidarity at a time when it is vitally important would be guilty of treason.

The work begun must be efficiently pursued and the unity achieved at the outbreak of war maintained. It follows that we must devote all our energy to the attainment of these ends, failing which all our efforts would, to my mind, be wasted. These two aims are inseparably bound together. The achievement of the first is predicated on the existence of the second.

In order to achieve this first aim, I believe it imperative for the government to pursue the policy established at the outbreak of war, and since then applied with energy and determination.

This policy has taken into account the most effective ways of exerting Canada's war effort and assisting our allies.

May I be permitted especially to praise the part played by our country in the drafting and development of the great Commonwealth air training scheme? Recent events have made clear the vital importance of a powerful air force, and Canada's efforts in this field should prove a decisive factor in settling the issue of the present conflict.

I would also like to congratulate the government for having taken all the measures necessary to safeguard and maintain our financial and economic position.

Our efforts in the allied cause shall prove valuable only insofar as we remain a strong nation, economically as well as morally. The presence of a bankrupt country in the allied ranks would be a liability rather than an asset to the cause we are pledged to defend.

Moreover, the government will have to adopt measures designed to prevent, as much as possible, any rupture of balance in the normal life of this nation resulting from the war. Legislation has already been passed in order to curb any profiteering such as the Canadian consumer experienced between 1914-18. To the same end, the government has eliminated all political patronage in the administration of the Department of National Defence. Through the Bank of Canada, the country's credit has been stabilized. Other measures will undoubtedly have to be adopted as we go along to cope with future problems. The effective pursuit of the war will inevitably call for sacrifices on the part of the Canadian people who will be subjected to all manner of restrictions, but such sacrifices in a common cause are a pledge of unity, and we have the right to expect that the Canadian nation will emerge from this war stronger and more united than ever.

That second aim, the preservation of Canadian unity, we must achieve and maintain, if we want to safeguard the future of our country. Canada must remain united. We are at war of our own free will. Canada's war effort is voluntary and must remain voluntary. Suggestions to the contrary coming from scattered quarters would lead to catastrophe.

Canada is fighting in defence of international decency, inviolability of treaties and respect for sacred pledges. Our people would never allow our public men to break with impunity the solemn undertakings given to the nation.

Nothing should be done, no word should be uttered that could in any way destroy national unity.

God forbid, Mr. Speaker, that we repeat the mistakes of the last war. Let us so apply our effort that we may, once the hostilities are over, carry on as a homogeneous nation.

Let us not forget that we are Canadians first and that it is our duty to think and act as Canadians. In this connection, may I be permitted to pay tribute to the memory of one whose death has deeply grieved the whole Canadian nation: Lord Tweedsmuir. Although he had spent only a few years with us, he had learned to understand and love our people, and for a great many his record in Canada could serve as an object-lesson in true patriotism. Lord Tweedsmuir once said that a Canadian's first loyalty should be to Canada. It is my conviction that this principle should be the guiding light of every honourable member of this house during the present Parliament.

Another task devolving upon the government under present conditions is that of planning for the post-war period. There again we must draw a lesson from the last war. If our participation in the European conflict creates problems of a special nature, our eventual return to normalcy after the war may prove equally difficult.

 D 56902

As I have said, the presence of a large number of young members in this house ought to prove helpful in solving our national problems. They should give special attention to post-war problems.

During the dark years which may lie ahead of us, the youth of this country will be called upon to make the greatest sacrifice. Those of our young men who are already overseas and the others who will sail shortly have a right to expect that, in return for their sacrifices, their government will take appropriate measures to ensure that their lot will not be worse when they return to this country. Provision will have to be made for the civil reestablishment of those who have not hesitated to risk their future in the cause of justice and in defence of civilization.

This planning for the post-war period must also be extended to other fields. If, as a free nation, we are bound to help save civilization now in jeopardy, we must by the same token discover a formula whereby the welfare of humanity may be secured.

All nations firmly believe, for a time at least, in the possibility of a durable peace and in the effectiveness of institutions designed to bring about the peaceful solution of disputes. The failure of the League of Nations does not prevent this hope from rising anew to-day. Indeed, the human race would soon disappear if it gave way to despair. Public opinion in democratic countries is fully aware of the deadly peril with which western civilization would be faced as a result of a Nazi or Soviet triumph over the international community, and demands a better and more effective formula than that of 1919.

Of what avail would be the sacrifices made and the losses suffered if the settlement effected at the end of the present conflict were to result once again in nothing more than a twenty-year truce. For my part, I am convinced that divine Providence, having ever guided our destiny, will not fail us now and that God will inspire the nations that have taken up arms to safeguard world peace and freedom against what has been fittingly termed "the common front of barbarism."

Mr. Speaker, it is our earnest desire that Canada should exert among all other nations a beneficent influence toward world peace and the establishment of better relations between all countries. Such influence cannot become an important force unless we introduce at home certain reforms that would make of Canada a nation united and strong, socially, economically, and politically.

That is why I have noted with satisfaction that the report on Federal-Provincial relations in the various spheres of activity has now been submitted to this House. This document, probably the most important since Confederation, is the work of prominent men, experts in constitutional law; may I be permitted to add that the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Joseph Sirois, was my professor at Laval University. These men have brought to their task all of their knowledge, patriotism and experience.

In considering the recommendations contained in this report, the various governments should take into account the new conditions which have arisen in our national life.

Surely the Fathers of Confederation could not foresee the evolution which has taken place during the past 75 years, and should certain changes become necessary because of new conditions, we should not hesitate to make them.

To that end, the greatest possible degree of cooperation should exist between the Dominion and the provinces. In this sphere also there is no room for political considerations. Besides, our population will make the necessary distinctions and will not deny its support to the proper measure of reform; our people would not even lend an ear to those who, taking an easy course, set themselves up as defenders of rights and principles contested by no one and which, in fact, must remain inviolate.

I know of no greater danger for a minority in this country than to stand in the way of reforms necessitated by our social conditions and to oppose any measure deemed progressive and essential.

I could not fittingly conclude these remarks without expressing the deep satisfaction which we have felt on hearing that His Excellency Lord Athlone had been designated for the post of Governor General of Canada. Our new viceroy has had a distinguished career and his appointment is a great honour to this country.

Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice will receive in every part of Canada a most loyal and enthusiastic welcome. Their near association with Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth will draw even closer the bonds which unite us to our gracious sovereigns, whose visit to Canada last year shall ever be remembered.

* * * *

Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to move, seconded by the hon. member for Vancouver North (Mr. Sinclair) that the following address be presented to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government of Canada:

May it please Your Excellency:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the House of Commons of Canada, in parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the gracious speech which Your Excellency has addressed to both houses of parliament.

JWP/TAS
16.5.40

re file n/
D 56903

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

re: Speech on the Address

Attached are the following tables:

1. Royal Canadian Navy (showing ships, personnel and disposition of forces, with a comparison with March, 1915);

2. Canadian Active Service Force (showing personnel and disposition, with a comparison of figures for March, 1915);

3. Royal Canadian Air Force (showing personnel, disposition and development of Air Training Plan, and aircraft figures with a separate table for production in Canada);

4. Defence Purchasing Board and War Supply Board (summary of purchases by commodity, latest figures available).

There are, in the course of preparation, the following additional tables:

Summaries of equipment actually delivered to the three Services;

Financial statement of the cost of the war to date, and the estimated cost for the current fiscal year, together with a comparison of similar figures for 1914-15.

There is also attached:

1. A memorandum on the Air Training Plan, prepared by Air Vice-Marshal Croil for the Acting Minister of National Defence, which contains

valuable material on the question of possible acceleration.

2. A chronological table;

3. Some notes on the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, together with a brief summary of the recommendations.

J. W. P.

WJT/PM
17.5.40

D 56905

Suggested action to be announced by Prime Minister

(1) Appointment of Minister for Air

(2) Separate Minister for Supply

(3) All war contracts to be worked on 24 hour basis

(4) All air training and other war construction to be carried out on shifts working continuously

(5) All needed supplies to be immediately comandeered from private sources where it is possible, and desirable.

(6) Second Division to go overseas at once

(7) Recruiting of Third Division to start

(8) Voluntary training in spare time to be organized

(9) Registration of all private arms

(10) Immediate order to be placed for trucks sufficient to permit mass movement of all Canadian troops

(11) Arrangements for Belgian and other refugees to be admitted.

(12) Debate on Address to be restricted to Prime Minister for government side. In the event of debate of Opposition groups, Ministers do not proposed to attend session, but will return to departmental duties.

D 56906

CABINET WAR COMMITTEE MEETING, MAY 17th, 1940.

Items for consideration:

1. Munitions and Supplies -

(1) Advisability of appointing a separate Minister of Munitions and Supply.

(2) Possible means of increasing production, particularly aircraft.

2. British Commonwealth Air Training Plan -

(1) Advisability of appointing someone to have charge of all matters re -

separate Minister,
Parliamentary Secretary,
other possibilities.

3. Parliamentary debate regarding war effort -

(1) Precisely what information regarding Military, Naval and Air Action is Prime Minister free to disclose in his speech. x

(2) What Ministers will participate in Debate on Address.

4. Position of Greenland.

5. Internal Security -

(1) Internment of enemy aliens.

(2) Position of Canadian nationals of enemy origin.

6. Public Information. xx

Note - x - Dr. Skelton has copies of the telegram of Friday, May the 10th, and replies from the United Kingdom.

xx - Proposals of Mr. Brockington's memorandum.

D 56907

May 15, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re. Intensification of War Effort

From every quarter I am hearing grave concern expressed over what is alleged to be a failure to make some immediate announcement of additional steps to be taken by Canada to meet the changed war condition. As an instance of this, Mr. Bart Sullivan called to say that in and out of Toronto even enthusiastic supporters of the government are becoming critical, and that all the old stories of failure to produce uniforms and equipment, obsolete methods of training, etc., are being revived.

At noon I was speaking to Mr. Duncan, Deputy Minister for Air, and in the course of the conversation he stated that he felt something spectacular would have to be done to re-assure the people.

I, of course, have no knowledge of any plans which are being developed in regard to the Air Training Scheme or other war activities but, from my own observations on the state of public opinion, I concur in the views of Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Duncan. From private information reaching me, local military units are complaining of a lack of weapons and particularly of the lack of motor vehicles. In this latter connection it has occurred to me that it might be possible for the government, on a rapid and progressive schedule, to absorb a very large part of the production of motor car factories in Canada.

The campaign in Holland and in Belgium indicates clearly that, aside from air power, the

next requirement in order of importance is transport. Motor vehicles of all types are undoubtedly needed to equip an effective fighting force. In Canada, while there is complaint of lack of military vehicles, private automobiles are still being turned out in large numbers. If the government announced that motor car manufacturers were being given sufficient orders to absorb all their resources, and that, in consequence, automobiles for purely pleasure purposes would no longer be obtainable, the effect on the public mind that we were sparing no effort in looking after our military requirements would be striking.

So far as the automobile industry itself is concerned, this move would no doubt be welcome. The export business has been almost entirely lost, and domestic orders alone, while important, are not sufficient to absorb the full capacity of Canadian factories. There would be hardship imposed upon retail dealers, salesmen, finance corporations and others connected with the retail trade, but, on the other hand, there would be created a great reserve demand, providing for the rapid turn-over of war business to peace-time business on the cessation of hostilities. Moreover, by curtailing of this luxury buying, funds would be available for war loans.

There is the further consideration that, with the factories working exclusively on government orders, there might be some possibility of utilizing the services of highly skilled mechanics in other branches of war production.

From many points of view, this idea would seem to warrant study. Coming at this time, the announcement of any such scheme would do away with a great part of the rising tide of criticism.

W. J. T.
W. J. T.

Ottawa Morning Citizen
May 16, 1940

D 56909

On Canadian Awakening

Editor, Citizen: We should be thankful that a man of Major Herridge's experience is endeavoring to awaken Canada to the realization of the dangerous situation which is facing us, from this terrible Nihilistic revolution that has already made such inroads into the civilization of Europe. We must not be satisfied with our feeble efforts of the past but should at once mobilize the man-power and the industry of the nation to help our Allies who are engaged in the greatest struggle the world has ever known: a war to save democracies from utter obliteration.

The cost must not be allowed to slacken our production. If we were to be defeated everything, even our country, is likely to be taken from us. Let us put aside our complacency and replace it by an effort equal to that of any country in the world. Let every other business of Parliament sink into insignificance in the face of our new resolution. It is just possible that our Herculean task may have been too long delayed. However, this should not deter us from going forward now with all resources at our command.

In the meantime we should take immediate action towards relieving England and France of some of their hundreds of thousands of refugees. We are blessed with abundance of food supplies while this additional drain on our hard pressed Allies must be a problem from which they would welcome assistance while it is most needed. For the sake of humanity we have a task which few are so well able to perform and no matter how strict our immigration regulations, these should be modified to meet this situation.—E. C. GRANT, Ottawa, May 15, 1940.

Ottawa Morning Citizen
May 16, 1940

D 56909

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 56910

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister

Re. Speech on Address

In the attached Fable on War Finance I have indicate with a red tick the items which Mr Ralston questions the advisability of making public.

Just

17.v.40

SECRET

May 16, 1940.

D 56911

ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY

Ships:	May, 1940	March, 1915 *
In commission:		
	7 destroyers	1 first class cruiser
	87 auxiliary vessels	1 second class cruiser
		2 depot ships
		11 small vessels
		2 submarines
In progress of conversion:		
	3 former Canadian National Steamships as armed merchant cruisers.	
On order: (4 year programme)		
	2 destroyers	
	70 patrol vessels	
	46 minesweepers	
	58 small craft	

Personnel:

952	officers
5,662	ratings
6,614	all ranks

Disposition of forces:

East coast:

6 destroyers
56 auxiliary vessels

West coast:

31 auxiliary vessels

West Indies patrol:

1 destroyer

* On Aug. 4, 1914, the two cruisers with their crews were placed at the disposal of His Majesty for general service in the Royal Navy. The Canadian naval establishment came under the tactical orders of the Admiralty with charges paid by Canada.

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answers — enter pers authority

Secret

D 56912

CANADIAN ACTIVE SERVICE FORCE

14-1914

Personnel at May 10 :

Troops overseas:	
First Division and ancillary troops	23,438
Canadian Military Headquarters	240
TOTAL	23,678
Troops in training for overseas service:	
Second Division and ancillary troops	24,645
Other mobilized troops:	
Depots and Training Centres	16,282
Coastal Defence and Anti-Aircraft	9,036
Vulnerable Point Guards	1,655
Other troops in Canada	6,223
TOTAL	81,519

reinforcements — (on May 10th)

Non-Permanent Active Militia:

11 Territorial Regiments organized to provide reinforcements for C.A.S.F. units overseas.

NOTE: Canadian troops are co-operating in the defence of strategic points in Newfoundland. The despatch of troops for garrison duty in the West Indies is contemplated shortly.

Comparison with March 31, 1915:

Troops overseas	35,254
Troops in Canada	65,370
TOTAL	100,624

May 16, 1940

Secret
May 16, 1940

D 56913

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE *

Total Personnel:

1,389 officers
10,926 airmen
12,315 all ranks

Army Co-operation:

One squadron overseas
One squadron completing training in Canada.

Reinforcements trained continuously in Army Co-operation School.

Home Defence:

East Coast - 6 squadrons
West Coast - 3 squadrons

Air Training Plan:

Aerodromes:

89 preliminary surveys
59 detailed surveys
18 tenders called
7 contracts awarded

Buildings:

60 projects now under construction on 17 sites.

* Note: There was no Canadian Air Force in the last war.

Units in actual operation:

4 command headquarters (all)
20 recruiting centres (all)
2 manning depots (all)
10 schools
3 equipment and repair depots

Schools to be operated by private companies:

2 agreements concluded
(1 flying club)
5 agreements in negotiation
(3 flying clubs)

Personnel:

934 officers
5,620 airmen
6,554 all ranks, plus 1,400 civilians

(Figures do not include employees of private companies or of the Dept. of Transport).

Aircraft: From Sept.1,1939

To March 31

Orders placed:X

Airframes	3,639
Engines	6,743

Deliveries:

Airframes	223	351
Engines	433	507

X In Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

D 56915

SECRET

Production of aircraft in Canada since outbreak of war.

September	3
October	2
November	5
December	4
January	4
February	5
March	6
April	35
May	64
Estimate for year 1940:	1028
Estimate for year 1941:	1583

D 56916

Supplies and Equipment

Questions which may arise

Air Force

1. Are service aircraft being ordered in adequate quantities? Yes
2. Are deliveries up to expectations? Yes
3. What is Canadian production, trainers, bombers and other craft? (in hand orders)

Air Training:

1. Are training craft being delivered on schedule? Yes, so far
2. Are alternative sources for craft which United Kingdom agreed to supply being explored? } can't forget for factory for Fleet (one engine)
3. Are air fields and buildings being developed on schedule? Yes

Militia:

(a) Home Defence

1. How many anti-aircraft guns in Canada? Where located? orders in for 32 pdr (4 only)
2. What other provision for anti-aircraft defence? searchlights ordered in Halifax Naval vessels Bromide for Fighting Planes Hurricanes
3. What is supply of gas masks? plus Respirators
4. Are coastal batteries adequate on East coast? No - 3 guns St John

(b) C.A.S.F.

1. Is supply of personal equipment adequate?
   (a) uniforms and boots
   (b) blankets
   (c) rifles and ammunition

2. Are machine guns being produced in adequate quantity?

3. Is mechanical transport adequate? How many vehicles delivered? Rate of production?

4. How many tanks and armoured cars have been delivered? What is Canadian production?

5. What is the situation regarding anti-tank guns and artillery?

6. Is production of munitions adequate?
   (a) small arm ammunition
   (b) shells
   (c) bombs

Navy:

1. Is anti-submarine defence adequate?

2. Is shipbuilding programme up to schedule?

3. What progress in exploring possibilities of building large ships.

Secret

April 10,330,725

D 56918

WAR FINANCE

War Expenditures to March 31:	1940 (7 mos.)	1915 (8 mos.)
Total to April 30 128,990,000.	$118,489,000	60,750,000
Army	67,579,000	53,176,000
Navy	11,455,000	3,096,000
R.C.A.F.	28,380,000	none
Air Training Plan	4,219,000	none
Other War expenditures	6,856,000	4,488,000

Estimated war expenditures for fiscal year 1940-1941		Actual expenditure fiscal year 1915-16
Total	$624,030,000	166,198,000
Army	268,122,000	160,433,000
Navy	103,480,000	3,274,000
R.C.A.F.	100,007,000	none
Air Training Plan	119,976,000	none
Other expenditures	32,445,000	2,491,000

C.A.S.F. strength at May 10

Estimated costs of further war measures under consideration:

Cost of 2 divisions organized into corps	$65,916,000
Cost of a third division in Canada	19,353,000 +
" " " overseas	38,750,000

Comparative cost of one Division in the field

	Present war	Last war
Total personnel of a division	16,880 all ranks	21,648 all ranks
Annual cost	$68,800,000 (Estimate)	54,800,000 (actual)
Cost per man	$4,076 (Estimate)	2,531 (actual)

D 56919

Comparative naval expenditures:

1939-40 (7 mos.)	1914-15 (8 mos.)
$11,455,000	$3,096,000
1940-41 (estimate)	1915-16
$103,480,000	$3,274,000

Note: (1) Naval expenditures in 7 mos. of this war greater than for any full year of last war.

(2) Estimated naval expenditures for next fiscal year more than 3 times the total naval expenditure for the whole of the last war.

D 56920

JWP/PM
18.5.40

The Cost of Canada's War Effort

Some illustrative points

1. The actual money paid out of the Treasury on war accounts in the first eight months of the present war was more than double the amount paid out in the first eight months of the last war.

2. Total war expenditure:

(a) Fiscal year 1915-16	$166,000,000
(b) Fiscal year 1940-41, at least X	500,000,000

X Estimate made public by Minister of Finance on February 19. This Estimate has been revised upwards, in light of developments, to at least $ ——— X and is subject to further revision upwards.

3. Some reasons for increased costs:

(a) No Air Force, or Air Training in last war.

X figure to be supplied by Mr Ralston not yet available

(b) Estimated naval expenditures for the present fiscal year will be more than three times the total naval expenditure for the whole of the last war.

(c) Cost of maintaining a division in the field increased by an estimated 25%.

Fiscal year 1940-41 — Non Supplemental Naval Expenditures

Over 1 billion

J.W.P./G.

18. v. 40

D 56922

SUPPLY

Total contracts let to May 15:

For Canadian government over $200,000,000.

the allied governments " 75,000,000.

All let in Canada except about $50,000,000.

Air Training Plan:

Deliveries of all materials ordered being made in time to proceed with work according to plan.

Air fields which are being constructed by the Department of Transport will all be completed this year. (Plan did not call for completion of all air fields in 1940). Cost about $20,000,000. Work proceeding night and day.

Buildings being constructed as rapidly as possible. Contracts now being awarded without calling for tenders on basis of prices set in earlier tenders. Prices being dictated to contractors.

Air fields and physical equipment will be in readiness for ~~stepping up~~ air training ~~at any time~~.

D 56923

Aircraft:

Deliveries of aircraft from all sources in last six weeks amount to 50% of total deliveries in preceding seven months.

Estimate of military aircraft production in Canada for all purposes: 1940 - 1,028
1941 - 1,583

Shipbuilding:

20 shipyards engaged in production of 90 vessels, including minesweepers, anti-submarine craft and armed patrol boats. Production well in advance of schedule time.

3 highspeed merchant ships being converted to light cruisers for convoy duty will be in service shortly.

Some projects under way:

Construction of 82 aerodromes.

D 56924

175 other construction projects, including coastal fortifications, submarine defences, hangars etc.

9,000 motor vehicles are on order costing $14,000,000. (3,000 already delivered overseas)

War munitions being manufactured at a cost of $80,000,000.

One large explosive plant under construction; a second being organized.

Production of small arms ammunition being expanded as rapidly as equipment can be installed.

Ample supply of clothing, boots and personal equipment being procured. Industry is producing at full speed to meet future requirements.

Safeguarding of raw materials:

Department of Munitions and Supply with assistance of Wartime Prices and Trade Board has

D 56925

taken steps to protect sources of outside supply to ensure against a shortage of certain essential raw materials.

Constant study given to the increased use of Canadian materials in the production of supplies.

J.W.P./G.
18. 5. 40.

D 56926

army.

RE: BREN GUN PRODUCTION

1. The Bren guns being manufactured in Toronto have reached the final stage of testing.

2. First deliveries of guns for actual use are expected by June 1st.

3. Deliveries, ~~expected~~ contracted for — it is expected they will be well ahead of schedule, by March 31st, 1941.

The first years shortage called for by this contract will be doubled

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 56927

MEMORANDUM

LWB/LAM
May 19, 1940

For the Prime Minister:

I have attached a couple of pages which I hope will be of use.

In view of Beaverbrook's appeal today for aeroplanes, would it not be possible to send a further wire this morning to Churchill which can be announced in the House, offering to organize all available resources in Canada for the manufacture of aeroplane engines? I know that it is said that they cannot be produced here. I think that ~~if~~ we can do anything ~~if we~~ try.

L.W.B.

Something is being done — please get in touch with papers, to see if ~~a paragraph~~ such a wire might not be sent? — & some further statement given

[illegible]

D 56928

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

20. V. 40

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister

Attached are:

1) Revised Financial Table
to replace one sent yesterday.
It contains Mr Ralston's figures.

2) Highlights of War Effort in Tabular form

3) Additional Programme
Mr Rogers says there may be a supplementary statement re. Air Training later this morning. It would simply be an appendix to this summary.

As supplied by Mr Heeney

Just

JWP/TAS
20.5.40

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 56929

NOTE ON ESTIMATES

At the Prime Minister's direction I consulted Mr. Smellie of the Treasury Board who tells me that in the past it has been customary to refer to the estimates as:

(1) the main estimates;

(2) the supplementary estimates:

(3) the special supplementary estimates. (which are unemployment relief, etc.)

He added that Mr. Ralston had decided, if possible, to include all three categories in one single set of estimates, to which no name had been given. That was his reason for describing them to me as "Estimates (other than war)". They might, however, be called "Estimates of Ordinary and Special Expenditure" (other than war)."

Just—

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 56930

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Speech on Address
Section 4: War Effort.

The Prime Minister might wish, in referring to the problem of supply, to pay a tribute to the co-operation of the Canadian manufacturers.

Attached is a brief paragraph containing the concluding passage from a speech recently delivered in Toronto by Mr. D. R. Turnbull, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which could be quoted as an illustration of their attitude.

J. W. P.

May 14, 1940

D 56931

In coping with the problem of war supplies the government has received the cordial co-operation of the Canadian Manufacturers generally. The spirit of the Manufacturers is well illustrated in the statesman-like words with which Mr. D. R. Turnbull, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, concluded a recent speech. Mr. Turnbull stated that:

"Canadian manufacturers have four duties:

First: to divert to war production all the manufacturing capacity that is required.

Second: To continue to manufacture goods needed by the people of Canada, thus providing employment and taxes.

Third: To seek constantly for opportunities to maintain and extend export trade.

Fourth: To prepare as far as may be possible for the period of adjustment that will follow the war."

D 56932

MONTHLY BULLETIN

THE CANADIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN GREAT BRITAIN (INC)

With which is associated the Dominion of Newfoundland

VOL. 18 NO. 5 MAY 1940

CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL RE-ADJUSTMENT

Mr. D. R. Turnbull, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, delivered a speech in Toronto recently and referred to the Industrial Adjustment of Canada.

Mr. Turnbull covered a wide field in showing the tremendous war effort of Canada and concluded his speech by saying, "Canadian manufacturers have four duties:

First: To divert to war production all the manufacturing capacity that is required.

Second: To continue to manufacture goods needed by the people of Canada, thus providing employment and taxes.

Third: To seek constantly for opportunities to maintain and extend export trade.

Fourth: To prepare as far as may be possible for the period of adjustment that will follow the war.

Members are reminded that on EMPIRE DAY, May 24th, the Right Honourable ANTHONY EDEN, M.C.,M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, will be the Guest of Honour at the annual Empire Day Luncheon. The luncheon will be held at the Hotel Victoria, Northumberland Avenue. Early application for tickets will be appreciated.

MAY 14 1940

L 56933

TABLE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS FOR SPEECH

I EUROPE

Aug. 21: Russo-German Agreement announced.

Sept. 1: Germany invaded Poland.

Sept. 3: Britain and France declared war.

(Sept. 7: Canadian Parliament assembled)

(Sept. 10: Canada declared war.)

Sept. 17: Russia invaded Poland.

Sept. 21: Assassination of Premier Calinescu of Roumania.

Sept. 27: Surrender of Warsaw.

Sept. 28: Russian-Esthonian Agreement signed.

Oct. 1: Reorganization of Polish government--resignation of President Moscicki.

Oct. 5: Russian-Latvian Agreement ratified.

Oct. 6: Hitler in Reichstag made tentative peace proposals.

Oct. 10: Russia concluded agreement with Lithuania.

(Oct. 10: Commonwealth air-training plan announced.)

Oct. 19: Britain, France and Turkey sign 15 year mutual assistance pact.

(Oct. 28: Mr. Crerar arrived in London for consultations--returned to Ottawa on December 24th.)

Oct. 31: Mussolini reorganized Italian cabinet.

Nov. 7: Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold offered their good offices as mediators.

Nov. 8: Attempt on Hitler's life at Munich.

Nov. 27: Proclamation of British blockade on German exports in retaliation for Germany's methods of mine warfare.

Nov. 30: Russia invaded Finland.

Dec. 14: League of Nations expelled Russia.

(Dec. 17: British Commonwealth Air Training Plan signed.)

(Dec. 17: 1st Canadian contingent arrived in England.)

1940

Jan. 5: British Cabinet reorganized--Stanley replaced Hore-Belisha, etc.

Feb. 29: United Kingdom announced it would intercept coal shipments from Germany to Italy.

Mar. 11: Von Ribbentrop visited Italy.

Mar. 13: Russia and Finland signed peace treaty.

Mar. 20: Reynaud replaced Daladier as Premier of France.

Mar. 26: Premier Teleki of Hungary went to Rome.

Mar. 28: Allied Supreme War Council decided on greater vigor in war effort and tighter blockade.

Apr. 8: British laid mines off Norwegian coast.

Apr. 9: Germany occupied Denmark and invaded Norway.

(Apr. 18: Mr. Rogers arrived in London for consultations.)

(Apr. 23: Mr. Power denied that there were Canadians fighting in Norway.)

Apr. 23: British budget brought down.

May 2: British Government ordered vessels in Italian ports to return home by way of Suez.

May 3: Prime Minister Chamberlain announced withdrawal of Allied troops from southern Norway.

May 3: Allied fleets massed at Alexandria.

D 56936

May 7 and 8: Debate in British House on Norwegian campaign; Chamberlain sustained 281 to 200.

May 10: British troops landed in Iceland.

May 10 Germany invaded the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

May 10: Churchill replaced Chamberlain as British Prime Minister.

(May 10: Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King broadcast to the people of Canada regarding invasion of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.)

EARNSCLIFFE
LINEN BOND
MADE IN CANADA

II ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

Jan. 15: Admiral Yonai replaced Premier Abe of Japan.

Jan. 20: British warship took 21 German seamen from "Asama Maru" off coast of Japan.

Feb. 12: Australian and New Zealand troops landed at Suez.

Mar. 14: Formation of Australian Coalition Government.

Mar. 28: British Ambassador Craigie made conciliatory speech at Tokyo.

D 56938

III AMERICA

1939

Sept. 3: President Roosevelt in a broadcast statement proclaimed the neutrality of the United States.

Sept. 5: President Roosevelt invoked the Neutrality Act.

Oct. 13: Colonel Lindbergh made a speech criticizing Canadian war action.

Nov. 4: President Roosevelt signed Neutrality Act of 1939.

1940

Apr. 23 and 24: Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King was in Warm Springs, Georgia, with President Roosevelt.

May 10: President Roosevelt denounced German invasion of the Lowlands.

May 12: President Roosevelt assured King Leopold of unqualified moral support.

D 56939

IV WAR OPERATIONS

Sept. 1: Germany invaded Poland.

Sept. 3: "Athenia" torpedoed.

Sept. 4: R.A.F. raid on German naval bases.

Sept. 17: Russia invaded Poland.

Sept. 18: H.M.S. "Courageous" torpedoed.

Sept. 27: Fall of Warsaw.

October 14: H.M.S. "Royal Oak" torpedoed in Scapa Flow.

October 16: German bombing raid on Rosyth.

Nov. 23: German battleship "Deutschesland" sank H.M.S. "Rawal Pindie".

Nov. 30: Russia invaded Finland.

Dec. 13: British cruisers battle with "Graf Spee" off Montevideo.

Dec. 17: "Graf Spee" scuttled.

1940

Feb. 16: H.M.S. "Cossack" released British prisoners from German "Altmark".

Mar. 20: Seven hour R.A.F. bombing raid on Sylt.

Apr. 8: British navy mined Norwegian territorial waters.

Apr. 9: Germany occupied Denmark and invaded Norway.

Apr. 15: British troops landed in Norway.

May 3: Prime Minister Chamberlain announced withdrawal of Allied troops from southern Norway.

May 10: British troops landed in Iceland.

May 10: Germany invaded the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/TS
9.5.40

D 56941

Introductory Section

(For the opening paragraph referring to the House Leader of the official Opposition or to the temporary Leader of the Opposition--whichever he may prove to be, the Prime Minister's reference to Mr. Guthrie in 1926 might serve as a model. A copy is attached.)

I should like, Mr. Speaker, to express the pleasure I am sure most of us feel in the return to the House of so many of the members of the last Parliament. I think I shall be speaking for all the older members when I say that, with rare exceptions, the disappearance of a member, regardless of party, is a matter of personal regret, even though his defeat may result in political advantage. Our regret at no longer seeing the familiar faces, even of political opponents is a reflection of the humane spirit which infuses our free Parliamentary institutions. It is a spirit which all of us should cherish the more at a moment when our free institutions are facing the greatest challenge in their long history.

Our feeling of regret is all the keener when the disappearance of a member has been caused, not by a

turn of the wheel of political fortune, but by death. Perhaps you will allow me to mention, Mr. Speaker, the passing of one of the oldest members of the last House, the late Alfred Edgar MacLean. His death occurred in the interval between the special war session last September and the dissolution of Parliament. It was he who succeeded me in the representation of the constituency of Prince for which I had been returned to this House after I became leader of the Liberal party. For this personal reason, not less than because of his long experience in the public life of his own province and of the whole nation, I greatly valued his judgment and political wisdom. Once again the electors of Prince have put national before local considerations in choosing as successor to the late Mr. MacLean my colleague the Minister of Finance.

Death has, in the few short weeks since the general elections, removed two honourable members who were duly elected to the present Parliament. I should like to express to my honourable friends opposite ~~our~~ ~~sense~~ of loss in the passing of Dr. A. B. Hyndman who represented the traditionally Conservative county of Carleton in the last

House, and who received a renewed vote of confidence from the electorate last March. The passing of Rev. W. G. Brown marked the close of long and distinguished career in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Twice elected to the House of Commons within the space of a few months, and with but a fleeting appearance in Parliament, his record may well be unique.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the House would not wish me to let this occasion pass without a reference to the heartfelt sorrow of the Canadian people at the death of Lord Tweedsmuir. In the passing of ~~His Excellency~~, the people of Canada lost one of the ~~greatest~~ and most revered of Governors General, who, from the day of his arrival in this country dedicated his life to their service. In the discharge of every public duty, Lord Tweedsmuir was fidelity itself. Cut off as he was in the height of his powers, one can only believe that in the providence of God, he had completed the ~~work~~ which here it had been given him to do.

This House will, I am sure, share the satisfaction of the government that His Majesty the King has been pleased to choose as His representative ~~so fitting a successor~~ to the late Lord Tweedsmuir. The Canadian people are looking

D 56944

forward with eager anticipation to the arrival in Canada of His Excellency the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice. In welcoming Their Excellencies in this capital city we shall have another opportunity of pledging anew our unbroken faith in our common cause and our steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King.

The mention of the impending arrival of our Governor General serves also to remind us that just a year ago, at a moment when we still dared to hope for the preservation of peace, Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth were honouring Ottawa with a visit which will ever live in our memory.

In joining with my honourable friend opposite in extending very hearty congratulations to the mover and seconder of the address, I should like, Mr. Speaker, to include a word of welcome to all the new members on both sides of the House. The members who are entering upon their Parliamentary careers and, indeed, the younger members of the House generally are facing responsibilities and opportunities which are greater than those of any previous generation of Canadians. Not only are we engaged in a desperate struggle, the outcome of which will settle the fate of civilization as we know it for a century or more to come, but we are being called upon as a nation to make

D 56945

sacrifices which will test our own national fabric as it has not been tested before. The task of building a nation is a task which is never completed. The young men now on the threshold of public life will be called upon to be builders on a grand scale. They are, in truth, the future makers of Canada.

I know that every honourable member listened with pride to the splendid manner in which the young member for Lotbiniere spoke in opening the debate. We were pleased at his excellent performance, not only for his own sake. I know he will understand me when I say that we were doubly pleased for the sake of his father, who enjoys in such ample measure the respect and affection of the House. It is an especial delight to me to share with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, what must be one of the proudest moments of his life. I never fail to rejoice in the dedication by our young men of themselves to the service of their country, but my satisfaction can never be greater than it has been at the appearance in this House of the son of my closest colleague. I can wish no greater success to the honourable member for Lotbiniere than that his career in this House may be as long, as honourable and as fruitful as his father's.

To the honourable member for Vancouver North, I extend also a warm welcome and hearty congratulations on his fine speech. Although he is still very young and this is his first appearance in Parliament, he has already served his apprenticeship in public life in the difficult role of a private secretary. The excellence of his speech gives evidence of the good use he has made of his opportunities and promise of a career of steadily increasing public service.

The Debate on the Address - December 13, 1926.

The choice of Hon. Hugh Guthrie as
Temporary Leader of the Opposition.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister):

Before I reply to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Guthrie), may I, on my own behalf as well as on behalf of those sitting with me on this side of the House, extend to him our hearty congratulations upon his having been chosen for the high position which he now holds and which by natural endowments and long parliamentary experience he is so admirably qualified to fill. When I read in the press despatches that my hon. friend had been selected as leader of the opposition and of the party to which he now belongs, I confess, recalling his old and long associations with the Liberal party of Canada, I felt that the compliment was perhaps greater to the party to which I belong than to hon. gentlemen opposite and the party to which they belong. My hon. friend will, I am sure, be the first to concede that what he inherits in the way of great natural endowments comes to him of Liberal parentage of which he may well be proud, and I have no doubt he will also remember with considerable pride his long association with the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of whom he was a trusted follower almost to the very end of ~~his~~ career. May I say that I think my hon. friend, in accepting the position as

a temporary one, owing to the exigencies of his party and under circumstances which necessarily must be more or less embarrassing, did so from very public spirited motives, and in view of that fact he is as much entitled to the thanks of the House as he is to the thanks of his own party.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/MS
8.v.40.

D 56949

Section 2: Significance of the Elections and obligations of Parliament.

Section must conform to Speech.

The House will, I am sure, permit me a brief word as to the significance of the results of the general elections. Throughout the campaign I endured censure and abuse because I had taken the responsibility of bringing on the elections. In my first broadcast during the campaign, I set out the reasons which had led me to reach the decision which it was my constitutional responsibility to make. I pointed out that:

> "I knew that a general election had to come--so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive..... I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit

to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way."

I am confident that honourable members, in common with the people of Canada generally, when they learned, on April 9th, of the sudden and brutal German action in Denmark and Norway, shared my own immense sense of relief that our elections were over and that the government of our country had been fortified with a direct and unquestioned popular mandate to devote the whole of their energies to the war then entering upon a phase of terrific intensity. I cannot doubt that every Canadian who is devoted to the interests of our country will now agree that I was right in making it possible for the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before the war had burst forth in all its fury.

In referring, on the eve of the polling day, to the significance of the vote which was about to be cast, I used these words:

"You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be

the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before."

Today, Mr. Speaker, the truth of these words is more vividly realized by all of us than it was when they were first uttered.

In my concluding broadcast on the significance of the campaign I stated that, by our appeal to the people, the government had maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we had been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation of freedom across the seas.

In my address to the people of Canada on election night, I asked them, now the elections were over, to forget their differences of the past and to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom. I should like today, Mr. Speaker, to make the same appeal to all members on both sides of the House.

4.

This Parliament has been entrusted by the people with the obligation of supporting the government in its effort to a direct a vigorous and unremitting Canadian contribution to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. To that great end we must first direct our energies, whether we were elected in support of or in opposition to the present administration. I am not suggesting, Mr. Speaker, that my honourable friends opposite have a duty to support everything which is proposed by the government. I do not ask them to abdicate the constitutional functions of an opposition. The government will welcome constructive criticism. We recognize that the right of criticism is one of the greatest bulwarks of our system of government. As I pointed out during the campaign, even the best of governments will make mistakes, and in time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. We know that responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration. I venture however to appeal to honourable members to maintain a full sense of responsibility in their criticisms and to weigh fully the probable effect of what they may say not only on Canada, but on our allies, and on the enemy. We must all remember, Mr. Speaker, that if Canada's war effort is to have the greatest effectiveness it must be the united war effort of a united Canada.

D 56953

Nor can we afford to forget that our war effort is much more than a military effort. Every aspect of our national life, must be geared to meet the demands of a total war. We must not neglect our domestic problems. If we neglect our domestic problems our national economy will suffer and our production will decline. In modern warfare, it is just as imperative to stand firm on the economic front as it is on the military front. Each is essential to the other. If either fails, our whole war effort will collapse.

We have an obligation as well to keep constantly before us the objects for which we are fighting. Bitter experience has taught us that it is possible to win the war and lose the peace. Now is the time to begin to prepare for the peace and the post war period. The problems of peace, when it comes, will be no less urgent than the problems of war are today. I should like, Mr. Speaker, to appeal to the younger members of the House to give particular thought and study to these problems. They will have the task of meeting them and solving them. They must not face that task unprepared.

This is a war Parliament. Our fellow citizens, Mr. Speaker, have confided their destinies to us at the most critical period, not only in our own history, but in

D 56954

the history of the world. The struggle will demand our utmost effort. Our vigour and our strength will be taxed to the limit. In the heat of the struggle we must preserve our vision. We are not engaged in war for its own sake. We are defending our freedom and our civilization. Our vigilance in safeguarding freedom at home must equal our vigour in defending it from the onslaughts of the enemy. This Parliament has the high duty and the solemn trust of maintaining the unity of Canada in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/MS
10.v.40.

D 56955

Section 3: The War

I now come, Mr. Speaker, to a review of the great struggle in which we have been engaged for the last eight months. Essentially the issue is the same as it was in the last Great War, in which we were engaged a quarter of a century ago. Both are wars of aggression. In both Germany showed a wanton disregard of international obligations. In both her aim was world domination.

The analogy is, however, not complete. The Germany of twenty-five years ago had not begun by crushing out every element of freedom and of civilization within her own borders. The intellectual and moral resources of her people had not previously been almost hopelessly depleted by a systematic reign of terror. In 1914 Germany was, no doubt, richer in resources, richer in intelligence, and less isolated from the sympathies of the rest of mankind. On the other hand, the Germany of today has organized herself more systematically, single-mindedly and ruthlessly for war. Her power to endure may have been weakened, but her immediate striking power has been greatly strengthened.

In the realm of strategy, Nazi Germany has sought to avoid what Hitler considered the cardinal error of Imperial Germany: the necessity of fighting at once both in the East and the West. The Nazis tried to avoid a general war. They hoped to pursue a policy of singling out and subduing one country at a time. Their leaders knew that the people of Europe generally abhorred the thought of another war. They assumed that the desire to avoid war would enable them to localize conflicts, particularly with the countries adjacent to Germany. The Nazi government developed a technique for the absorption, by threat of force, of nearby countries.

In the early stages of Nazi expansion, the excuse for their conquest was the alleged desire of peoples of German stock to be re-united to Germany. The method used was, first, to develop a quarrel with the government of the neighbouring state. When passions had been aroused, an incident was created. Demands were then made upon the threatened state. The demands were so framed and so timed as to make acceptance impossible.

The technique worked with Austria. It worked again at Munich. It worked once more in the extension of Czecho-Slovakia and the recovery of Memel. Hitler believed it would work again in the case of Poland. Each time the alleged purpose and the method were the same. The people of Germany were told that an old wrong was being righted and that German territories or peoples of the Germanic race were being restored to the greater Germany.

When I reviewed the course of German aggression in this House last September, I pointed out that:

> "I mention these facts for the reason that some there may be who have the impression that this war has been caused by a mere invasion of Poland and that it has to do only with a desire on the part of Germany to regain the city of Danzig. The record speaks for itself. It discloses clearly that in the last five years some country or group of countries has been acting on the supposition that the great free countries of the world, "the democracies", as they are sometimes called - I confess I am getting a little tired of the use being made of the word "democracy" - were an effete

lot, that they were not prepared to stand up and fight for their liberties, and that aggression was a safe method of procedure. Well, unless a pretty definite stand is taken now by those who prize their freedom, they may expect that aggression will not cease, but will continue to the limit."

At the same time, I warned the House that the task of stopping German aggression and of destroying the power of the Nazis to threaten mankind would be long and difficult. I stated that it would require all the strength and fortitude, and all the effective organization of our resources that we could achieve.

By September 1st, when the Germans invaded Poland, the world had already realized that the attack on Poland marked not so much the beginning of a new war as the beginning of the military phase of a war which had been in progress almost from the moment that Hitler achieved power in Germany. Until March 15, 1939, the Nazis claimed that their objectives were limited to the union of German-speaking minorities with the German Reich. The practical incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia revealed clearly the hollowness of the German pretensions. From that moment it was clear that German ambitions were limited only by what German arms could seize.

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The only question which remained to be answered was where and when the Nazis would strike next. They still feared a repetition of 1914. The German military mind was obsessed with the danger of facing an eastern and a western front at one and the same time. They naturally preferred to employ the method which, up till March 15th, had been so successful. Success was much more certain so long as they could isolate their victim and destroy it while the rest of the world remained a spectator. From March onward, it became increasingly evident that Poland had been selected as the next victim. No doubt the attack would have come sooner but for two circumstances. One was the British guarantee to Poland; the other, the fear that Soviet Russia might support the Poles. Throughout last summer, as we now know, Nazi diplomacy was concentrated on the effort to prevent the possibility of Russian assistance to Poland. Once ~~they were~~ assured that Russia would not aid Poland, they lost no time in acting. They realized the tremendous geographic and strategic difficulties which would face the western powers in any attempt to aid Poland effectively, in the first few weeks of a war. They counted on delivering a knock-out blow before the assistance could be given. They seem also to have

cherished the hope that once Poland was knocked out, Britain and France would abandon the struggle. In their more optimistic moments they even dared to hope that Britain and France would not act at all. The Nazis completely failed to appreciate the tremendous change which had come over the British and French peoples after the revelation on March 15th of the extent of German ambitions.

In Poland, for the first time, Nazi Germany was forced to fight in order to conquer. As the aggressor, she had the immediate advantage. The advantage was pursued swiftly and ruthlessly. From the beginning, the Germans had command of the Polish air. The command of the air enabled them to prevent an effective mobilization of the Polish military machine. The western half of Poland was quickly overrun. (At the same time,(we should not forget that it was Russian intervention, rather than German arms,)which was responsible for the complete collapse of Poland. Even so, the Polish enterprise was unquestionably a German success.

The success in Poland was purchased at a terrible price. Germany was now faced on the West by the combined power of Britain and France. Unless she

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could persuade them to abandon the war on the ground that the disappearance of Poland had destroyed its cause, she could no longer pick off her victims one by one, without fear of reprisal. A so-called peace campaign was instituted by Hitler himself in October. The Nazis evidently still believed that Britain and France did not mean business. The replies of the allied governments finally made it clear, even to the Nazis, that they were in the war to the end.

The allies were not, however, ready to embark upon a premature offensive. The overthrow of Poland ended any immediate demand for aggressive tactics, since such tactics could no longer save Poland. The allied governments and their general staffs realized clearly that before they took the offensive, they must mobilize their resources, not merely to the point of equality in striking power with Germany, but to the point where they had a decisive superiority. Military experience, both in the last war and since, has all gone to show that an attack cannot succeed unless the strength of the attacking force is really overwhelming. Between two forces which have anything like equal strength, the advantage is clearly with the defender.

(That is undoubtedly the reason why the Nazis failed

to make a direct attack upon Britain and France. From October on, the real danger has always been the same. The threat has been to the weak neutrals surrounding Germany. So long as they maintained strict neutrality they remained, hourly, exposed to a sudden Nazi onslaught. The small neutrals knew that the allied powers constituted no threat, even though the allied respect for international law and the rights of small nations was, for the allied cause, a serious strategic disadvantage. The small neutrals still cherished the vain hope of escaping the ravages of war. They failed to realize the full danger of their position.

You will recall, Mr. Speaker, that I pointed out, last September, how great this danger was. I should like to recall to the House the words I then used in referring to the future course of Hitler's aggressions:

> "Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which today say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and

terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain goes down, if France goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom on this continent; there will in time be no liberty."

The next acts of aggression, however, came not from Nazi Germany but from Soviet Russia. I have already pointed out that the decisive event in the crushing of Poland was the intervention of Russia, which made further resistance by that country hopeless. It is, however, by no means certain that, in spite of a marked similarity of their aggressive and piratical methods, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia have any real identity of aims. Even in Poland, Russian intervention may well have thwarted certain German hopes. Temporarily at least, it cut Germany off from direct territorial access to Rumania. The only safe judgment we can now make is that Germany and Russia are moving along parallel lines. So long as the lines remain parallel there is no likelihood of a clash between

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them. It may be doubted, however, whether Russian aggression has been wholly pleasing to the Germans, particularly in the Baltic. In that region the Russian advance last October was as spectacular and bloodless as the German aggression against Austria and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet government summoned, in turn, the ~~furious~~ foreign ministers of the three Baltic states, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania to Moscow. To each, Russia dictated terms which amounted to the establishment of a military protectorate, with Russian garrisons ~~established~~ stationed in their capitals and at every strategic point.

When the Soviet government attempted to treat Finland in the same fashion, the reception was different. Like Germany in Poland, Russia in Finland had to fight for her gains. Her ruthless and unprovoked attack on Finland aroused almost unprecedented indignation throughout the civilized world. In every free country there was a spontaneous popular movement to aid the Finns. The difficulties in the way of providing effective assistance, particularly in winter, were very great. Even the passage of supplies and volunteers demanded the benevolent co-operation of Norway and Sweden. Large scale assistance would have been possible only if these Scandinavian states

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had been ready to permit the passage of troops through their territory. Their governments refused to incur the risks involved. We now know their refusal was dictated by fear of Germany rather than by fear of Russia. It nevertheless prevented the British and French governments from sending effective assistance to Finland.

The resistance of the Finns themselves increased the admiration already felt for them throughout the civilized world. For more than three months, they held the immensely superior forces of Russia at bay. When they yielded, they yielded only to irresistible pressure. The terms of the peace concluded on March 13th were harsh, but the independence of Finland was not extinguished and the quiet fortitude with which the Finns set about immediately reorganizing what was left of their country still further enhanced them as a people in the eyes of the world.

It is impossible at this stage to make any accurate assessment of the effect of the Finnish campaign upon Russia or upon Soviet influence in Europe. The campaign undoubtedly revealed grave weaknesses and deficiencies in the Russian military machines. It demanded the extravagant expenditure not merely of human life, but of military equipment and supplies. It may well have destroyed for some months, at

least, if not for longer, the striking power of Russia. It had the further effect of reducing materially the Russian capacity to afford to Germany the economic assistance which the Germans gravely need in order to offset the effects of the allied blockade.

If aggression in the northern countries came first from Russia, Germany has not been long in following the Russian example. The world awoke on the morning of April the 9th (the 13th anniversary of Vimy) to learn that the armed forces of the Nazi aggressor had over-run and occupied Denmark and invaded Norway. The clockwork-like precision with which the Germans carried out these operations is convincing proof that they had been planned for weeks in advance. Once more the Nazis, as the aggressors, had the initial advantage. They had the choice of the moment to attack, the choice, too, of the places to be attacked. Despite its ruthless audacity, the German invasion of Norway has not been completely successful. To the Germans its cost has been very heavy, particularly on the naval side. The failure of the allies to dislodge the Germans from central Norway has been a terrific blow to allied complacency. It has demonstrated anew the decisive importance of superiority in the air in modern military operations. (It may yet prove

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to have been the needed stimulas to increased allied endeavour in the prosecution of the war.)

The attack on Norway naturally increased the apprehensions of all European neutrals. Almost all of them, in turn, throughout the last month, have expected to be the next victim. Almost exactly a month after the attack on Norway, the next blow fell; it fell in the west on May the 10th. Greedier this time, the Nazi aggressor struck three states at once, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. This latest blow lacked most of the elements of surprise which had so largely accounted for the success of the Germans in Norway. Belgium and Holland have expected almost daily to be victims of Nazi aggression ever since the outbreak of war. They have prepared constantly for the expected offensive. Their immediate response has been vigorous and determined resistance.

(More will probably require to be added here)

With the attack on the Low Countries, the last doubt that this was a war in real earnest vanished. During the long winter months, when there was little apparent

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military activity, grave doubt began to be expressed as to whether the allies had their hearts in the war. Of that there was of course no real question, but the activities of the earlier stages of the war were, with a few exceptions, unspectacular. Apart from the Polish campaign, it was largely a war at sea. Even the activity in the air was directed primarily at naval objectives. On the sea, the allies have a preponderance far greater than they had in 1914. This supremacy at sea is so overwhelming that the Germans cannot hope to overcome it by direct attack. They have tried, rather, to offset the allied naval supremacy instead of attempting to destroy the British and French navies. There have been certain isolated allied naval losses, but they have been trivial when compared with the tremendous losses which the British and French have inflicted on the German navy.

In the early stages, the main instrument of naval warfare used by the Germans was the submarine. The organization of convoys have combined to overcome the submarine threat, at least for the present. We can, of course, by no means be sure that there will not be another submarine campaign. The Germans also tried a campaign of indiscriminate mine laying. For a few weeks the mines

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claimed a large number of victims, but this weapon too seems to have been largely overcome. The most spectacular German naval activity was carried on by the surface raider. This campaign was far less effective than it was in the last war. With the defeat and sinking of the Graf Spee, the surface raider, too, has ceased to threaten allied shipping.

On the sea the allies have been uniformly successful, but the great question of present-day naval warfare still remains unanswered. That question is whether naval craft can successfully be attacked from the air. The experience in the Norweigian campaign is far from conclusive on this point. It is, however, clear that naval operations today are dependent upon co-operation from air power to a far greater degree than ever before.

I turn now from the military developments of the war to the economic warfare, which is no less important to the success of the allied cause. Successful military activity is impossible without a vast and complicated economic machine working at a high degree of efficiency. In present day totalitarian warfare, the crippling of the economy of the enemy may be as decisive as the defeat of his armed forces. Both the Allies and Germany have made a

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terrific effort to preserve their own economic life and to ruin the economic life of their opponents. To preserve their economic life, both sides have to secure the imports essential to satisfy their urgent needs. They must also have access to export markets to which they can send goods to pay for their necessary imports. The need of an outlet for exports is even more urgent for Germany than for Britain and France. The latter have very large gold reserves with which to pay for imports. In Canada and the other British dominions, they can also obtain credits. Germany has neither of these reserves. She must either pay for her imports with exports of goods, or, alternatively, loot her neighbours.

The attempts of Germany to interrupt allied trade by submarine warfare, by the indiscriminate use of mines, and by the armed raiding of merchant shipping have so far met with little success. From the outset, the Allies, on the other hand, were able to drive German shipping from all the seas except the Baltic. From the outset, too, they have restricted German sea-borne imports through neutral countries. On November 21st, the British government announced that the British would take all steps necessary to stop the flow of German exports. This measure was a

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direct response to Germany's indiscriminate mine-laying campaign.

So far as sea-borne trade is concerned, the blockade has been exceedingly successful. Different methods, however, have had to be applied in the case of German overland trade with European neutrals. In these countries the Allies have pursued a policy of out-bidding the Germans. Even this policy has only been partially successful. Many of the neutrals have been more influenced by terror than by profit. Knowing they were safe from allied aggression, and living in the constant fear of German aggression, they have, in many cases, not dared to cut off their exports to Germany or their imports from Germany, even when the allies have offered more advantageous terms. As a result, it has not been possible to blockade Germany completely, though every effort has been made to strengthen the blockade by all possible means.

It is by no means easy, at a moment when the war is raging with terrific intensity, even to attempt to strike a balance between gains and losses. There are certainly no grounds for complacency. The enemy is strong, exceedingly well organized and entirely without scruple. Nazi Germany probably still has the advantage in immediate

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striking power. On the other hand, the allies have an even greater advantage in access to the resources of man-power and supplies which make endurance possible. So long as the allied effort is vigorous, well planned, well directed and well executed, every month and every week that passes will increase the allied advantage. Reverses must be expected, dark days will come, but there are no grounds for despair as to the final outcome (so long as the allies all put their full weight into the struggle.)

LAURENTIDE
LINEN BOND
RAG CONTENT-CANADA

D 56973

Re: Speech on the Address

Note:

brutality vs. neutrality.

I intend this afternoon to speak as briefly as possible. This is no time in which to review at length the state of the world. Swiftly moving events of the gravest importance to the future not only of this country but of the whole human family speak for themselves with compelling eloquence. No speech of mine could add aught to what already is all too well known. It is no time either for self-justification, or vilification, or for ancient controversies. For I realize to the full, as you also realize, that the temper of the government, the House, and the people, and the crisis of the hour demand action and not argument: deeds and not words.

The character of the enemies of the human race against whom we and our allies are arrayed has been unmasked in all its barbarity and violence.

Within a period of eight months, the tyrants of Germany have become the masters of Poland, Denmark, a great part of Norway, Holland and the chief cities of Belgium. By weight of men and equipment, they have brought devastation to the weak and the unoffending.

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Within the last few days their armed forces have made a deep incursion on the soil of France, and the German Reich is preparing new attacks upon Britain from the lands which Nazi brutality has violated.

Words of passion and indignation will effect nothing.

Knowing what the enemy has done and is doing, we must consider calmly what we are doing, and what we can do to meet him.

My purpose ~~this afternoon~~, therefore, is to review, as concisely as possible what Canada has done and is doing, and to indicate what further action the Government has taken or proposes to take, to meet the danger that threatens our allies and ourselves.

Some of the measures which have been taken and will be taken, cannot, for reasons which will be obvious, be divulged at all at this time.

Some must necessarily remain but partially indicated. Within the limits imposed by the ~~national interest~~ military necessity there will be no secrecy.

The greatest crisis in the history of the British Commonwealth is not the occasion for partisan congratulations or for partisan criticism. We are concerned not with the past,

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but with the present and the uncertain clouded future. The task which is ours is a task for all Canada, not for any section or group of Canadians. It needs and will need the utmost vigour and whole-hearted assistance on the part of each and every one of us.

It has not been a simple matter for this country to move from an economy of peace to an economy of war; just as it has not been easy for the democracies of Europe who once hoped for peace, to make preparations against an autocracy that has consistently hoped for war, and planned it.

The record of the war effort of this country, and the outline of the plans which we have initiated and propose to initiate, will be unfolded. Vainglorious self-justification is as foreign to the spirit of this solemn hour as carping and hysterical criticism.

All I ask is that, as this House surveys the government's record and the government's plans, the record and the plans be placed in their proper perspective and examined and assessed as a whole.

The world has greatly changed since 1914. Canada has changed with it. Our national status has changed. Our political responsibility has changed. Our financial position

has changed. Our industrial capacity has changed.

The problems of local defence and overseas activity have been revolutionized by the new range, effectiveness and destructive power of aircraft, submarines, mechanized weapons and military equipment. The machine of war more than ever dominates the man at war.

Military power can no longer be resolved in terms of the number of men enlisted.

The final result of all these factors of change, the rise of air power and the elimination of distance, cannot yet, of course, be accurately determined. They have ~~at least~~ remarkably increased the necessary emphasis upon home defence. They have made clearer than ever the tremendous importance of our Eastern Atlantic ports for the convoying of military and other supplies to Britain and France.

They have been responsible for the great significance it has been necessary to attach to air development -- not only in connection with our own R.C.A.F., but also in regard to the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, in which we have such a vital part and place.

When you examine the expenditures made and learn the appropriations proposed in connection with the Royal Canadian

Navy and the air force, you will be more than ever impressed by the differences between the waging of war in 1914 and the waging of war in 1940.

The world, perhaps, and Canada with it, has been slow to appreciate the extent and the meaning of these changes.

When we consider, also, the difference in the alignment of forces in this war, the possibilities of the spread of conflict in all directions of the compass, and our national duties for defence and cooperation with our allies not only on our eastern shores but in the Pacific as well, you will have some idea of the manner in which Canadian defence problems have been enlarged and intensified.

I shall proceed now, Mr. Speaker, to a brief review of what has been done and planned to date. I shall give the bare, plain facts in brief outline. Full details will be supplied by my colleagues as the session continues.

(Pls. see page 5-A)

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FINANCE.

A country's war effort, while by no means wholly dependent upon its financial capacity, is nevertheless definitely limited by and subject to financial considerations of which too full and careful an account cannot be taken. Appropriations for and expenditures on war account are at least one index of its nature and extent. I shall begin this review therefore, with a brief financial statement and a mention of some of the financial considerations of which the government has been obliged to take account.

Our financial situation is radically different today from our situation in 1914. Then we were able to borrow money outside of Canada, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States. Today we are prohibited by the neutrality legislation of the United States from access to their security markets. Today not only are we unable to borrow in the United Kingdom,

but one of the most important parts of our war effort has been, and will continue to be, our ability to repatriate our securities. It has been and will be our duty to provide Britain with the dollar exchange she requires in order that she may purchase her essential agricultural and industrial supplies on this continent.

The actual money which has been paid out of the Treasury on war accounts in the first eight months of the present war has been more than double the amount paid out in the first eight months of the last war. On the 19th of February, the Minister of Finance made public his estimate that, for the fiscal year of 1940-41, we shall require for war expenditure alone, at least $500,000,000.

The developments that are taking place and the additional activities and commitments which are proposed, and to which I shall refer in a few moments, have necessitated the revision of this estimate to at least $700,000,000.

In the happening of certain other events and in the making of further commitments, to which no reference can be made at the present time, the figure of $700,000,000 will be subject to a further revision upwards. In other

(See page 6a)

words, our present estimate is that we shall be spending nearly two million dollars a day on Canada's war effort in the present fiscal year. Let it be understood that this represents war expenditure only. For all purposes; war expenditure plus the ordinary expenditure on the public services of Canada, the estimate will be over a billion dollars in the present fiscal year. In other words, for all purposes, more than three million dollars a day.

In the fiscal year of 1915-16, the total war expenditure on all accounts was $166,000,000. The reasons for the increased costs brought upon us by the growing necessity of the situation, I have already referred to. In the last war there was no Canadian Air Force, nor Air Training Plan. In this year we estimate for naval expenditure alone more than ~~the sum of $103,000,000.~~ $100,000,000. In the corresponding period of the last war, the estimate was $3,000,000. Our estimated naval expenditure in this first year, therefore, is over thirty times what it was in the similar period for the last war. The estimated naval expenditures for the present fiscal year are more than three times the total naval expenditure for the whole of the last war.

The needs of modern war, also, have almost doubled the cost per man of maintaining a division in the field.

In connection with supply, the total contracts let to the 15th day of May, amounted to $275,000,000. Of these amounts, $200,000,000 have been placed on behalf of the government of Canada, and $75,000,000 on behalf of the Allied governments. With the exception of amounts totalling about $50,000,000, all contracts have been let in Canada.

When I deal with the various branches of the service, I shall give details of the work done under the Air Training Plan and in the building of ships. ~~Deliveries of aircraft from all sources in the last six weeks amount to fifty per cent of the total deliveries in the preceding seven months.~~ The present estimate of military aircraft production in Canada, for all purposes, amounts to 1,028 in 1940, 1,583 in 1941.

Twenty shipyards are engaged in the production of 90 vessels of war. Production is well in advance of the scheduled time. There are under construction 82 airdromes, 175 construction projects, including coastal fortifications, submarine defences and hangars. There are on order 9,000 motor vehicles at a cost of $14,000,000, 3,000 of which have already been delivered overseas.

War munitions are being manufactured at a cost of $80,000,000.

One large explosive plant is under construction. A second is in course of organization.

Industry is working at full speed to meet the future requirements of clothing, boots and personal equipment. The production of small arms munitions is being expanded as rapidly as equipment can be installed.

The Department of Munitions and Supplies, with the assistance of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, has taken every available step to protect sources of outside supply, and insure against a shortage of raw materials. In addition to this, constant study is given to the possibilities of the increased use of Canadian materials in the production of supplies for ourselves and our allies.

I now propose to give you particulars of the present position in relation to the Canadian Navy, the Canadian Active Service Force and the Militia, the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Air Training plan. I do not need to remind this House that modern warfare demands extensive and intensive training, that modern military and naval equipment cannot be built in the space of a few weeks, however strong may be the manufacturing and industrial resources on which this construction depends.

As at May 10th, 1940, the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy consisted of 952 officers, 5,662 ratings. These numbers include 125 Canadian officers and 100 ratings who are serving in the British Navy. That personnel is being increased by recruitment, and will be increased as rapidly

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as ships come into service. There is a provision in the estimates for the current fiscal year for the increase in our naval personnel to a total of 1450 officers and 10,000 ratings by March 31st, 1941. There will be, of course, a progressive increase from this time to that.

In addition to our 7 destroyers, we have in commission 15 Minesweepers, 6 Anti-Submarine vessels, 15 Fishermen's Reserve Vessels and 51 other Auxiliary vessels. The conversion of 3 high speed merchant ships to light cruisers will be completed shortly. A number of other vessels have been acquired and are now being armed for patrol duty. There are under construction 90 additional vessels which include 54 patrol vessels and 18 Minesweepers.

The Royal Canadian Navy, apart from its patrol duties on our own coasts, is assisting actively in the coastal defence of Newfoundland, and is cooperating with the British and French navies in the Caribbean area. It is also taking an active and important share in the convoy duty so essential if the military supplies and foodstuffs required by the Allies are to cross the ocean in security.

I have already referred to the estimate of over $100,000,000 for the Royal Canadian Navy in the current fiscal year.

I now give you the essential air force facts with reference to the Royal Canadian Air Force. The figures which I shall quote are separate and distinct from the developments and projects of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

As at May 10th of this year, 1940, we had 1,389 officers, 10,926 Airmen, or 12,315 of all ranks. Their disposition is divided between army cooperation, home defence and the Royal Air Force contribution to the Canadian share of the instructional staff of the Air Training Plan. In cooperation with the Army, we have one squadron overseas; we have a second squadron completing its training in Canada. Provisions have been made for the continuous training of reinforcements for both squadrons in our Army Cooperation School. For home defence, we have 9 squadrons in our present establishment, and will have 12 squadrons in our proposed establishment.

In the Canadian Active Service Force, the personnel as at the 10th of May, 1940 was as follows: The First Division is overseas, and its strength has been enlarged by the necessary ancillary troops. The number of troops in the First Division

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and its ancillaries is 23,438. At Canadian Military Headquarters there are 240 officers and men. The total men overseas is therefore 23,678.

We have in training for overseas service, a Second Division with its ancillary troops amounting to 24,645. We have under mobilization other troops under the following headings:

Depots and training centres	16,282
Troops engaged in coastal defence, and anti-aircraft work	9,036
Troops engaged in guarding vulnerable points	1,665
Other troops in Canada	6,223

or a total personnel in the Canadian Active Service, as at May 10th, 81,519.

In addition to the Active Service Force, the Non-permanent Active Militia has been organized into eleven territorial regiments for the purpose of providing reinforcements for the Canadian Active Service Force units overseas.

Apart from troops overseas and troops engaged in home defence, our troops are assisting in the defence of strategic areas in Newfoundland, and further assignments of duties ~~is~~ are contemplated in the Atlantic area.

In the three services there were, by May the 10th, more than one hundred thousand men on active service. In addition, organization had been provided for the reinforcement of the Canadian Active Service Force, and for the recruitment as rapidly as ships could be put into commission of the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy. The recruitment of the Royal Canadian Air Force is intimately associated with the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan to which I wish now to refer.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan is not an exclusively Canadian undertaking. As the name implies, it is a joint plan in which the four governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are all concerned. The plan originated with the British Government. The preliminary work on the scheme was done by the United Kingdom Air Ministry. Canada cannot alter the plan at her own exclusive discretion, nor without regard to the essential factors of the adequate training of men to meet the demands of modern aerial warfare.

Neither the Commonwealth Air Training Plan nor any other training plan can turn out trained pilots, observers and gunners immediately after its inception. The immediate requirements of the United Kingdom Air Force were, and still are, being met by the training establishments in the United Kingdom which were in full

operation at the outbreak of war. The joint training plan was established for the purpose of maintaining the progressive supply of trained pilots and airmen, and increasing it steadily until the allied Air Force had attained decisive superiority over the enemy in the air. It was felt that the plan had to be orderly and free from confusion.

It is worked out so that all stages of training are inter-related, and the training itself is on a progressively increasing scale. It is impossible to make arbitrary changes in the plan without disrupting its efficiency, and without consultation with the other members of the Commonwealth partnership on which it is based.

The plan itself is being administered by our own Department of National Defence, and the Royal Canadian Air Force. They are assisted by a Supervisory Board on which all four governments are fully represented. In order to insure the vigorous development of the plan, the government ~~has~~ recently appointed a separate Deputy Minister of National Defence for Air. We have been fortunate in securing the services in this capacity of Mr. James Duncan, ~~the distinguished Toronto~~ industrialist.

I can illustrate the magnitude of the plan in no better way than by giving the House a list of the number of establishments required for its full operation. They are:

4 Training Commands, situated respectively at Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Regina.

2 Manning Depots.

20 R.C.A.F. Recruiting Centres.

3 Initial Training Schools.

26 Elementary Flying Training Schools.

16 Service Flying Training Schools.

10 Air Observers' Schools.

10 Bombing and Gunnery Schools.

2 Air Navigation Schools.

4 Wireless Schools.

4 Repair Depots.

4 Equipment Depots,

and several other important units, such as a Technical Training School, an Air Armament School, a Central Flying School, etc.

~~(In all, 110 formations and units have been, or will be established. (Omit).)~~

There will, in other words, be a total of 110 separate formations and units in existence when the plan is operating at full capacity.

To illustrate the progress which has already been made, I should like to place on Hansard the list of the units which have so far been established:

Training Command Headquarters, Toronto.

Air Armament School, Trenton.

Central Flying School, Trenton.

Air Navigation School, Trenton.

Service Flying Training School, Camp Borden.

Equipment and Accounting Training School, St. Thomas.

Manning Depot, Toronto.

Technical Training School, St. Thomas.

Initial Training School, Toronto.

Equipment Depot, Ottawa (Being moved to Toronto)

Equipment Depot, Winnipeg.

Wireless School, Montreal.

Training Command Headquarters, Montreal.

School of Aeronautical Engineering, Montreal.

Repair Depot, Trenton.

School of Administration, Trenton.

Training Command Headquarters, Winnipeg.

Manning Depot, Brandon.

Aircraft Inspectors' School, Toronto.

Training Command Headquarters, Regina.

20 recruiting centres throughout the country.

New units are being established almost every week according to the programme fixed in the plan itself.

It was estimated at the time the agreement was reached between the four governments that the total cost of the plan for the three years agreed upon would be about six hundred millions, of which the estimated Canadian share is three hundred and fifty millions.

Apart from pupils, about forty thousand officers, airmen and civilians will be employed when it is fully developed. Many thousands of pilots, air observers and air gunners will be trained each year on a progressively increasing scale.

It has proceeded in every particular on time in accordance with the planned wishes of the government of Great Britain as expressed both before and after the recent intensification of European warfare.

17 a

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AIR TRAINING PLAN

D 56993

A growing feeling of impatience has become manifest in certain sections of this country, with reference to what is believed to be the slow progress made by the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and the fact that its contribution is not one of immediate effectiveness at this critical hour.

We recognize that these sentiments spring from a very natural desire to carry at this moment, a greater share of the load which is being borne by our Mother Country and our Allies across the seas, but we do believe that they are, perhaps, coloured by lack of understanding of the magnitude of this undertaking, and particularly of the objectives which it is called upon to fulfil.

If such a misunderstanding exists, it is probably due to the fact that our Government, owing to the pressure of recent events, may have failed fully to bring home to the people of this country the size of this project, the greatest individual effort which this Dominion has ever made.

It seems to me important that I should recall to you that the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was based upon a request made to the Governments of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, on September 28th, by the Government of the United Kingdom. In other words, this plan was not that of

Australia, New Zealand or Canada, but it was one worked out in the United Kingdom and was proposed by them to be carried out in Canada, to provide an ever-increasing flow of trained pilots, air observers and air gunners, to supplement the supply of Royal Air Force personnel available for manning additional aircraft when these were obtained through the expansion of her aircraft and equipment programme and her purchases of these from abroad.

It is I am sure, superfluous for me to say that the alternative of sending a lesser number of airmen overseas at an earlier date, rather than the greatly increased numbers at a later date, was discussed by the Governments concerned, but the United Kingdom Government felt very definitely, that in view of her aircraft manufacturing schedules, the present arrangements were those best calculated to serve her purposes.

Following upon the events of recent weeks, we have only a few days ago asked the United Kingdom Government whether she would wish to see the schedules of the Joint Air Training Plan modified, and she has stated in reply, that at the present time the efficient prosecution of the war can best be achieved by adhering to the plans laid down for the

air training scheme and by accelerating them to the utmost where practicable. After consultation with the British Air Mission it was agreed that the way to accelerate the plans would be the adoption of measures to expedite the purchase and manufacture of equipment, the preparation of aerodromes, hangars and buildings in advance of the schedule requirements. In accordance with this view, certain special powers to act on its own authority have been conferred on the Ministry of Munitions and Supply for this purpose.

The House will remember that the technical administration of the Plan is committed to the Royal Canadian Air Force and I cannot stress too strongly the admirable way in which Air Vice-Marshal Croil and his staff have carried out their heavy responsibilities. The Government felt that it would be greatly aided in having the benefit of men with experience in business organization to supervise the administration under the Minister. From early in the war we have had the advantage of the services of Colonel K. S. Maclachlan, a prominent business executive to act as Deputy Minister for Navy and Air, and under Colonel Maclachlan's regime the Plan has proceeded at full pace in accordance with the programme specified at its inception which was in accordance with the timing as worked out by the United Kingdom Air Staff.

It was felt, however, as the plan developed that in view of the great magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many problems which it involved, that a special Deputy Minister for Air should be appointed, whose chief responsibility would be to further the execution of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and that this work should also be undertaken by one whose energies and powers of organization were beyond question, and who would concentrate his entire activities on the air side of our war effort. I was glad to be able to announce on April 11th that Mr. James S. Duncan, another outstanding business executive, had placed his time at the disposal of the Government for a period, ~~and I am able to say that~~ since the day of his appointment he has been applying himself to this momentous task with tireless energy, and a realistic approach to its many problems.

I believe that Mr. Duncan would be the first to say that he is receiving the fullest co-operation of ~~this~~ the Government and of the officials of the Departments concerned, in the important work which he is doing, and I am glad to be able to announce that, in close co-operation with the Royal Canadian Air Force, the Minister of Defence, and with the Government as a whole, certain plans are in hand which, while respecting the United Kingdom desire to leave intact the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan will, within the limitations of the present situation, envisage the speeding up of Canada's air contribution to the allied cause ~~which lies so close to all our hearts~~.

17d

D 50997

In order that Canada's contribution in this branch of our war effort may be made as complete and as expeditious as possible, the government has decided to ask Parliament to make provision for the appointment of an additional Minister of the Crown to be known as Minister of National Defence for Air who will give his undivided time and attention to air activities and, in particular, to a close supervision of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. This step is being taken with the full approval of the Minister of National Defence.

I do not propose today to refer to the organization of agriculture, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and a large number of collateral enterprises and committees which have been instituted by the government in its preparation of the economy of Canada for the war needs of ourselves and our allies. Suffice it to say, the government's record on the economic front is not less impressive than that on the military front, and not less important. At the moment, it is primarily of the military effort of which the country desires to be informed.

The dynamic forces which have changed the war situation in Europe within recent days, the unprecedented threat to the allied powers and ourselves must be met at once by immediate action. Production must be accelerated to its limit, training must be intensified. But however imperative the need, once we have determined, as we have, to meet actual and threatened events to the utmost of our strength and capacity, we must see to it that what is done shall be efficient, persistent and designed to guarantee that action which they believe will contribute most to the defence and triumph of the allied cause.

(Please see 18a)

The government proposes that there shall be devoted to the Department of Munitions and Supply the sole, exclusive and full-time services of a Minister of the Crown. His responsibility will be to correlate production activities, and to speed up in every manner possible the output of essential military and other material. For these purposes there will

Department
be conferred upon the ~~Ministry~~ of Munitions and Supply certain special powers which would not be accorded in normal war times, to enable it to expedite the provision of equipment and materials of war for the armed forces.

The government has reiterated to the government of the United Kingdom its confidence in the productive capacity of Canadian plans as an alternative source of supply relatively free from the danger of enemy action. Canadian manufacturers have expressed their readiness to undertake to the limit of their capacity the production of all such supplies as can be manufactured in this country. The government has undertaken to assist in the organization of the fullest use of the resources of Canadian industry as and when the British Government indicates its wishes.

D 57001

I have, at the moment, under consideration with my colleagues, the best arrangement it may be possible to make whereby a Minister of the Crown, in co-operation with the Minister of National Defence, may be enabled to give his undivided time and attention to air activities and, in particular, to a close supervision and, ~~so far as may be possible,~~ the expedition of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

20

The government has taken all possible steps to prevent sabotage and subversive activity, by propaganda or otherwise, against the allied cause. Our efficient Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other branches of the government concerned are fully aware of the situation, and have taken action wherever warranted. I wish, however, in this connection, to make two appeals. I appeal to all citizens of foreign extraction to remember that they are living in a land which is fighting to maintain the freedom which they now enjoy, and the possibilities of international goodwill which enabled them to settle in our midst. I appeal, also, to all members of the public to refrain from persecution and panic action against harmless and law-abiding people who share our life and in most instances our common citizenship.

(See page 20a)

In view of the critical turn of events in Europe within the last few days, and in the light of information obtained by the Minister of National Defence on his recent visit to England, the government has decided to take

the following additional measures to strengthen our armed forces, and to enlarge our contribution to the allied cause. These decisions, and those which I have already mentioned, ~~have already been~~ are being translated into action. They are all in addition to the work which has been done and planned in the military, naval and air spheres of action, and on the economic front.

We have decided to advance the date of the despatch overseas of the Second Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. We have decided to advance the date of the despatch of such further reinforcements of the First Division as have not already proceeded overseas. We have ~~determined~~ decided to push forward [redacted] the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division of the Canadian Active Service force, which will follow that division overseas at the earliest possible date.

There will be formed a Canadian corps in the field in accordance with arrangements which have been discussed with the British War Office.

Besides the two divisions and their ancillary units, the corps will include the necessary additional corps troops and will involve thedespatch overseas of several thousand men beyond those which I have already mentioned.

We shall undertake immediately the raising of a Third

Division, to be available for such service as may be required in Canada or overseas.

We have assigned, at the request of the United Kingdom government, certain naval and military formations to active duty in the Caribbean and North Atlantic areas.

There will be despatched overseas, as soon as possible, No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron to act as a reserve for No. 110 Co-operation Squadron now overseas.

We have decided to adopt every feasible method of accelerating the output of pilots and air crews from Canada for service in the field, at the earliest possible date.

Notwithstanding the terms of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, certain methods which cannot at present be disclosed have already been formulated by this government both to accelerate, and to supplement, the general Air Training Plan in Canada, in order that pilots, observers and air gunners may be made available more quickly for active service. Steps have been taken in order to advance beyond the agreed and predetermined schedule the preparation of airdromes and hangars,

D 57005

appropriation for war purposes

Mr. Speaker: This represents in brief some of the details of the action which the government has taken to meet the critical needs of the hour. The national interest prevents me from disclosing some further details of these items, or referring to other developments which the Government has already started on their way. The urgent appropriations with which this House will be called upon to deal, the various measures to be introduced by the Government, many of which are on the order paper, will command the earnest attention of each one of us. I appeal to all members to avoid time-wasting procedure, and to purge the order paper of items which cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered a contribution to the solution of our problems. Above all, I know that I shall not ask in vain that the time of hard pressed Ministers of the Crown, and of hard working Civil Servants should not be diverted from their many tasks to deal with matters which are not essential.

It is the opinion of the Government that the circumstances of the hour require that the urgent matter of the prosecution of the war, and of Canada's part

therein call for the most immediate and thorough discussion. We do not desire to remove and do not propose to curtail unduly any of the privileges of Honourable Members, but the Government believes that in the present emergency, government business should have the right of way over the Debate on the Address. It is therefore suggested that the Debate on the Address be shortened by arrangement between the Whips. If such an arrangement is not found to be possible, I may therefore ~~suggest~~ that the Debate be adjourned.

It appears to my colleagues and myself that all matters pertaining to the war can be more appropriately discussed during the consideration of the resolution providing the monies required to support Canada's war effort. This resolution is already on the order paper, and might if the House was agreeable be proceeded with tomorrow or on Wednesday. In view of the crisis, however, the Government will be obliged to proceed with the war appropriations by not later than Wednesday, and will take such steps to that end as may be necessary under the rules. I propose to discuss procedure with the leaders of the various parties in the House. The procedure which

I believe to be best designed to meet the dominant needs of the critical situation is as follows:

There should be a general debate on the resolution. We can then refer the appropriation bill to a Committee or Committees of the House of Commons in order that there may be disclosed to the members of those Committees information which would not probably be in the public interest to place on the pages of Hansard, or to broadcast in debate to the House of Commons. I propose to ascertain the views of the leaders of the House with respect to these Committees. It may be that a separate Committee surveying the work of each of the fighting services would be preferable to one dealing with defence matters generally. It is, I am sure, unnecessary for me to advance the hope and the desire, for I am sure that ~~the House~~ for members share both, that the personnel of these Committees be selected with the utmost care ~~from amongst the most capable and discreet of our members~~. I should like to emphasize that the setting up of these Committees will not preclude in any way any member from debating any subject to which he may desire to call the attention of the House and the country, and I give my assurance to ~~this House~~ for members that

the new committees constitution will not be used as a pretext for concealing any information which it is in the public interest to disclose. While officers of the Government and of the Service will attend the Committees when required, it would be a great disservice to the country at this time if members were to keep officers from their regular important public duties unless it is absolutely necessary.

D 57009

I have ~~caused~~ brought to pass in brief review ~~before~~ ~~you~~ the main facts in connection with the war effort of this country. Everything that we have done has been done with the full approval of our Allies and after complete consultation with them. We have done, and planned to do, the things which they have deemed most essential to the triumph of their cause and ours. I have told you what can now be told of the prompt and additional measures we have already taken to assist the cause to which we have pledged our honour. As circumstances permit, more will be disclosed. I need scarcely say that hysteria and panic will add nothing but confusion to the performance of a task that is long and difficult. ~~The~~ ~~needed~~ munitions and implements of war cannot be forged overnight. ~~Its~~ Their duration and intensity, alike, have to be taken into account. Similarly, the sailors, soldiers and airmen, required to meet fresh situations as they arise in all quarters of the globe, cannot all be trained ~~all~~ at once. No one is more conscious than my colleagues and I of the necessity of vigour of action, patience of heart and steadfastness of soul. We have acted and shall continue to act to the limit of our wisdom and knowledge and power.

I know that the Government can rely upon the support of all sides of this House as long as it does all that is humanly possible to carry out its duty to the people of Canada. To assist us, we shall need and, I believe, we shall receive the unwavering resolution and the full co-operation of every true man and woman in this country. If this war is lost, and tyranny triumphs, our world with its gift of freedom, and its promise of happiness for all men and women, will be lost in utter darkness. No sacrifice is too great to prevent that calamity.

The gallant youth of this country will soon be marching through the fires which have been devouring nations as well as armies overseas. They will be true to the imperishable traditions of their fathers. Everything that we can do, every help that we can give, every contribution that we can make, every comfort, great or small, that we must surrender, is as a grain of sand compared with the treasure which they offer on the altar of humanity.

Those of us who have heard the calm, brave words of Prime Minister Churchill and Prime Minister Reynaud do not doubt that the two great races from which this land derives its sinew and its strength will keep

D 57011

the torn flag flying on the battlements of freedom. They have faced, and we have faced with them, perils almost as great, situations almost as grave, in the days that have gone. We and they have remained unshaken and triumphant. It is my faith that we shall remain unshaken and triumphant again. The end of the war will find the people of Canada where the beginning of the war found us: standing, united at the side of Britain and of France.

Telegram to Churchill.

For J.W. Pickersgill

D 57012

In order that Canada's contribution in this branch of our war effort may be made as complete and as expeditious as possible, the government has decided to ask Parliament to make provision for the appointment of an additional Minister of the Crown to be known as Minister of National Defence for Air who will give his undivided time and attention to air activities and, in particular, to a close supervision of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. This step is being taken with the full approval of the Minister of National Defence.

Navy and the air force, you will be more than ever impressed by the differences between the waging of war in 1914 and the waging of war in 1940.

The world, perhaps, and Canada with it, has been slow to appreciate the extent and the meaning of these changes.

When we consider, also, the difference in the alignment of forces in this war, the possibilities of the spread of conflict in all directions of the compass, and our national duties for defence and cooperation with our allies not only on our eastern shores but in the Pacific as well, you will have some idea of the manner in which Canadian defence problems have been enlarged and intensified.

I shall proceed now, Mr. Speaker, to a brief review of what has been done and planned to date. I shall give the bare, plain facts in brief outline. Fuller details will be supplied by my colleagues as the session continues.

Our financial situation is radically different today from our situation in 1914. Then we were able to borrow money outside of Canada, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States. Today we are prohibited by the neutrality legislation of the United States from access to their security markets. Today not only are we unable to borrow in the United Kingdom,

~~not~~ effectively, and by publication or was
a reasonable one at least one indeed of the
~~the most effort~~ ~~which has and will be~~
done to relieve and extend. I shall
begin this review upon which a number of the
leading financial statements and considerations
of which the Government has been obliged
to take account

D 57014

but one of the most important parts of our war effort has been, and will continue to be, our ability to repatriate our securities. It has been and will be our duty to provide Britain with the dollar exchange she requires in order that she may purchase her essential agricultural and industrial supplies on this continent.

The actual money which has been paid out of the treasury on war accounts in the first eight months of the present war has been more than double the amount paid out in the first eight months of the last war. On the 19th of February, the Minister of Finance made public his estimate that, for the fiscal year of 1940-41, we shall require for war expenditure alone, at least $500,000,000.

The developments that are taking place and the additional activities and commitments which are proposed, and to which I shall refer in a few moments, have necessitated the revision of this estimate to at least $~~525~~ 700,000,000.

In the happening of certain other events and in the making of further commitments, to which no reference can be made at the present time, the figure of $~~625~~ 700,000,000 will be subject to a further revision upwards. Let it be understood that this represents war expenditure only.

In other words our present estimate is that we shall spend nearly $2 million a day on Canadian war effort in the present fiscal year for all purposes, war expenditure plus the ordinary expenditure on the public services. Canada will be over a billion dollars in the present fiscal year, in other words, for all purposes, more than 3 million a day.

Economic front

D 57016

I do not propose today to refer to the organization of agriculture, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and a large number of collateral enterprises and committees which have been instituted by the government in its ~~attempt to~~ prepar~~ation~~ the economy of Canada for the war needs of ourselves and our allies. The dynamic forces which have changed the war situation in Europe within recent days, the unprecedented threat to the allied powers and ourselves must be met at once by immediate action. Production must be accelerated to its limit, training must be intensified. But however imperative the need, once we have determined, as we have, to meet actual and threatened events to the utmost of our strength and capacity, we must see to it that what is done shall be efficient, persistent and designed to guarantee that action which they believe will contribute most to the defence and triumph of the allied cause.

The government proposes that there shall be devoted to the ~~Ministry~~ Department of Munitions and Supply the sole, exclusive and full-time services of a Minister of the Crown. His responsibility will be to correlate production activities, and to speed up in every manner possible the output of essential military and other material. For these purposes there will

The government has decided that an Associate Minister, acting in cooperation with the Minister of National Defence, shall devote his whole time to the Royal Canadian Air Force, and, in particular, to the supervision and expedition of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

The government has taken all possible steps to prevent sabotage and subversive activity, by propaganda or otherwise, against the allied cause. Our efficient Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other branches of the government concerned are fully aware of the situation, and have taken action wherever warranted. I wish, however, in this connection, to make two appeals. I appeal to all citizens of foreign extraction to remember that they are living in a land which is fighting to maintain the freedom which they now enjoy, and the possibilities of international goodwill which enabled them to settle in our midst. I appeal, also, to all members of the public to refrain from persecution and panic action against harmless and law-abiding people who share our life and in most instances our common citizenship.

In view of the critical turn of events in Europe within the last few days, and in the light of information obtained by the Minister of National Defence on his recent visit to England, the government has decided to take

D 57018

I ~~had~~ have, at the moment, under consideration with my colleagues the best arrangement it may be possible to make whereby a Minister of the Crown in co-operation with the Minister of National Defence may be enabled to give his undivided time and attention to air activities and in particular to a close supervision and so far as may be possible the expedition of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

D 57019 43

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS
MAY 20th, 1940.

Topical Headings

I WAR FINANCE

1. Comparison of edpenditure with 1914-15.
2. Comparison of estimates with 1915-16.

II SUPPLY

1. Latest total for contracts.
2. Outstanding developments.

III NAVY

1. Total personnel.
2. Ships in commission and under construction.

IV ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE

1. Total personnel.
2. Distribution of personnel.

V ARMY

1. Total personnel.
2. Disposition of forces

VI TOTAL MEN UNDER ARMS IN ALL SERVICES

D 57020

V11 PROGRESS OF AIR TRAINING PLAN

V111 DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

1X FULL TIME MINISTER OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

X INTERNAL SECURITY

X1 ADDITIONAL MEASURES ANNOUNCED

jwp file re

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Speech on Address

Section 5: Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations

D 57021

Dec. 1936: Premier of Manitoba at National Finance Committee meeting suggested inquiry into finances of Western Provinces.

Jan. and Feb. 1937: Inquiry by Bank of Canada into financial position of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Feb. 16, 1937: On tabling Bank's Report on Manitoba, Prime Minister announced government's intention to appoint a Royal Commission.

Aug. 14, 1937: Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations appointed.

2 mss. pages

Personnel:

Hon. N. W. Rowell, Chief
Justice of Ontario;

Mr. Justice Rinfret, of the
Supreme Court of Canada;

John W. Dafoe, Esq.,

Professor Robert A. Mackay;

Professor Henry F. Angus

Joseph Sirois, Esq., replaced
Mr. Justice Rinfret (Nov. 18,
1937);

Chief Justice Rowell resigned
(Nov. 22, 1938) and was re-
placed as Chairman by Dr.
Sirois;

Nov. 29, 1937: First sitting of Commission held at Winnipeg; subsequent sittings at Regina, Halifax, Charlottetown, Victoria, Edmonton, Toronto, Quebec, Fredericton. Several sittings in Ottawa.

427 submissions made to Commission.

May 10, 1940: Report submitted to the Government.

May 16, 1940: Report tabled in Parliament and submitted to Provincial Governments.

(A brief summary of the recommendations is in course of preparation)

D 57022

ROYAL COMMISSION ON DOMINION-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS

Summary of Recommendations

Financial Plan

1. Dominion should assume Provincial debt; alternatively either all provincial debt (both direct debts and those guaranteed by the provinces) or 40% of the combined municipal and provincial debt of the provinces. (Under present circumstances the latter alternative would apply only to the province of Quebec.) In order that the Dominion should not take over liability for a debt which represented a self-liquidating investment retained by a province, each province should pay over to the Dominion an annual sum equal to the interest which it now receives from its investments.

2. Dominion should assume direct administrative and financial responsibility for assistance to primary industries in cases where such assistance is now rendered indirectly through the province.

D 57023

3. The provinces should renounce the following taxes:

(a) personal income tax;
(b) corporation taxes--excluding bona fide licence fees;
(c) succession duties.

4. Abolition of present provincial subsidies.

Grants

5. Payment to provinces in need of it of an annual National Adjustment Grant on a scale designed to allow the province to maintain service on an average Canadian standard--payment to be made only if the province is itself imposing an average level of taxation; the original grant to be irreducible with reappraisal every five years.

6. Establishment of a small permanent Finance Commission to advise on all requests for new or increased grants or for special grants for emergencies, and to reappraise the system of grants every five years.

Future Debt

7. For future debt incurred by provinces the recommendations are: (a) If a province borrows directly on its own credit the service on the loan must be met entirely by the province and will be excluded in calculations for adjustment grants; (b) If a province submits its loan proposal to the Finance Commission and secures the approval of that body, then if the loan fails to be self-supporting the province would be able to include the charges of the loan in presenting a claim for an increase in its National Adjustment Grant. In either case, no province should be permitted to incur debt outside of Canada.

Recommendations Requiring Constitutional Amendments

8. Dominion should assume responsibility for maintenance of unemployed (able to work) and their dependents.

9. If old age pension system is made contributory, it should be brought under Dominion control-- otherwise no change.

10. Dominion to have power to implement conventions of the International Labour Organization.

11. Dominion and provinces should have concurrent powers to deal with marketing of a named list of natural products, with ability to make additions from time to time by common consent.

12. Constitutional authority should be given for the delegation of legislative powers between Dominion and Provinces.

General

13. A Transport Planning Commission should be set up with the purposes of planning transportation developments in a broad way and facilitating co-operation between the Dominion and provinces in transportation matters.

14. If administration of a service or collection of a tax changes from one government to another, the administrative personnel concerned should, so far as possible, continue under the new authority.

D 57026

15. Additional legislative powers to be conferred on Dominion should be strictly defined so as not to extend by interpretation to interfere with, for instance, the Quebec Civil Code.

16. Provision should be made for regularizing Dominion-provincial conferences, with frequent meetings at intervals of say a year.

force. But why not more, say twenty-five per cent? Do experience and mature judgment mean nothing?

These are some of the things I am thinking about. There may be a good answer. I do not think any government which has in its ranks the Minister of Finance and the Minister of National Defence would have any prejudice against members of the Canadian expeditionary force; in fact, one would suppose the opposite to be the truth. I wish to do them justice. But why are not more of these men being taken on? They are asking this question, and we too must have the courage to ask it. The empire training scheme must be brought to the maximum of speed. We must have an intensified scheme of recruiting for reinforcement of our overseas division, and we must mobilize our industrial equipment.

Mr. Speaker, I apologize to this house for having detained it so long. During the past few days and over the weekend our hearts have been heavy with anxiety. We know that the first big push, the first big battle, is on. It is not ended yet. The forces of barbarism are stronger than we had any conception of. But I am glad to think the battle is not yet lost. At this moment there is no indication that the momentum of the enemy push is slowing up, not to speak of being stopped. But I have supreme confidence in the ability of the British and allied arms to withstand the shock. Stability will be established. But do not imagine that this is the end. Rather it is but the beginning of new and more severe aggressive action on the part of the enemy. The next drive may be the invasion of England herself, the first in ten centuries; and when that happens, then, my friends, this war will be that much nearer to us, and the event will carry with it to us an increasing anxiety and a correspondingly increasing obligation. Shall we rise to the occasion with our supreme effort? We must. We shall not falter. I was heartened yesterday in listening to the speech of Mr. Churchill. He is a man of stout heart. As I listened to him I recalled that England has been in many wars. She has won and lost many battles, but I am proud to think that England has always won the last battle. It is our hope and trust that she will do so in this war also.

This party which I have the honour to represent for the time being is prepared to help to the utmost. I cannot make that statement too strong. But we want to know and to be shown what is going on. The government must demonstrate to the people of Canada that the trust reposed in the government has not been betrayed, that the mandate given will be carried out to the utmost. I am not thinking in terms of party; I am thinking in terms of Canadianism.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) in concluding his remarks referred to the extremely grave situation which all free countries are facing, we in Canada in common with those great and brave countries, Britain and France and other nations formerly neutral, that have suffered so severely in the course of recent months. On Friday last my hon. friend asked me a question, to which I replied. The question related to the situation as it was at the time. When I had replied, indicating how very critical it was, my hon. friend said that he wished to assure me at once that he and his party desired to give all the cooperation they possibly could to the government, to support them in any action which they might be ready to take, and to assist in every way in the face of a common peril. My hon. friend concluded his remarks this afternoon in much the same strain. I had rather expected, I should perhaps say I had rather hoped, that in rising to reply to him to-day on the first day of the debate on the address, my remarks might be wholly congratulatory on his attitude and in the nature of renewed thanks on the part of the government to him and those associated with him for the cooperation which they had offered and which we believed they were prepared to give in full measure. I do wish to thank my hon. friend for what he has said in regard to the cooperation that is intended. I wish also to congratulate him on some of the remarks he made this afternoon. I am pleased indeed to find that in the discharge of the new duties that have fallen upon him he is full of the old vigour which he displayed in previous years and is now in a position where he may be able to contribute more and more to the public life of this country, as he has just said was his motive in wishing to be returned to parliament. I am sure all hon. members hope he may have that opportunity for many years to come. But I had expected that the offer of cooperation which my hon. friend gave would not be followed quite so quickly by a return to the political battles that were fought prior to and during the last general election. I did hope, in the light of the solemnity of this hour, that when he rose to speak he would say that all had better forget the battles that had taken place—

Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): He said that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —accept the verdict the Canadian people pronounced so emphatically at the last general election, and from now on act, as far as it might be possible so to do, as of one mind in this House of Commons, giving to each other all the assistance we possibly can.

May I say I had fully expected my hon. friend would make a very brief speech this afternoon, that he would come immediately to the point, which is the one of chief concern in the mind of the Canadian people, and to which he referred as such, namely that the country is anxious to know, respecting Canada's war effort, what the government has done, what it is doing and what it proposes to do. That I think is the one question which the people of Canada are asking, and to which they are entitled to have an early and complete reply. They know in large part but they do not know all. Of necessity we have been obliged to wait until parliament met to make a comprehensive statement. Here alone questions respecting matters of national importance can be answered with authority as they arise. However, I am not going to take exception, beyond what I have just said, to the attitude of my hon. friend. I will only say that if the situation was grave on Friday last, it is if anything graver to-day. I hope, in the light of that knowledge, hon. members may not find it necessary to go back and forth over and over ground that was traversed time and again in the recent campaign, but will devote themselves primarily to a consideration of what at this moment, and from this time on, may be of greatest service in meeting the present situation.

I had thought that I would be able to give to the house before six o'clock this evening a statement with respect to what the government has done, what it is doing and what it proposes to do, that would immediately give to the people of our country that sense of security with respect to the government's actions and intentions which all of them wish to have and are entitled to have. Owing to the length of the speech which my hon. friend has made, it is not now possible for me to make that statement before six o'clock. I suppose my hon. friend will expect, and the house may expect, that I should first of all deal with some of the matters he has brought up in the course of his discussion, and that I should also comment on the different paragraphs in the speech from the throne to which he has referred. If I take up a short time prior to six o'clock in reviewing the ground he has run over, instead of immediately bringing forward the statement I have here prepared, it will be in order that I may not be open to the charge of having omitted reference to anything that has been said, but, instead, to endeavour to cover, however briefly, points which my hon. friend has raised.

First of all may I say to him with respect to his opening remarks as to the anxiety that exists in the minds of himself and others concerning the situation overseas, that this anxiety is not confined to any man, to any party, to any group; it is an anxiety which not only extends over this entire country, but is deeply felt in all parts of the world, particularly in those parts which hitherto have regarded themselves as free. I hope no hon. member on either side of the house will assume that any other member, no matter in what quarter of the house he may be seated, is any less anxious, any less sincere, any less loyal with respect to the part which this country should take in the present crisis than he himself may be.

My hon. friend has spoken of this war as a righteous war, a war in which there can be no question as to the justice of our cause. With that I think we are all in agreement. He has referred in appreciative terms to the speeches delivered on Friday last by the mover and the seconder of the address. I should like to thank him for what he has said of and to these newly elected, young members. The hon. gentleman referred to the speech of the seconder of the address as being a courageous and brave speech. It was courageous and brave, but I think my hon. friend rather spoiled the effect of his remark when he said that the courageous part of the speech which he quoted was received with applause only by members of his group and not by other parties in this house. May I say to him and to the seconder that with every word used by the hon. member for Vancouver North (Mr. Sinclair), we on this side are in complete agreement.

At the beginning of this new parliament, Mr. Speaker, I should like to say how much we welcome to the membership of this house so many young men, most of them returned for the first time. As the leader of the opposition has said, they are the ones who will have to deal with the problems of the future, and the future they face would appear to be more difficult than any period heretofore faced by the members of any previous parliament of this country. It is fortunate for them and for Canada that in their earlier years, before becoming members of this house, so many of them gave earnest study and thoughtful consideration to the problems of our country. I doubt if we could have had a better example of the good effect of the many clubs which have been formed in Canada for the purpose of directing the time and attention of their members to a study of political problems than that which was evidenced by the speeches made by the mover and the seconder of the address. The hon. members who moved and seconded the address have given careful study to political problems for many years. They have accustomed themselves to public speaking, and have come

into parliament not unacquainted with public affairs but already trained in thought and with judgment matured with respect to many of the great questions of the day.

I should like to express to the mover of the address, the hon. member from Lotbinière (Mr. Lapointe), my very warm congratulations upon the exceptionally admirable speech which he delivered. Like the leader of the opposition, I was impressed by the degree of confidence with which he spoke—and this is equally true of the seconder of the address—and the ability of each to hold the unbroken attention of the house. Few if any maiden speeches have been more suited to better the occasion than the speeches to which we listened on Friday last. I can hardly say whether my pleasure as I listened to the hon. member for Lotbinière was greater at his very obvious achievement, than was my pleasure in having the honour of sitting at the side of his distinguished father and sharing the pride he must have felt as he listened to one of his own family address this House of Commons of which he has been a member for so many years. As the leader of the opposition has said, there has been but one previous occasion on which father and son have sat in the same parliament as members of this house. My hon. friend referred to the gentleman who, as head of the Conservative party, held a very distinguished place. I should like to mention the great distinction which belongs to the right hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe, Quebec East) who to-day in point of membership is the oldest member of this house, and who in the affairs of Canada has played a part second to none in furthering the unity of our country. It must be a source of deep pride to him, as it is to all of us, that he has been privileged to hear his son speak words which must have brought to him the assurance that all he has so faithfully struggled and fought for in the course of his parliamentary and public life in the interests of the Canadian people is, God willing, certain to be carried on through years to come by the one who bears his name and who, I believe, will share his fame.

May I also congratulate most warmly the seconder of the address. His words were evidence of the careful training he has had, in part, at Princeton university and, in part, at Oxford university. May I say to him that he has given to parliament at this time of grave crisis in the world's affairs an assurance of the service which from this time on may be expected from him in the public life of our country.

The leader of the opposition took exception to the reference in the speech from the throne to the advisability of making an immediate study of post-war problems. I have been in parliament for some little time, and I think I know something of the way in which criticism is apt to shape itself. I am afraid that if there had been no reference of the kind in the throne speech, the first word we would have heard from my hon. friend would have been that it had altogether omitted one of the most important matters to be considered at this time, namely preparing as soon as possible to meet not only those great problems which will arise when the war is over but also those problems which are arising already in consequence of the war. I hope hon. members will feel that one of their supreme duties is to make a study of those very questions as speedily and as thoroughly as possible. Surely no one imagines that Canada's war effort will suffer in the least because a study of other questions is also undertaken. In this particular the government is doing what it has sought to do all along, to look forward continually to the situations that are likely to arise in the future.

My hon. friend mentioned the visit to Canada of Their Majesties the King and Queen. He drew attention to the fact that the present speech from the throne does not contain any special reference to that visit. If my hon. friend had been in the house at the time he would have found in the speech from the throne at the opening of the session of 1939, in terms which I am sure he would be the first to appreciate, a reference to the intended visit of their majesties. These were the words:

> The announcement that Their Majesty's King George VI and Queen Elizabeth have graciously decided to visit Canada in the months of May and June has been received with rejoicing throughout the dominion. The honour of welcoming their king and queen, in person, on their own soil, is a privilege which will be shared with enthusiasm and pride by all His Majesty's Canadian subjects. The visit will be the first paid by the reigning sovereign to any of his self-governing dominions. It will be the first time a British king and queen have been in North America. It is deeply gratifying that their majesties' tour will embrace all the provinces of Canada.

Then follows a reference to the intended visit of their majesties to the United States. In the speech from the throne made at the conclusion of that session there was again a reference to the visit of their majesties, which placed on record one of the most memorable features of the entire visit, namely the meeting of His Majesty the King with the members of the two houses of parliament. It was in the following words:

> In bringing to a close a session in which, for the first time, the king has been present in person in the parliament of Canada, I desire to express the gratification of my government at the universal and heartfelt rejoicing of a united people who are being honoured by the

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visit of their sovereign. . . . It was a source of satisfaction to my government that his majesty was able to give the royal assent in person to the bill respecting the Canada-United States trade agreement.

In addition to these references to their majesties visit which appears in previous speeches from the throne there will be found repeated references in *Hansard* by myself and others to that memorable occasion. It is a pleasing coincidence that it was just a year ago this very weekend Their Majesties the King and Queen were in this capital city. If I recollect correctly, it was just a year ago to-night the members of both houses of parliament had the great honour of having the king and queen as their guests at a parliamentary dinner. I agree with my hon. friend when he says that the visit of the king and queen to Canada was one of the happiest events in the whole of our history, happy in the rejoicing it occasioned in all parts of the dominion and, above all, happy in that it served to reveal the affectionate regard in which their majesties are held by their Canadian subjects and the loyalty of the Canadian people to the crown. Further, it helped to reveal the unity of the Canadian people under the crown.

My hon. friend has been good enough to speak in kindly terms of such part as I may have had in extending on behalf of the Canadian people an invitation to their majesties to visit Canada. In doing that, I was but taking advantage of one of the high privileges which belongs to the responsible position I now hold and which I had been privileged to hold in some previous years. I believe it was in 1923 or 1926, when I was attending an imperial conference, that, through His Majesty King George V, I extended an invitation to have the Duke and Duchess of York visit Canada at an early opportunity. I now recall that that invitation was extended shortly after the occasion of their marriage. On a later occasion while in England on other business I repeated the invitation, and at the time of the coronation, when the responsibility was that of their majesties themselves, I pointed out how delighted the Canadian people would be should their majesties find it possible to visit our dominion. At that time I received from the king the assurance that the first opportunity their majesties might have to leave England on an extended tour would in all probability be given over to a visit to our country. When Lord Tweedsmuir subsequently went to England for a brief stay, His Excellency carried with him from the government a renewal of the invitation, the acceptance of which was definitely given for the following year. As I have stated previously, no words of mine could begin to express all that the royal visit meant at the time or what it continues to mean at this time, when it is the desire of members of the British commonwealth of nations to show their united strength under the British crown.

My hon. friend has referred to the loss our country sustained in the passing of Lord Tweedsmuir. At different times I have publicly expressed the sense of that loss, as I believe it was felt by all our people. I would add only this, that I believe no sovereign ever entrusted a great mission to a more faithful servant and that no prime minister ever had a more helpful counsellor or a truer friend than I had in the years it was my privilege to share with His Excellency in the affairs of the public life of our country.

May I add that with the leader of the opposition I am pleased to join in expressing the great pleasure it has given the people of Canada to know that Lord Athlone and the Princess Alice will shortly be in our midst. Their close relationship to the royal family will still further serve to keep fresh in our minds many memories which will always be cherished of the visit of the king and queen. With a knowledge of the part played by Lord Athlone in the years during which he was Governor General of South Africa I think we may regard ourselves as very fortunate that one who has so intimate a knowledge of constitutional matters and has had such a wide experience in public administration is to be the successor of our late Governor General.

My hon. friend has spoken about the general election. I had intended at this time to omit altogether any reference to that subject. Anything I now have to say in that connection will be exceedingly brief, because I have no desire to revive past political controversies. What I would like to say however is that, irrespective of party, we have reason to feel a definite pride in the strength of our democratic institutions when we reflect that in a time of war it was possible for Canada to carry through a general election, and in so doing to preserve inviolate the right of the people, within stated periods of time, to select anew their representatives in the parliament of the country. By many during the campaign, and to some degree this afternoon by the leader of the opposition, I have been censured for having brought about the dissolution of parliament at the time it was done. I ask hon. members this question: In the light of what has since occurred, is there a single hon. member who does not feel that it is a very fortunate thing that at this time of concentrated warfare we have a new parliament, assembled here with an emphatic mandate

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from the country to carry on Canada's war effort to the utmost of our might and power? Can any one imagine in what condition this country would be if we had continued with the old parliament, a parliament which at the very opening of its last session, despite the existence of war, began its duties in a spirit of party controversy? What would have been the condition to-day if partisan discussion had been continued in parliament for months, and the election been longer delayed? Imagine the confusion we would have if a general election were taking place at this time!

When I asked for dissolution I said it was the duty of a prime minister to take all circumstances into consideration and to have regard for what was likely to happen, as well as for all that had happened. I shall not repeat the immediate reasons which brought on the election, but I would remind hon. members that I said I thought it was advisable that the election should be over before concentrated warfare began in Europe. I said it would be advisable to have the election over before the great offensive which I believed would pretty certainly come in the Spring. I pointed out that our soldiers overseas should have the opportunity of casting their ballots if possible before going to the front, and that those in Canada should be permitted to vote before going overseas.

A prime minister at all times must shoulder heavy responsibility and that responsibility is particularly heavy in a time of war. He has a very special responsibility with respect to a dissolution of parliament. He has to advise as to what is most in the interests of the nation. If he fails so to do, he must bear the consequences of that failure. If I had the whole matter to do over again, in the light of what has since happened, I would, if anything, do it more readily than I did the last time. I know my hon. friends opposite were disappointed. My hon. friend said that when he heard the radio announcement he felt he would like to have assassinated me. I have no doubt he felt that way, and I think there were a large number in his party who felt the same way. But I was not thinking of him or of the Conservative party at the time when I advised dissolution. I was thinking of what was most in the interests of Canada at a time of war, and what the people of this country would expect. All circumstances considered, I think I have been pretty well justified in that action by the verdict which the people of Canada have given with respect to it.

My hon. friend has spoken about unemployment insurance and has said that he thinks the time difficult for us to carry through such a measure at the present session. He said that we ought to know, or at least he would like to inquire as to what would be the probable response of the provinces with respect to this proposal. He mentioned that for many years we have been seeking to get through an unemployment insurance measure, but may I remind my hon. friend that the present administration or rather a Liberal administration many years ago introduced an unemployment insurance act. It was a Liberal administration that put that act upon the statutes and it has been there ever since. It was a Liberal administration that increased the scope of the act as originally passed.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That was the Old Age Pensions Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Old Age Pensions Act.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury). That is a horse of another colour.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We placed the Old Age Pensions Act upon the statutes. I beg my hon. friend's pardon. What I had in mind was social legislation generally. The Old Age Pensions Act was the first step in meeting the situation which arises from unemployment. Elderly people are the first to suffer lack of employment. What we as a party have been seeking ever since is authority to enact a federal measure which would make unemployment insurance applicable to the whole dominion. It has been felt, and rightly I think, that until we had reason to believe that the provinces generally were prepared to give that authority to this federal parliament, the government would not be right in proceeding with such a measure.

I am sure the members of the house will be pleased to know that the government has received the assurance of practically all the

provinces that they will be prepared to support the administration in seeking an amendment to the British North America Act which will enable us forthwith to introduce an unemployment insurance act in this house. I am perhaps expressing the matter in too technical terms when I say that they approve an amendment to the British North America Act. What the provinces generally have approved is the enactment of the federal government of a national unemployment insurance scheme. This assurance has come from the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. I have a letter received this week from the Premier of Alberta, the only province whose name I have not mentioned. It expresses the view that the government of Alberta would like to have the report of the dominion-provincial relations commission or a copy of the bill itself before expressing a final opinion. However, there is not in Premier Aberhart's letter any statement which would lead one to believe that if such a measure were introduced in this house, exception would be taken to it by the members from that particular province.

May I say that the government feels that with the backing of all the provinces I have mentioned—the letters will be tabled later on—we are justified in taking this step at this time. We feel moreover that it is desirable to take the earliest possible opportunity to introduce the measure now that assurance has been given so generally by the provinces. A time of war, when there is much in the way of employment in heavy industry, offers perhaps the best of all opportunities to begin a measure of this kind. Contributions will come in more readily at such a time. Then, if unemployment comes, as it may once the war is over, there will be upon the statutes a law under which men will be able to obtain their allowances.

My hon. friend has spoken of the defence of Canada regulations and has said that he hoped this would not be a case of merely sending the matter to a committee. He hoped that something more would be done in reference to the question than just putting it to one side. I think he said that the government ought to have a policy in connection with a matter of that kind. The policy, I may say, is already there, it is laid down in the regulations. This afternoon the Minister of Justice explained what the policy was. I may add that during the course of the campaign the government was asked repeatedly to refer the defence of Canada regulations to a committee of parliament. An undertaking to that effect was given. I have answered many communications which have been received complaining of the regulations in some particulars with the assurance that if the present administration were in office when parliament met we would see that the defence of Canada regulations were referred to a committee of the house so that hon. members might have a chance of expressing their views and opinions with respect thereto and of making to the house such recommendations as they might deem advisable.

I see I have come to the part of the address of my hon. friend where he began to speak more particularly of the war effort of the government. Also I notice it is just six o'clock. If I have passed over other points which the leader of the opposition raised, I hope he will forgive me for so doing. This evening after recess I shall begin immediately to answer what I believe to be the questions which are of most concern not only to my hon. friend but to other hon. members of this house, and to the people of Canada, namely, what the government's war effort has been, what it is at the present time, and what we intend it to be.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As I intimated this afternoon before adjournment, I intend to speak as briefly as possible on any matter other than that of Canada's effort in the present war. This is no time in which to review at length the state of the world. Swiftly moving events of the gravest importance to the future not only of this country but of the whole human family speak for themselves with compelling eloquence. No speech of mine could add aught to what already is all too well known. It is no time either for self-justification, or vilification, or for ancient controversies. I realize to the full, as other hon. members also realize, that the temper of the government, the house and the people and the crisis of the hour demand action and not argument; deeds and not words.

The character of the enemies of the human race against whom we and our allies are arrayed has been unmasked in all its barbarity and violence.

Within a period of eight months the tyrants of Germany have become the masters of Poland, Denmark, a great part of Norway, Holland, and the chief cities of Belgium. By

weight of men and equipment they have brought devastation to the weak and the unoffending. Within the last few days their armed forces have made a deep incursion on the soil of France, and the German Reich is now preparing new attacks upon Britain from the lands which nazi brutality has violated. Words of passion and indignation will effect nothing. Knowing what the enemy has been and is doing, we must consider what we are doing and what we can do to meet him.

My purpose, therefore, to-night is to review as concisely as possible what Canada has done and is doing, and to indicate what further action the government has taken or proposes to take to meet the danger which threatens our allies and ourselves.

Some of the measures which have been taken and will be taken cannot, for reasons which will be obvious, be divulged at all at this time. Some must necessarily remain but partially indicated. Within the limits imposed by military necessity there will be no secrecy.

The greatest crisis in the history of the British commonwealth is not the occasion for partisan congratulations or for partisan criticism. We are concerned not with the past but with the present and the uncertain clouded future. The task which is ours is a task for all Canada, not for any section or group of Canadians. It needs and will need the utmost vigour and whole-hearted assistance on the part of each and every one of us.

It has not been a simple matter for this country to move from an economy of peace to an economy of war, just as it has not been easy for the democracies of Europe who once hoped for peace, to make preparations against an autocracy that has consistently hoped for war and planned it.

The record of the war effort of this country and an outline of the plans which we have initiated and proposed to initiate will be unfolded. Vainglorious justification is as foreign to the spirit of this solemn hour, as is carping and hysterical criticism. All I ask is that, as this house surveys the government's record and the government's plans, the record and the plans be placed in their proper perspective and examined and assessed as a whole.

The world has greatly changed since 1914. Canada has changed with it. Our national status has changed. Our political responsibility has changed. Our financial position has changed. Our industrial capacity has changed. The problems of local defence and overseas activity have been revolutionized by the new range, effectiveness and destructive power of aircraft, submarines, mechanized weapons and military equipment. The machine of war more than ever dominates the man at war. Military power can no longer be resolved in terms of the number of men enlisted.

The final result of all these factors of change, the rise of air power and the elimination of distance, cannot yet, of course, be accurately determined. They have remarkably increased the necessary emphasis upon home defence. They have made clearer than ever the tremendous importance of our eastern Atlantic ports for the convoying of military and other supplies to Britain and France.

They have been responsible for the great significance it has been necessary to attach to air development—not only in connection with our own Royal Canadian Air Force, but also in regard to the commonwealth air training plan, in which we have such a vital part and place.

When you examine the expenditures made, and learn the appropriations proposed, in connection with the Royal Canadian Navy and the air force, you will be more than ever impressed by the differences between the waging of war in 1914 and the waging of war in 1940.

The world, perhaps, and Canada with it, has been slow to appreciate the extent and the meaning of these changes.

When we consider, also, the difference in the alignment of forces in this war, the possibilities of the spread of conflict in all directions of the compass, and our national duties for defence and cooperation with our allies not only on our eastern shores but in the Pacific as well, you will have some idea of the manner in which Canadian defence problems have been enlarged and intensified.

I shall proceed now, Mr. Speaker, to a brief review of what has been done and planned to date. I shall give the bare, plain facts in brief outline. Full details will be supplied by my colleagues as the session continues.

A country's war effort, while by no means wholly dependent upon its financial capacity, is nevertheless definitely limited by and subject to financial considerations of which too full and careful an account cannot be taken. Appropriations for and expenditures on war account are at least one index of its nature and extent. I shall begin this review, therefore, with a brief financial statement and a mention of some of the financial considerations of which the government has been obliged to take account.

First of all may I say that our financial situation is radically different from our situation in 1914. Then we were able to borrow money outside of Canada, both in the United

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Kingdom and in the United States. To-day we are prohibited by the neutrality legislation of the United States from access to their security markets. To-day not only are we unable to borrow in the United Kingdom, but one of the most important parts of our war effort has been, and will continue to be, our ability to repatriate our securities. It has been and will be our duty to provide Britain with a proportion of the dollar exchange she requires in order that she may purchase certain essential agricultural and industrial supplies on this continent.

The actual money which has been paid out of the treasury on war account in the first eight months of the present war has been more than double the amount paid out in the first eight months of the last war. On the 19th of February, the Minister of Finance made public his estimate that, for the fiscal year of 1940-41, we shall require for war expenditure alone, at least $500,000,000. The developments that are taking place and the additional activities and commitments which are proposed, and to which I shall refer in a few moments, have necessitated the revision of this estimate to at least $700,000,000.

In the happening of certain other events and in the making of further commitments, to which no reference can be made at the present time, the figure of $700,000,000 will be subject to a further revision upwards. In other words, our present estimate is that we shall be spending nearly two million dollars a day on Canada's war effort in the present fiscal year. Let it be clearly understood that that represents war expenditure only. For all purposes —war expenditure, plus the ordinary expenditure for the public services of Canada—the estimate will be over one billion dollars in the present fiscal year. I am just told by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) that the figure is not merely over one billion dollars, it is over 1100 million dollars. In other words, for all purposes, we shall be spending from now on an average of more than three million dollars a day. In the fiscal year of 1915-16, the total war expenditure on all accounts was $166,000,000.

The reasons for the increased costs brought upon us by the growing necessity of the situation I have already referred to. In the last war there was no Canadian air force, nor air training plan. In this year we estimate for naval expenditure alone more than $100,000,000. In the corresponding period of the last war, the estimate was $3,000,000. Our estimated naval expenditure in this first year, therefore, is over thirty times what it was in the similar period for the last war. The estimated naval expenditures for the present fiscal year are more than three times the total naval expenditure for the whole of the last war.

The needs of modern war, also, have almost doubled the cost per man of maintaining a division in the field.

In connection with supply, the total contracts let to the 15th day of May, amounted to $275,000,000. Of these amounts, $200,000,000 have been placed on behalf of the government of Canada, and $75,000,000 on behalf of the allied governments. With the exception of amounts totalling about $50,000,000, all contracts have been let in Canada.

Twenty shipyards are engaged in the production of 90 vessels of war. Production is well in advance of the scheduled time. There are under construction 82 aerodromes, 175 construction projects, including coastal fortifications, submarine defences and hangars. There are on order 9,000 motor vehicles, at a cost of $14,000,000, 3,000 of which have already been delivered overseas.

War munitions are being manufactured at a cost of $80,000,000.

One large explosive plant is under construction. A second is in the course of organization.

Industry is working at full speed to meet the future requirements of clothing, boots and personal equipment. The production of small arms munitions is being expanded as rapidly as equipment can be installed.

The Department of Munitions and Supply, with the assistance of the war-time prices and trade board, has taken every available step to protect sources of outside supply, and ensure against a shortage of raw materials. In addition to this, constant study is given to the possibilities of the increased use of Canadian materials in the production of supplies for ourselves and our allies.

I now propose to give the house particulars of the present position in relation to the Canadian navy, the Canadian active service force and the militia, the Royal Canadian Air Force and the air training plan. I do not need to remind the house that modern warfare demands extensive and intensive training, that modern military and naval equipment cannot be built in the space of a few weeks, however strong may be the manufacturing and industrial resources on which this construction depends.

As at May 10, 1940, the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy consisted of 952 officers, 5,662 ratings. These numbers include 125 Canadian officers and 100 ratings who are serving in the British navy. That personnel is being increased by recruitment, and will be

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increased as rapidly as ships come into service. There is a provision in the estimates for the current fiscal year for the increase in our navy personnel to a total of 1,450 officers and 10,000 ratings by March 31, 1941. There will be, of course, a progressive increase from this time to that.

In addition to our 7 destroyers, we have in commission 15 minesweepers, 6 anti-submarine vessels, 15 fishermen's reserve vessels, and 51 other auxiliary vessels. The conversion of 3 high speed merchant ships to light cruisers will be completed shortly. A number of other vessels have been acquired and are now being armed for patrol duty. There are under construction 90 additional vessels, which include 54 patrol vessels and 18 minesweepers.

The Royal Canadian Navy, apart from its patrol duties on our own coasts, is assisting actively in the coastal defence of Newfoundland, and is cooperating with the British and French navies in the Caribbean area. It is also taking an active and important share in the convoy duty so essential if the military supplies and foodstuffs required by the allies are to cross the ocean in security.

I have already referred to the estimate of over $100,000,000 for the Royal Canadian Navy in the current fiscal year.

I now give you the essential facts with reference to the Royal Canadian Air Force. The figures which I shall quote are separate and distinct from the developments and projects of the commonwealth air training plan.

As at May 10 of the year, we had 1,389 officers, 10,926 airmen, or 12,315 of all ranks. Their disposition is divided between army cooperation, home defence, and the Royal Air Force contribution to the Canadian share of the instructional staff of the air training plan. In cooperation with the army, we have one squadron overseas; we have a second squadron completing its training in Canada. Provisions have been made for the continuous training of reinforcements for both squadrons in our army cooperation school. For home defence, we have 9 squadrons in our present establishment, and will have 12 squadrons when our establishment is completed.

In the Canadian active service force, the personnel as at the 10th of May, 1940, was as follows: The first division is overseas, and its strength has been enlarged by the necessary ancillary troops. The number of troops in the first division and its ancillaries is 23,438. At Canadian military headquarters there are 240 officers and men. The total of men overseas is therefore 23,678.

We have in training for overseas service a second division with its ancillary troops amounting to 24,645. We have under mobilization other troops under the following headings:

Depots and training centres	16,282
Troops engaged in coastal defence and anti-aircraft work	9,036
Troops engaged in guarding vulnerable points	1,665
Other troops in Canada	6,223

The total personnel in the Canadian active service force as of May 10 is 81,519.

In addition to the active service force the non-permanent active militia has been organized into eleven territorial regiments for the purpose of providing reenforcements for the Canadian active service force units overseas. Apart from troops overseas and troops engaged in home defence our troops are assisting in the defence of strategic areas in Newfoundland, and further assignments of duties are contemplated in the Atlantic area.

In the three services there were as of May 10 more than 100,000 men on active service. In addition organization has been provided for the reenforcement of the Canadian active service force and for the recruitment as rapidly as ships can be put into commission of the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy. Recruitment of the Royal Canadian Air Force is intimately associated with the British commonwealth air training plan to which I shall now refer.

The British commonwealth air training plan is not an exclusively Canadian undertaking. As the name implies, it is a joint plan in which the four governments, those of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, are all concerned. The plan originated with the British government. The preliminary work on the scheme was done by the United Kingdom air ministry. Canada cannot alter the plan at her own exclusive discretion, nor without regard for the essential factors of the adequate training of men to meet the demands of modern aerial warfare.

Neither the commonwealth air training plan nor any other air training plan can turn out trained pilots, observers and gunners immediately after its inception. The immediate requirements of the United Kingdom air force were and still are being met by the training establishments in the United Kingdom, which were in full operation at the outbreak of war. The joint training plan was established for the purpose of maintaining the progressive supply of trained pilots and airmen, and increasing it steadily until the allied air force had attained decisive superiority over the enemy in the air. It was felt that the plan

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had to be orderly and free from confusion. It is worked out so that all stages of training are inter-related, and the training itself is on a progressively increasing scale. It is impossible to make arbitrary changes in the plan without disrupting its efficiency, and without consultation with the other members of the commonwealth partnership on which it is based.

I can illustrate the magnitude of the plan in no better way than by giving the house a list of the number of establishments required for its full operation. They are:

4 training commands, situated respectively at Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Regina.
2 manning depots.
20 Royal Canadian Air Force recruiting centres.
3 initial training schools.
26 elementary flying training schools.
16 service flying training schools.
10 air observers' schools.
10 bombing and gunnery schools.
2 air navigation schools.
4 wireless schools.
4 repair depots.
4 equipment depots.

There are also several other important units, such as a technical training school, an air armament school, a central flying school, and so forth. In other words, there will be a total of 110 separate formations and units in existence when the plan is operating at full capacity.

To illustrate the progress which has already been made, I should like to place on *Hansard* a list of the units which have so far been established. They are:

Training command headquarters, Toronto.
Air armament school, Trenton.
Central flying school, Trenton.
Air navigation school, Trenton.
Service flying training school, Camp Borden.
Equipment and accounting training school, St. Thomas.
Manning depot, Toronto.
Technical training school, St. Thomas.
Initial training school, Toronto.
Equipment depot, Ottawa, now being moved to Toronto.
Equipment depot, Winnipeg.
Wireless school, Montreal.
Training command headquarters, Montreal.
School of aeronautical engineering, Montreal.
Repair depot, Trenton.
School of administration, Trenton.
Training command headquarters, Winnipeg.
Manning depot, Brandon.
Aircraft inspectors' school, Toronto.
Training command headquarters, Regina.
Twenty recruiting centres throughout the country.

New units are being established almost every week according to the program fixed in the plan itself.

It was estimated at the time the agreement was reached between the four governments that the total cost of the plan for the three years agreed upon would be about six hundred millions, of which the estimated Canadian share is three hundred and fifty millions.

Apart from pupils, about forty thousand officers, airmen and civilians will be employed when it is fully developed. Many thousands of pilots, air observers and air gunners will be trained each year on a progressively increasing scale.

I am aware that a growing feeling of impatience has become manifest in certain sections of the country with reference to what is believed to be the slow progress made by the British commonwealth air training plan and the fact that its contribution is not one of immediate effectiveness at this critical hour. We recognize that these sentiments spring from a very natural desire to carry at this moment a greater share of the load which is being carried by the mother country and our allies across the seas. But we do believe that they are perhaps coloured by lack of understanding of the magnitude of this undertaking, and particularly of the objectives which it is called upon to fulfil. If such a misunderstanding exists it is probably due to the fact that the public has not gained a full appreciation of the size of this project, the greatest individual effort which this dominion has ever made.

It seems to me important that I should recall to you that the British commonwealth air training plan, as I have mentioned, was based upon a request made to the governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, on September 26, by the government of the United Kingdom. In other words, this plan was not that of Australia, New Zealand or Canada, but was one worked out in the United Kingdom, and was proposed by them to be carried out in Canada, to provide an ever-increasing flow of trained pilots, air observers and air gunners to supplement the supply of Royal Air Force personnel available for manning additional aircraft when these were obtained through the expansion of her aircraft and equipment program and her purchases of these from abroad. It is, I am sure, superfluous for me to say that the alternative, of sending a lesser number of airmen overseas at an earlier date, rather than greatly increased numbers at a later date, was discussed by the governments concerned, but the United Kingdom government felt very definitely that in view of her aircraft manufacturing schedules the present arrangements were those best calculated to serve her purposes.

I might say to hon. members that I have in my hand at the moment a copy of the summary of the memorandum of agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, relating to the training of pilots and aircraft crews in Canada and their subsequent service. One of the terms of the agreement as to costs and expenses is as follows:

The share of the cost of the scheme to be borne by the government of the United Kingdom will take the form of contributions in kind, to be delivered at such times and in such numbers as may be required for the efficient carrying out of the scheme.

I draw attention to that particular clause in the agreement because there seems to be the impression in Canada that under the agreement this country was to supply the aircraft, engines and so on needed for the carrying out of the scheme.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I ask if that agreement has been made public?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, it was made public the night it was signed, December 17; or rather I have just been informed that a summary was made public.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I ask if it has been tabled? We do not seem to have it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I recall the negotiations very clearly. This being an agreement between the different governments, at the time it was thought inadvisable to have the agreement in full made public. The essential features were set forth in a summary, which was then published. In regard to tabling a copy of the agreement itself, I would need to get the consent of the different governments concerned.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I think that is quite all right, but I should like to see it if possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will see that my hon. friend gets a copy, in any event, but before giving it to the public at large I would wish to get the consent to which I have referred. What I particularly desire to point out is that under the agreement the Canadian government undertook the administration of the scheme; it undertook to make provision for all the buildings and the like. There was also an undertaking as to the actual cost in cash, the proportion to be paid by the different countries, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. By far the greatest proportion of that cost was assumed by Canada. Great Britain's contribution—because this is a scheme which includes all four countries—did not take the form of money; it took the form I have just mentioned, a contribution in kind to be delivered at such times and in such numbers as may be required for the efficient carrying out of the scheme.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I suppose that would mean equipment?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It means aircraft; yes.

Following upon the events of recent weeks, only a few days ago we asked the United Kingdom government whether that government would wish to see the schedules of the joint air training plan modified. The United Kingdom has stated in reply that at the present time the efficient prosecution of the war can best be achieved by adhering to the plans laid down for the air training scheme and by accelerating them to the utmost where practicable. After consultation with the British Air Mission it was agreed that the way to accelerate the plan would be the adoption of measures to expedite the purchase and manufacture of equipment, the preparation of aerodromes, hangars and buildings in advance of the schedule requirements. In accordance with this view certain special powers to act on its own authority have been conferred on the Department of Munitions and Supply for this purpose. I think I am right in saying—and the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) will correct me if I am not—that as far as the construction of buildings and the like under Canada's obligation is concerned, already we are ahead of what the schedule requires. The minister assures me that I am correct.

The house will remember that the technical administration of the plan is committed to the Royal Canadian Air Force, and I cannot stress too strongly the admirable way in which Air Vice-Marshal Croil and his staff have carried out their heavy responsibilities. The government felt that it would be greatly aided in having the benefit of men with experience in business organization to supervise the administration, under the minister. From early in the war we have had the advantage of the services of Colonel K. S. Maclachlan, a prominent business executive, acting as deputy minister for navy and air; and under Colonel Maclachlan's regime the plan has proceeded at full pace in accordance with the program specified at its inception, which was in accordance with the timing as worked out by the United Kingdom air staff.

It was felt, however, as the plan developed, that in view of the great magnitude of the undertaking and of the many problems which it involved, a special deputy minister for air should be appointed whose chief responsibility would be to further the execution of

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the British commonwealth air training plan, and that this work should be undertaken by one whose energies and powers of organization were beyond question, who would concentrate his entire activities on the air side of our war effort. I was glad to be able to announce on April 11 that Mr. James S. Duncan, another outstanding business executive, had placed his time at the disposal of the government for a period. Since the day of his appointment Mr. Duncan has been applying himself to this momentous task with tireless energy and a realistic approach to its many problems. I believe that Mr. Duncan would be the first to say that he is receiving and has received the fullest cooperation of the government and of the officials of the departments concerned in the important work which he is doing; and I am glad to be able to announce that, in close cooperation with the Royal Canadian Air Force, the Minister of National Defence and the government as a whole, certain plans are in hand which, while respecting the United Kingdom's desire to leave intact the British commonwealth air training plan will, within the limitations of the present situation, envisage the speeding up of Canada's air contribution to the allied cause.

In order that Canada's contribution in this branch of our war effort may be made as complete and as expeditious as possible, the government has decided to ask parliament to make provision for the appointment of an additional minister of the crown to be known as Minister of National Defence for Air, who will give his undivided time and attention to air activities and in particular to a close supervision of the commonwealth air training plan.

Mr. HOMUTH: Why wait until now?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer that question. The government's final decision in this matter has awaited the return to Canada from the United Kingdom of the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers), who has given the creation of a special ministry for air his full approval. I may say to my hon. friend that while the Minister of National Defence was in England he engaged in interviews with the heads of the various branches of the department of defence, and naturally the government awaited his return before taking a step which would involve any part of the work of his own department.

Mr. HOMUTH: Is he getting some engines for the machines we already have?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If my hon. friend is as interested in Canada's war effort as a whole as I believe the rest of the house is, he will refrain from interrupting until I have completed what I have to say. I might just ask my hon. friend if his interruption was intended to be a helpful one or to be an embarrassment.

Mr. HOMUTH: It was intended to be helpful.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Was it?

Mr. HOMUTH: Quite.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then my hon. friend will be quite prepared, I am sure, to wait until later for an answer from the minister himself.

I do not propose to-day to refer to the organization of agriculture, the war-time prices and trade board and the large number of collateral enterprises and committees which have been insituted by the government in its preparation of the economy of Canada for the war needs of ourselves and our allies. Suffice it to say that the government's record on the economic front is not less impressive than that on the military front, and not less important. At the moment it is primarily as to the military effort that the country desires to be informed.

The dynamic forces which have changed the war situation in Europe within recent days; the unprecedented threat to the allied powers and ourselves, must be met at once by immediate action. Production must be accelerated to its limit. Training must be intensified. But however imperative the need, once we have determined—as we have—to meet actual and threatened events to the utmost of our strength and capacity, we must see to it that what is done shall be efficient, persistent and designed to guarantee that action which we believe will contribute most to the defence and triumph of the allied cause. The government proposes that there shall be devoted to the Department of Munitions and Supply the sole, exclusive and full-time services of a minister of the crown. His responsibility will be to correlate production activities, and to speed up in every manner possible the output of essential military and other material. For this purpose there will be conferred upon the Department of Munitions and Supply certain special powers which would not be accorded in normal times, to enable it to expedite the provision of equipment of materials of war for the armed forces.

Hon. members will notice that in developing Canada's war effort the government has proceeded step by step. With respect to the

Department of Munitions and Supply it will be recalled that that department took over the work of the war supply board. The war supply board, in turn, had taken over what was formerly the defence purchasing board which had been formed before the war commenced. The development has been from the purchasing board to the war supply board, and then came the provision for a Department of Munitions and Supply. As hon. members know, since it was brought into being by proclamation, the department has been in charge of the Minister of Transport (Mr. Howe). The Minister of Transport has not only a full knowledge of the transportation problems in the economy of this country, but from the beginning had exercised supervision over the work of the war supply board. The minister and the government felt that there would be an advantage for a time at least in having the two departments administered by the one minister, in view of the correlation of their activities. He has since said, and we agree with him, that the time has now come when the time of one minister should be given exclusively to the work of a Department of Munitions and Supply. In this connection may I pause for a moment to say how exceptionally fortunate the government regards itself in being able to secure the most valuable services of Mr. Wallace Campbell of Windsor, who devoted his time and energy, to the utmost of his strength and ability, to the work of the war supply board during the time he was at its head. Mr. Campbell has generously undertaken to continue an association, in an advisory capacity, in connection with war supplies and the Department of Munitions and Supply is taking advantage of his expert knowledge to gain such counsel and advice from him as is further needed at the present time.

The government has reiterated to the government of the United Kingdom its confidence in the productive capacity of Canadian plants as an alternative source of supply, relatively free from the danger of any enemy action. Canadian manufacturers have expressed their readiness to undertake to the limit of their capacity the production of all such supplies as can be manufactured in this country. The government has undertaken to assist in the organization of the fullest use of the resources of Canadian industry, as and when the British government indicates its wishes.

This afternoon my hon. friend referred to the fact that some productive plants were not working at the present time at full capacity. He seemed to feel that there had been some lag in the placing of orders. My hon. friend, and I assume other hon. members in the house, will understand that orders are being placed by Canada for requirements needed by Canada itself, and that orders come from the United Kingdom for supplies desired by the United Kingdom. United Kingdom supplies are ordered not from Canada alone but from all parts of the world, and the placing of orders in Canada by the British Government has been a matter which has required very careful consideration on their part. No doubt there are many orders which some interested parties in Canada would like to have seen placed prior to this time; but in these matters, as in all else, the situation has been governed by what has been considered possible and advisable on the part of the government of the United Kingdom.

To turn to another phase of the matter, the government has taken all possible steps to prevent sabotage and subversive activity, by propaganda or otherwise, against the allied cause. Our efficient Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other branches of the government concerned are fully aware of the situation, and have taken action wherever warranted. I wish, however, in this connection, to make two appeals. I appeal to all citizens of foreign extraction to remember that they are living in a land which is fighting to maintain the freedom which they now enjoy, and the possibilities of international goodwill which enabled them to settle in our midst. I appeal, also, to all members of the public to refrain from persecution and panic action against harmless and law-abiding people who share our life and in most instances our common citizenship.

In view of the critical turn of events in Europe within the last few days, and in the light of information obtained by the Minister of National Defence on his recent visit to England, the government has decided to take the following additional measures to strengthen our armed forces, and to enlarge our contribution to the allied cause. These decisions, and those which I have already mentioned, are being translated into action. They are all in addition to the work which has been done and planned in the military, naval and air spheres of action, and on the economic front.

We have decided to advance the date of the dispatch overseas of the second division of the Canadian active service force.

We have decided to advance the date of the dispatch of such further reinforcements of the first division as have not already proceeded overseas.

We have decided to push forward the recruiting of reinforcements for the second division of the Canadian active service force, which will follow that division overseas at the earliest possible date.

There will be formed a Canadian corps in the field in accordance with arrangements which have been discussed with the British War Office.

Besides the two divisions and their ancillary units, the corps will include the necessary additional corps troops and will involve the dispatch overseas of several thousand men beyond those which I have already mentioned.

We shall undertake the raising of a third division, to be available for such service as may be required in Canada or overseas.

We have assigned, at the request of the United Kingdom government, certain naval and military formations to active duty in the Caribbean and North Atlantic areas.

There will be dispatched overseas, as soon as possible, No. 112 army cooperation squadron to act as a reserve for No. 110 cooperation squadron now overseas.

As already mentioned, we shall adopt every feasible method of accelerating the output of pilots and air crews from Canada for service in the field, at the earliest possible date.

Steps have been taken in order to advance beyond the agreed and predetermined schedule the preparation of aerodromes and hangars, and the like.

Mr. Speaker, this reviews in brief some of the details of the action the government has taken to meet the critical needs of the hour. The national interest prevents my disclosing some further details in connection with these items or from referring to other developments the government has already begun.

May I pause here for a moment to say to hon. members that I am sure the review I have already made will be sufficient to indicate the force of what I am about to say. With a world situation such as our own and other countries must face to-day, it is necessary for the government to take account not only of the happenings of the immediate moment but of possible happenings during the period through which this war may run. The situation is vastly different from what it has been heretofore. As I said in my remarks at the outset, during the last war we had Japan as an ally, we had Russia as an ally, we had Italy as an ally and we had practically no problem on the Pacific coast. For some considerable time the United States also was an active ally and, as I have said, there was no problem to be considered in connection with the Pacific ocean.

In connection with the Atlantic coast there was very little to be considered. At that time the British navy undertook the protection of our Atlantic coast and we were actually being protected by the British navy in our immediate coastal waters. Our navy was a tiny affair, I believe of two ships, the *Rainbow* and the *Niobe*. These ships were taken over by the British navy and became part of that navy. In this war our navy is a unit which is serving actively on the Atlantic coast and it is rendering most valuable assistance to the British navy itself.

We know the developments in the war up to date, but we do not know what they are going to be to-morrow. We do not know what they are going to be a week or a month or a year hence. We have, therefore, to consider not only what we can do in the way of cooperation overseas but also the possible happenings with respect to Canada itself. This is one of the things that I hope hon. members will keep in mind. We have to see around all the sides of this situation and view it in relation not only to the Canada that we knew in the last war but to the Canada that is a nation to-day.

One hardly dares to suggest the thought, but should our enemy triumph in this particular struggle it is not France, it is not England, it is not Holland, it is not Belgium, it is not Norway, it is not Poland and it is not Czechoslovakia that they would seek as a prize of war; what the enemy are looking for is great new areas of development. That is what underlies this struggle for world domination and we cannot afford to ignore at this time every conceivable possibility with relation to each part of the British commonwealth of nations.

The urgent appropriations with which this house will be called upon to deal, the various measures to be introduced by the government, many of which are on the order paper, will command the earnest attention of each one of us. I appeal to all members to avoid time-wasting procedure and to purge the order paper of items which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered a contribution to the solution of our problems. Above all, I know I shall not ask in vain that the time of hard pressed ministers of the crown and of hard working civil servants should not be diverted from their many tasks to deal with matters which are not essential.

It is the opinion of the government that the circumstances of the hour require that the urgent matter of the prosecution of the war and of Canada's part therein calls for the most immediate and thorough discussion. We do not desire to remove and do not propose to curtail unduly any of the privileges of hon. members, but the government believes that in the present emergency government business should have the right of way over the

debate on the address. It is therefore suggested that the debate on the address be shortenend by arrangement between the whips. If such an arrangement is not found to be possible, I may propose that the debate be adjourned.

In making statements of that kind I shall have to ask hon. members to realize that they are not made with any view of enabling the government to avoid criticism or to take away from any hon. member a privilege which should be his, but rather because something is known of how exceedingly grave the situation is at this very time. I believe that all hon. members will feel as I do, that the more quickly we can begin consideration of the bill of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) which has to do with war appropriations, and which measure will enable the fullest discussion of everything pertaining to the war and the war effort of Canada, the better it will be in all respects and the more action of that kind will be approved by the country. So I am going to suggest that a step of that kind be taken and I hope that the house will give its approval.

As I have said, it appears to my colleagues and myself that all matters pertaining to the war can be more appropriately discussed during the consideration of the resolution providing the moneys required to support Canada's war effort. This resolution is already on the order paper and might, if the house were agreeable, be proceeded with to-morrow or on Wednesday. In view of the crisis, however, the government will be obliged to proceed with the war appropriations not later than Wednesday, and will take such steps to that end as may be necessary under the rules. I propose to discuss procedure with my hon. friend opposite and with other hon. gentlemen who are leading groups in this house. The procedure which I believe to be best designed to meet the dominant needs of the critical situation is as follows.

There should be a general debate on the resolution. We can then refer the appropriation bill to a committee or committees of the House of Commons in order that there may be disclosed to the members of those committees information which would not probably be in the public interest to place on the pages of *Hansard* or to broadcast in debate to the House of Commons. I propose to ascertain the views of the leaders of the house with respect to these committees. It may be that a separate committee surveying the work of each of the fighting services would be preferable to one dealing with defence matters generally. It is I am sure unnecessary for me to advance the hope and the desire, for I am sure that hon. members share both, that the personnel of these committees be selected with the utmost care.

I should like to emphasize that the setting up of these committees will not preclude in any way any member from debating any subject to which he may desire to call the attention of the house and the country, and I give my assurance to hon. members that the constitution of such committees will not be used as a pretext for concealing any information which it is in the public interest to disclose. While officers of the department and of the service will attend the committees when required, it would be a great disservice to the country at this time if members were to keep officers from their regular important public duties unless it is absolutely necessary.

I have sought to pass in brief review the main facts in connection with the war effort of this country. Everything that we have done has been done with the full approval of our allies and after complete consultation with them. We have done, and planned to do, the things which they have deemed most essential to the triumph of their cause and ours. I have told you what can now be told of the prompt and additional measures we have already taken to assist the cause to which we have pledged our honour. As circumstances permit, more will be disclosed.

I need scarcely say that hysteria and panic will add nothing but confusion to the performance of a task that is long and difficult. Munitions and implements of war cannot be forged overnight. The duration and intensity of war have alike to be taken into account. Similarly, the sailors, soldiers and airmen required to meet fresh situations as they arise in all quarters of the globe cannot all be trained at once. No one is more conscious than my colleagues and I of the necessity of vigour of action, patience of heart, and steadfastness of soul. We have acted and shall continue to act to the limit of our wisdom and knowledge and power.

I know that the government can rely upon the support of all sides of this house as long as it does all that is humanly possible to carry out its duty to the people of Canada. To assist us we shall need and, I believe, we shall receive the unwavering resolution and the full cooperation of every true man and woman in this country. If this war is lost, and tyranny triumphs, our world with its gift of freedom, and its promise of happiness for all men and women, will be lost in utter darkness. No sacrifice is too great to prevent that calamity.

The gallant youth of this country will soon be marching through the fires which

have been devouring nations as well as armies overseas. They will be true to the imperishable traditions of their fathers. Everything that we can do, every help that we can give, every contribution that we can make, every comfort, great or small, that we must surrender, is as a grain of sand compared with the treasure which they offer on the altar of humanity.

Those of us who have heard the calm, brave words of Prime Minister Churchill and Prime Minister Renaud do not doubt that the two great races from which this land derives its sinew and its strength will keep the torn flag flying on the battlements of freedom. They have faced, and we have faced with them, perils almost as great, situations almost as grave, in the days that have gone. We, and they, have remained unshaken and triumphant. It is my faith that we shall remain unshaken and triumphant again. The end of the war will find the people of Canada, where the beginning of the war found us: standing, united at the side of Britain and of France.

Mr. Speaker, I should like, if I might be permitted, before the house adjourns this evening, to read a message which I sent this morning to the Prime Minister of Great Britain with reference to the speech which he made last evening, and I shall give that to the house at the conclusion of these proceedings.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, in rising to participate in this first debate of a new and what may be a fateful parliament, I do so with considerable regret that the hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre (Mr. Woodsworth), our leader, is unable to speak for the group with which we are associated. I know that hon. members on all sides of the house sincerely hope that he will be restored to health in a short time.

We wish to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, upon your election to the high and ancient office which we are sure you will occupy with that dignity and impartiality which we appreciated in your predecessor.

To the mover and the seconder of the resolution we extend our congratulations, particularly to the hon. member for Lotbiniere (Mr. Lapointe), whose distinguished father must have been proud of his son's maiden speech in this House of Commons.

We are meeting to-day under the shadow of a great crisis. I want to say at once to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) that we of this group are prepared to facilitate in every particular the business of this house. Like the labour parties of Great Britain and other parts of the British commonwealth, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is essentially a peace party. We hate war with a passionate hatred because all history teaches us that, in the words of the Prime Minister spoken in this house in March of last year, war settles nothing. We know that the men who bleed and die will leave behind them only mourners who, when the conflict ceases, will pay for the struggle in tears and in treasure. Because of this, when we believed there was yet time, we advocated national and international policies which we are convinced would have promoted peace and prevented war.

We watched with growing misgivings the march of fascism and the rising menace of the nazi movement in Germany. We said that those who were encouraging these movements would bring mankind to the very brink of disaster. Nearly three years ago Mr. Heaps, then Cooperative Commonwealth Federation member for Winnipeg North, moved in this house a resolution asking our government to approach the President of the United States with a suggestion that he consider the advisability of calling a world conference in an endeavour to secure a peaceful settlement of international disputes. Subsequently, when the sky darkened still more, we urged our own government to initiate the calling of the League of Nations assembly to stop the threatened crisis. Whenever opportunities arose, we tried to focus attention on the international situation and the growing danger to Canada. We have made mistakes, as any body of people dealing with difficult situations are bound to do; but we have always held that freedom is the foundation of life and of human happiness.

We have watched the suppression of freedom in other countries. One by one and often together, freedom of thought, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom of speech have disappeared as dictatorships have become more powerful. We dreaded war because we knew that when it came our basic freedom would be endangered in our own dominion. Nor were we wrong in that assumption, for the defence of Canada regulations have in our opinion gone beyond the point warranted by an outbreak of war. We readily admit that when a nation is at war, actions against the safety of the state must be prevented or punished as the case may be, but we insist that every man shall have the right to plead guilty or not guilty before a competent authority in open court. Under section 21 of the defence regulations it is possible for this basic right of British citizenship to be taken away.

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Address in Reply

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Notes on Mover and Seconder

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- son of esteemed colleague, Minister of Justice, who is himself the dean of the House (36 years since first elected);

- father must feel legitimate pride in seeing son take his place in House of Commons, as Member for constituency which, since 1867, has returned a Liberal candidate at general election.

- welcome him in his own right -
(advocate, graduate of Laval University, a man of much promise, for whom all will wish a career of useful service in this House).

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- first graduate of University of British Columbia to be elected to this House; former Rhodes Scholar from British Columbia; distinguished academic record at U.B.C., also at Oxford and Princeton Universities;

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D 57047

Address in Reply

Notes on Mover and Seconder

Matter of satisfaction that honour of moving and seconding the address should, in the first session of new Parliament, have fallen to two young men now taking their seats in the House for first time.

Hugues LAPOINTE (Lotbiniere)

- son of esteemed colleague, Minister of Justice, who is himself the dean of the House (36 years since first elected);

- father must feel legitimate pride in seeing son take his place in House of Commons, as Member for constituency which, since 1867, has returned a Liberal candidate at general election.

- welcome him in his own right - (advocate, graduate of Laval University, a man of much promise, for whom all will wish a career of useful service in this House).

James SINCLAIR (Vancouver North)

- first graduate of University of British Columbia to be elected to this House; former Rhodes Scholar from British Columbia; distinguished academic record at U.B.C., also at Oxford and Princeton Universities;

- rendered valuable service to Liberal party in British Columbia for several years; close acquaintance with many parts of his home province and its particular interests and problems.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/TS
9.5.40

D 57049

Introductory Section

(For the opening paragraph referring to the House Leader of the official Opposition or to the temporary Leader of the Opposition--whichever he may prove to be, the Prime Minister's reference to Mr. Guthrie in 1926 might serve as a model. A copy is attached.)

I should like, Mr. Speaker, to express the pleasure I am sure most of us feel in the return to the House of so many of the members of the last Parliament. I think I shall be speaking for all the older members when I say that, with rare exceptions, the disappearance of a member, regardless of party, is a matter of personal regret, even though his defeat may result in political advantage. Our regret at no longer seeing the familiar faces, even of political opponents is a reflection of the humane spirit which infuses our free Parliamentary institutions. It is a spirit which all of us should cherish the more at a moment when our free institutions are facing the greatest challenge in their long history.

Our feeling of regret is all the keener when the disappearance of a member has been caused, not by a

turn of the wheel of political fortune, but by death. Perhaps you will allow me to mention, Mr. Speaker, the passing of one of the oldest members of the last House, the late Alfred Edgar MacLean. His death occurred in the interval between the special war session last September and the dissolution of Parliament. It was he who succeeded me in the representation of the constituency of Prince for which I had been returned to this House after I became leader of the Liberal party. For this personal reason, not less than because of his long experience in the public life of his own province and of the whole nation, I greatly valued his judgment and political wisdom. Once again the electors of Prince have put national before local considerations in choosing as successor to the late Mr. MacLean my colleague the Minister of Finance.

Death has, in the few short weeks since the general elections, removed two honourable members who were duly elected to the present Parliament. I should like to express to my honourable friends opposite our sense of loss in the passing of Dr. A. B. Hyndman who represented the traditionally Conservative county of Carleton in the last

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House, and who received a renewed vote of confidence from the electorate last March. The passing of Rev. W. G. Brown marked the close of long and distinguished career in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Twice elected to the House of Commons within the space of a few months, and with but a fleeting appearance in Parliament, his record may well be unique.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the House would not wish me to let this occasion pass without a reference to the heartfelt sorrow of the Canadian people at the death of Lord Tweedsmuir. In the passing of His Excellency, the people of Canada lost one of the greatest and most revered of Governors General, who, from the day of his arrival in this country dedicated his life to their service. In the discharge of every public duty, Lord Tweedsmuir was fidelity itself. Cut off as he was in the height of his powers, one can only believe that in the providence of God, he had completed the which here it had been given him to do.

This House will, I am sure, share the satisfaction of the government that His Majesty the King has been pleased to choose as His representative so fitting a successor to the late Lord Tweedsmuir. The Canadian people are looking

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forward with eager anticipation to the arrival in Canada of His Excellency the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice. In welcoming Their Excellencies in this capital city we shall have another opportunity of pledging anew our unbroken faith in our common cause and our steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King.

The mention of the impending arrival of our Governor General serves also to remind us that just a year ago, at a moment when we still dared to hope for the preservation of peace, Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth were honouring Ottawa with a visit which will ever live in our memory.

In joining with my honourable friend opposite in extending very hearty congratulations to the mover and seconder of the address, I should like, Mr. Speaker, to include a word of welcome to all the new members on both sides of the House. The members who are entering upon their Parliamentary careers and, indeed, the younger members of the House generally are facing responsibilities and opportunities which are greater than those of any previous generation of Canadians. Not only are we engaged in a desperate struggle, the outcome of which will settle the fate of civilization as we know it for a century or more to come, but we are being called upon as a nation to make

sacrifices which will test our own national fabric as it has not been tested before. The task of building a nation is a task which is never completed. The young men now on the threshold of public life will be called upon to be builders on a grand scale. They are, in truth, the future makers of Canada.

I know that every honourable member listened with pride to the splendid manner in which the young member for Lotbiniere spoke in opening the debate. We were pleased at his excellent performance, not only for his own sake. I know he will understand me when I say that we were doubly pleased for the sake of his father, who enjoys in such ample measure the respect and affection of the House. It is an especial delight to me to share with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, what must be one of the proudest moments of his life. I never fail to rejoice in the dedication by our young men of themselves to the service of their country, but my satisfaction can never be greater than it has been at the appearance in this House of the son of my closest colleague. I can wish no greater success to the honourable member for Lotbiniere than that his career in this House may be as long, as honourable and as fruitful as his father's.

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To the honourable member for Vancouver North, I extend also a warm welcome and hearty congratulations on his fine speech. Although he is still very young and this is his first appearance in Parliament, he has already served his apprenticeship in public life in the difficult role of a private secretary. The excellence of his speech gives evidence of the good use he has made of his opportunities and promise of a career of steadily increasing public service.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/TS
9.5.40

243

D 57055

Introductory Section

(For the opening paragraph referring to the House Leader of the official Opposition or to the temporary Leader of the Opposition--whichever he may prove to be, the Prime Minister's reference to Mr. Guthrie in 1926 might serve as a model. A copy is attached.)

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D 57059

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Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/MS
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D 57061

Section 2: Significance of the Elections and obligations of Parliament.

The House will, I am sure, permit me a brief word as to the significance of the results of the general elections. Throughout the campaign I endured censure and abuse because I had taken the responsibility of bringing on the elections. In my first broadcast during the campaign, I set out the reasons which had led me to reach the decision which it was my constitutional responsibility to make. I pointed out that:

"I know that a general election had to come--so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive..... I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit

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REPETITION

to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way."

I am confident that honourable members, in common with the people of Canada generally, when they learned, on April 9th, of the sudden and brutal German action in Denmark and Norway, share my own immense sense of relief that our elections were over and that the government of our country had been fortified with a direct and unquestioned popular mandate to devote the whole of their energies to the war then entering upon a phase of terrific intensity. I cannot doubt that every Canadian who is devoted to the interests of our country will now agree that I was right in making it possible for the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before the war had burst forth in all its fury.

In referring, on the eve of the polling day, to the significance of the vote which was about to be cast, I used these words:

"You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be

> the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before."

Today, Mr. Speaker, the truth of these words is more vividly realized by all of us than it was when they were first uttered.

In my concluding broadcast on the significance of the campaign I stated that, by our appeal to the people, the government had maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we had been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation of freedom across the seas.

In my address to the people of Canada on election night, I asked them, now the elections were over, to forget their differences of the past and to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom. I should like today, Mr. Speaker, to make the same appeal to all members on both sides of the House.

This Parliament has been entrusted by the people with the obligation of supporting the government in its effort to a direct a vigorous and unremitting Canadian contribution to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. To that great end we must first direct our energies, whether we were elected in support of or in opposition to the present administration. I am not suggesting, Mr. Speaker, that my honourable friends opposite have a duty to support everything which is proposed by the government. I do not ask them to abdicate the constitutional functions of an opposition. The government will welcome constructive criticism. We recognize that the right of criticism is one of the greatest bulwarks of our system of government. As I pointed out during the campaign, even the best of governments will make mistakes, and in time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. We know that responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration. I venture however to appeal to honourable members to maintain a full sense of responsibility in their criticisms and to weigh fully the probable effect of what they may say not only on Canada, but on our allies, and on the enemy. We must all remember, Mr. Speaker, that if Canada's war effort is to have the greatest effectiveness it must be the united war effort of a united Canada.

D 57065

Nor can we afford to forget that our war effort is much more than a military effort. Every aspect of our national life, must be geared to meet the demands of a total war. We must not neglect our domestic problems. If we neglect our domestic problems our national economy will suffer and our production will decline. In modern warfare, it is just as imperative to stand firm on the economic front as it is on the military front. Each is essential to the other. If either fails, our whole war effort will collapse.

We have an obligation as well to keep constantly before us the objects for which we are fighting. Bitter experience has taught us that it is possible to win the war and lose the peace. Now is the time to begin to prepare for the peace and the post war period. The problems of peace, when it comes, will be no less urgent than the problems of war are today. I should like, Mr. Speaker, to appeal to the younger members of the House to give particular thought and study to these problems. They will have the task of meeting them and solving them. They must not face that task unprepared.

This is a war Parliament. Our fellow citizens, Mr. Speaker, have confided their destinies to us at the most critical period, not only in our own history, but in

the history of the world. The struggle will demand our utmost effort. Our vigour and our strength will be taxed to the limit. In the heat of the struggle we must preserve our vision. We are not engaged in war for its own sake. We are defending our freedom and our civilization. Our vigilance in safeguarding freedom at home must equal our vigour in defending it from the onslaughts of the enemy. This Parliament has the high duty and the solemn trust of maintaining the unity of Canada in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

Draft: Speech on Address

JWP/MS
8.v.40.

D 57067

Section 2: Significance of the Elections and obligations of Parliament.

The House will, I am sure, permit me a brief word as to the significance of the results of the general elections. Throughout the campaign I endured censure and abuse because I had taken the responsibility of bringing on the elections. In my first broadcast during the campaign, I set out the reasons which had led me to reach the decision which it was my constitutional responsibility to make. I pointed out that:

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to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way."

I am confident that honourable members, in common with the people of Canada generally, when they learned, on April 9th, of the sudden and brutal German action in Denmark and Norway, share my own immense sense of relief that our elections were over and that the government of our country had been fortified with a direct and unquestioned popular mandate to devote the whole of their energies to the war then entering upon a phase of terrific intensity. I cannot doubt that every Canadian who is devoted to the interests of our country will now agree that I was right in making it possible for the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before the war had burst forth in all its fury.

In referring, on the eve of the polling day, to the significance of the vote which was about to be cast, I used these words:

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the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before."

Today, Mr. Speaker, the truth of these words is more vividly realized by all of us than it was when they were first uttered.

In my concluding broadcast on the significance of the campaign I stated that, by our appeal to the people, the government had maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we had been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation of freedom across the seas.

In my address to the people of Canada on election night, I asked them, now the elections were over, to forget their differences of the past and to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom. I should like today, Mr. Speaker, to make the same appeal to all members on both sides of the House.

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This Parliament has been entrusted by the people with the obligation of supporting the government in its effort to a direct a vigorous and unremitting Canadian contribution to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. To that great end we must first direct our energies, whether we were elected in support of or in opposition to the present administration. I am not suggesting, Mr. Speaker, that my honourable friends opposite have a duty to support everything which is proposed by the government. I do not ask them to abdicate the constitutional functions of an opposition. The government will welcome constructive criticism. We recognize that the right of criticism is one of the greatest bulwarks of our system of government. As I pointed out during the campaign, even the best of governments will make mistakes, and in time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. We know that responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration. I venture however to appeal to honourable members to maintain a full sense of responsibility in their criticisms and to weigh fully the probable effect of what they may say not only on Canada, but on our allies, and on the enemy. We must all remember, Mr. Speaker, that if Canada's war effort is to have the greatest effectiveness it must be the united war effort of a united Canada.

D 57071

Nor can we afford to forget that our war effort is much more than a military effort. Every aspect of our national life, must be geared to meet the demands of a total war. We must not neglect our domestic problems. If we neglect our domestic problems our national economy will suffer and our production will decline. In modern warfare, it is just as imperative to stand firm on the economic front as it is on the military front. Each is essential to the other. If either fails, our whole war effort will collapse.

We have an obligation as well to keep constantly before us the objects for which we are fighting. Bitter experience has taught us that it is possible to win the war and lose the peace. Now is the time to begin to prepare for the peace and the post war period. The problems of peace, when it comes, will be no less urgent than the problems of war are today. I should like, Mr. Speaker, to appeal to the younger members of the House to give particular thought and study to these problems. They will have the task of meeting them and solving them. They must not face that task unprepared.

This is a war Parliament. Our fellow citizens, Mr. Speaker, have confided their destinies to us at the most critical period, not only in our own history, but in

the history of the world. The struggle will demand our utmost effort. Our vigour and our strength will be taxed to the limit. In the heat of the struggle we must preserve our vision. We are not engaged in war for its own sake. We are defending our freedom and our civilization. Our vigilance in safeguarding freedom at home must equal our vigour in defending it from the onslaughts of the enemy. This Parliament has the high duty and the solemn trust of maintaining the unity of Canada in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

D 57073

Section 2: Significance of the Elections and obligations of Parliament.

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D 57075

the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before."

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D 57077

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D 57078

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First Draft Address

Revised Speech or Address 243
May 30/1940.
JWP/PM

D 57079

The Development of the War

While it is not my intention to review again the events which led to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe last September, I should like, at the outset of my observations on the course of events since war broke out, to recall one or two of the statements I made in this House on September the 8th last year. I wish to remind honourable members of what I said at that time because time has not lessened the significance of what I then stated.

Five Years' Campaign of Systematic Aggression.

In the course of my speech I traced the unbroken chain of acts of aggression during the preceding five years. Of this systématic campaign of aggression I used these words: (Revised Hansard, September 8, 1939, pp. 25.26):

> " They point, I think, pretty clearly to some kind of understanding and agreement, at that time at any rate, between the powers involved. We have had war on all sides, a record of combined and continuous aggression. I think we may well ask ourselves from what source these acts of aggression drew their inspiration. We may well ask upon what secret understanding they may have been based, and what the world may yet witness if, in some way, this aggression is not checked.

I mention these facts for the reason that some there may be who have the impression that this war has been caused by a mere invasion of Poland and that it has to do only with a desire on the part of Germany to regain the city of Danzig. The record

speaks for itself. It discloses clearly that in the last five years some country or group of countries has been acting on the supposition that the great free countries of the world, "the democracies", as they are sometimes called - I confess I am getting a little tired of the use being made of the word "democracy" - were an effete lot, that they were not prepared to stand up and fight for their liberties, and that aggression was a safe method of procedure. Well, unless a pretty definite stand is taken now by those who prize their freedom, they may expect that aggression will not cease, but will continue to the limit."

The Threat to the Northern Neutrals: the danger of isolation.

In the same speech I referred to the technique of aggression which had been employed by the Nazi government - to the device of representing each separate act as the final objective after which German ambition would be satisfied. I suggested that this process might continue indefinitely unless a resolute and concerted effort was made to bring it to a halt. Let me recall the words I used in referring to an extension of Hitler's aggression. (Revised Hansard, Sept. 8, 1939, p. 22):

" Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which to-day say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain goes down, if France

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> "goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom of this continent; there will in time be no liberty."

The Magnitude of the Task.

In ~~the~~ words which we can better appreciate to-day than we could in those hectic days of early September, I referred to the magnitude of the task we had set ourselves in resisting aggression. This is what I said (Revised Hansard, Sept. 8, 1939, p. 36):

> " We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the task before us may be long and terribly difficult. It is a task that will require all the strength and fortitude, all the effective organization of our resources, that we can achieve. There can be no doubt of the final outcome of the war. Whatever may be the initial trends in local actions, the resources, military and economic, on which the countries fighting for freedom can draw are fortunately greatly preponderant."

The Revelation of the Extent of German Ambitions.

The events of 1939, and particularly the German invasion of Poland, on September the 1st, marked, not the beginning of a new war, but the beginning of an intensive phase of a war which had been in progress almost from the moment that Hitler achieved power in Germany. Until the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, on March 15th, 1939, and the establishment of the so-called protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the German government had claimed that its objectives

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were limited to the overthrow of the Versailles settlement, and the union of German-speaking minorities with the German Reich. The virtual incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia revealed clearly the hollowness of the German pretensions. From that moment, it was evident that German ambitions were limited only by what German arms could seize.

Germany, however, still feared a repetition of 1914. The military mind was still obsessed with the danger of fighting on two fronts. The Germans wished to continue to employ the method which, up till March 15th, 1939, had been so successful. This method consisted of attacking one victim at a time while the rest of the world looked on. From March, 1939, there was no longer any doubt that the German government wished to annihilate the Polish state. Hitler was deterred, however, by the British and French guarantees given to Poland, and also by the fear that Soviet Russia might also support the Poles if they were attacked. We now know that, throughout that summer, German diplomacy was concentrated on an effort to ensure Russian neutrality. Once that neutrality was assured, the Nazis lost no time in acting. They seem to have believed that Poland could be conquered before Great Britain and France could give her effective assistance. They seem, also, to have believed that once Poland was conquered the British and French would abandon any effort they might ~~had~~ have undertaken on Poland's

behalf. Apparently, they even dared to hope that, in spite of their guarantees, Britain and France would deline to act when Poland was attacked. The German government completely failed to understand the tremendous change which had come over the British and French peoples as a result of the revelation, on March 15th, of the extent of German ambitions.

The Polish Campaign.

In Poland, for the first time, Nazi Germany was forced to fight in order to conquer. Geographical and strategical considerations made it impossible for the British and French, when they entered the war, on September 3rd, to give direct aid to the Poles. It cannot be denied that Germany, as the aggressor, had the immediate advantage. This advantage was pursued swiftly and ruthlessly. Almost from the beginning the Germans had command of the Polish air. Their command of the air enabled them to prevent an effective mobilization of the full Polish military machine. It enabled them, too, to over-run the wealthier western half of that country with remarkable rapidity.

Until September 17th, however, there were real grounds for hoping that Polish resistance might be organized in the eastern half of the country, and that the Germans might be forced to endure a long and difficult campaign in a more difficult terrain, and under circumstances which the autumn

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weather would render steadily more unfavourable for mechanized warfare. The hope of prolonged resistance was, however, destroyed when, on September 17th, the Russians invaded Poland from the east. Even so, the Poles continued their heroic but hopelessly unequal struggle for nearly two ~~/~~weeks more. It was not until September 27th that Warsaw fell. The Polish campaign was over, except for the division of the spoils between the two aggressors.

The Peace Campaign.

As had been expected, Hitler next attempted to obtain a general peace on the ground that the original motive for the allied intervention in the war had disappeared with the disappearance of Poland. In an address to the Reichstag, on October 6th, Hitler suggested a settlement on the basis of the existing conquests, and the unsatisfied requirements of Germany. To this suggestion Mr. Chamberlain replied, on October 12th, that "the proposals of the German Chancellor's speech are vague and uncertain and contain no suggestion for righting the wrongs done.....It would still be necessary to ask by what practical means the German government intend to convince the world that aggression will cease and that pledges will be kept." In using these words, the British Prime Minister was reiterating the position of the Allies that it

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was not the fate of Poland alone but the fate of humanity in general for which the Allies had taken up arms.

The Military Situation on the Western Front;

Military interest shifted then from Poland to the Western front. Since direct aid was impossible, Britain and France had been faced from the outset with the problem of giving direct aid to Poland by military pressure on Germany from the West. Such indirect aid would have been effective only if the pressure had been great enough to force the Germans to divert a large part of their forces from the conquest of Poland to the defence of the Rhineland. Experience in the last war had, however, shown that it was almost hopeless to make a frontal attack on a well-entrenched and fortified front. The Allied general staffs considered that a frontal attack in force on the Seigfried line might well prove ruinous to the whole cause for which we are fighting. The French, however, lost no time in exerting some pressure on this front. During the first fortnight of September they occupied an area of almost 100 square miles within the German frontier. The intervention of Russia and the consequent collapse of the Polish resistance removed the need for urgent military pressure, and the Allied command decided that the time for an offensive had not come.

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The French consequently retired, voluntarily, to defensive positions behind their own well fortified lines. Operations from then on were reduced to occasional raids and clashes between advance patrols, under cover of artillery bombardments. Meanwhile, British ~~troops~~ troops were being moved steadily to France and were gradually taking over a section of the Maginot line. The enemy, however, showed no enthusiasm for a direct assault on the French front.

The Threat to the Netherlands and Belgium.

The danger on land was rather to the north or to the south of the Maginot line by a flanking attack through either Belgium and Holland, or through Switzerland. During October the Germans began to mass troops which had been withdrawn from Poland, along the Belgian and Dutch frontiers. A violent press campaign was directed against the Netherlands. The Government of the Netherlands replied by carrying out certain of the flooding operations which are a part of the regular defensive system of that country. On November 1st, a state of siege was proclaimed in some of the frontier districts. On November 6th the King of the Belgians visited the Queen of the Netherlands at The Hague. The following day the two sovereigns jointly addressed a peace appeal and an offer of their good offices to the belligerent powers. At the same time both countries strengthened their defences. It

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was widely rumoured that the German govenment had decided to attack The Netherlands on November 12th. It may well be that the determined action of these two small neutrals alone prevented such an attempt at that time. After the middle of November the tension in this area subsided, although German troops remained in their threatening position. The danger of attack upon either or both of these countries remained and still remains very real. At the beginning of December the French government announced that the Maginot line was being extended to cover the Swiss and Belgian frontiers.

From the outset of the war and particularly after the Polish campaign was concluded, intensive air activity calculated to weaken the civilian morale and disorganize the economic life of Britain and France might have been expected. Both governments took elaborate precautions to safeguard their great centres of population against such attacks. So far these attacks have not materialized. They however remain an ever present threat and the necessity of further precaution is as great as it was at the beginning of the war.

The War at Sea.

Active operations between the Western powers and Germany have, from the outset, been carried on primarily

at sea. Even aerial activity of an offensive nature had been directed primarily at naval objectives. On the sea the allies have a preponderance far greater than they had in 1914. This supremacy at sea is so overwhelming that the Germans cannot hope to overcome it by direct attack. German efforts have, in consequence, been concentrated rather on offsetting the advantages of the allied naval supremacy than on any large scale attempt to destroy considerable numbers of British and French naval craft. There have been certain isolated German successes even against ships of war, but they have been trivial in comparison with the tremendous losses which the British and French have inflicted on the German navy.

In the early stages of the naval warfare the main instrument used by the Germans was the submarine. It was used primarily, as it was in the last war, for the destruction of merchant shipping with the object of weakening the supply lines of the Western allies. Little time was lost by the allies in meeting the submarine menace by the organization of convoys. The result has been that the main casualties of the German submarine campaign have been neutral rather than allied shipping. Marked successes have been achieved by the allied naval forces in the destruction of German submarines.

It would appear that the submarine threat has, for the present at least, been largely overcome.

As the submarine campaign decreased in effectiveness, the Germans resorted to the device of laying mines indiscriminately in the North Sea. Many of these mines were equipped with magnetic devices. For a short time marked successes were achieved by the enemy. To combat this new menace Britain/took under an extensive mine-sweeping campaign which, within a few weeks, reduced materially the losses from this form of indiscriminate warfare. From mines, as from submarines, neutral shipping suffered far more heavily than allied shipping.

The allies were also faced, as they were in the last war, with the menace of the armed German commerce raider. This menace,too,was met and countered after a number of losses, the most spectacular of which was the sinking of the "Rawalpindi" off the coast of Iceland. This danger too has been, for the present, completely overcome as a result of the battle off Montevideo and the subsequent scuttling by the Germans of the pocket battleship "Admiral Graf Spee" on December 17th. The loss of the "Admiral Graf Spee" was a terrific blow to German prestige on the sea. It marked the end of the myth of the pocket battleship from which the Germans have, for several years, been encouraged to hope for great achievements.

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The Unsolved Problem of Naval Warfare.

The great question of present day naval warfare, however, still remains unanswered. That question is whether naval craft can be successfully attacked from the air. None of the experiences of either side in the war so far provides anything like a conclusive answer. In exceedingly favourable circumstances it is clear that naval vessels can be bombed successfully from the air. It seems clear that the threat from the air has limited the scope of naval activity. At the same time the recent events in Scandinavian waters also seem to demonstrate the hollowness of the German claim that larger naval craft have been rendered obsolete by the development of air power. It is needless to add that the answer to this momentous question is of the utmost strategic importance. It may, however, safely be said that naval operations today are dependent upon the co-operation of a fleet air arm to a degree for which no parallel can be found in the last war.

Nazi-Soviet Co-operation,

I have already pointed out that the decisive event which precipitated the outbreak of the present conflict was the understanding between Germany and Soviet Russia. This understanding was followed by an idealogical revolution in

Germany which cannot but have had a profound effect on German morale. The rulers of Germany evidently considered that the military advantages of the agreement with Russia outweighed the very considerable political risks which this sudden about-face necessarily involved. We have already seen how the Russian intervention in Poland made further resistance by that country hopeless. It is, however, by no means certain that, in spite of the marked similarity of their aggressive and piratical methods, Germany and Soviet Russia have any real identity of aims. Even in Poland the Russian intervention may well have thwarted certain German hopes. Temporarily, at least, it cut Germany off from the direct territorial access to Rumania which she might well have expected to achieve as a result of the temporary extinction of Polish independence. The only safe judgment which can be ventured at the moment is that Germany and Russia are moving along parallel lines. So long as the lines remain parallel there is apparently no likelihood of a clash between them. It may be doubted, however, whether Russian aggression has been wholly pleasing to the German government, particularly in the Baltic region. In that region the Russian advance last autumn was spectacular. The Soviet government summoned the foreign ministers of the three Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to Moscow in turn and, in turn, dictated terms to each which amounted

to the establishment of a military protectorate with Russian garrisons established in their capitals and at other strategic points.

The Campaign in Finland.

The Soviet government apparently hoped to achieve the same measure of success in its dealings with Finland. In Finland, however, they met a different reception. Negotiations were carried on intermittently from the middle of October to the middle of November. The Finns did not refuse to make any concessions but refused resolutely to meet all the Russian demands. In the last week of November, a campaign of abuse of Finland began in the Russian press. It was followed by the denunciation, on November 28th, of the non-aggression pact, and by the invasion of Finland, on November 30th.

The ruthless and unprovoked attack on Finland aroused almost unprecedented indignation throughout the civilized world. In the twenty years during which Finland has enjoyed independence, she has organized her national life along lines which particularly command the sympathy of the western democracies. The great contributions made by the Finns to the culture and civilization of the world have made thousands of friends for Finland throughout Western Europe and on this continent. The tremendous disparity

between the strength of Finland and of Russia made any suggestion that she constituted a menace to Russian security wholly ridiculous. In every free country there was a spontaneous popular movement to aid the Finns. When Finland appealed to the League of Nations on December 2nd, the League acted promptly. Russia ignored the appeal of the League that she accept mediation in the struggle. In consequence of the refusal, both the Council and the Assembly of the League condemned her as an aggressor and expelled her from membership. At the same time, an appeal was addressed to members of the League to lend Finland all assistance within their power.

The difficulties in the way of providing effective assistance particularly in winter to a country so geographically remote from Western Europe as Finland were very great. Even the passage of supplies and volunteers to Finland demanded the benevolent co-operation of Norway and Sweden. Large scale assistance would have been possible only if these Scandinavian states had been prepared to permit the passage of troops through their territory. To do so would have been to risk the impairment of their neutrality. In spite of a good deal of popular sympathy in both countries, their governments refused, up to the end, to incur such a risk. It is probable

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that their refusal was dictated by fear of Germany rather than fear of Russia. Whatever the motive, it prevented the British and French governments from sending effective assistance to Finland.

The resistance of the Finns themselves increased the admiration already felt for them throughout the civilized world. For more than three months, they held the immensely superior forces of Russia at bay. When they yielded, they yielded only to irresistible pressure. The terms of the peace concluded on March 13th were harsh, but the independence of Finland was not extinguished and the quiet fortitude with which the Finns set about immediately reorganizing what was left of their country still further enhanced them as a people in the eyes of the world.

It is impossible at this stage to make any accurate assessment of the effect of the Finnish campaign upon Russia or upon Soviet influence in Europe. The campaign undoubtedly revealed grave weaknesses and deficiencies in the Russian military machines. It demanded the extravagant expenditure not merely of human life, but of military equipment and supplies. It may well have destroyed for some months, at least, if not for longer the striking power of Russia. The further effects of reducing materially the Russian capacity to afford to Germany the

economic assistance which the Germans gravely need in order to offset the effects of the allied blockade.

The Position of Turkey

In another part of Europe, Russian policy was much less successful. As early as September 22nd, the Russians began negotiations with Turkey, the precise objects of which have never been made public. It may fairly be assumed that one objective was the closing of the straits between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to ships of war. Whatever the Russian demands may have been, the Turks refused to accept them. The negotiations ended on October 17th. Both sides continued to profess mutual friendship.

Britain was also negotiating with Turkey at the same time. Two days after the breakdown of Russo-Turkish negotiations, an alliance was concluded between Britain and Turkey. The Anglo-Turkish alliance was re-inforced afterwards by an alliance between France and Turkey. The allied understanding with Turkey has been the outstanding diplomatic achievement of the allies since the outbreak of war. It represents a great strengthening of the allied position in the Mediterranean. It has enabled the allies to exert considerable influence in the Balkan Peninsula. The whole Balkan area might otherwise

have fallen under the complete economic domination, and perhaps, as well the military domination, of Germany and Russia, or even of Germany alone.

The Economic War

Before turning to the more recent military developments of the war, I wish to say something of the development of the economic warfare which is no less important to the success of the allied cause. Successful military activity is impossible without a vast and complicated economic machine working at a high degree of efficiency. In present day totalitarian warfare, the crippling of the economy of the enemy may be as decisive as the defeat of his armed forces. Both the Allies and Germany have made a terrific effort to preserve their own economic life and to ruin the economic life of their opponents. To preserve their economic life, both sides have to secure the imports essential to satisfy their urgent needs. They must also have access to export markets to which they can send goods to pay for their necessary imports. The need of an outlet for exports is even more urgent for Germany than for Britain and France. The latter have ~~ew~~ very large gold reserves with which to pay for imports. In Canada and the other British dominions, they can also obtain credits. Germany has neither of these

reserves. She must either pay for her imports with exports of goods, or, alternatively, loot her neighbours.

The attempts of Germany to interrupt allied trade by submarine warfare, by the indiscriminate use of mines, and by the armed raiding of merchant shipping have so far met with little success. From the outset, the Allies, on the other hand, were able to drive German shipping from all the seas except the Baltic. From the outset,too, they have restricted German sea-borne imports through neutral countries. On November 21st, the British government announced that the British would take all steps necessary to stop the flow of German exports. This measure was a direct response to Germany's indiscriminate mine-laying campaign. In spite of neutral protests, the British government maintained this policy. The necessary Order-in-Council was passed on November 27th, and put into effect on December 4th.

So far as sea-borne trade is concerned, the blockade has been exceedingly successful. Different methods however have had to be applied in the case of German over land trade with European neutrals. In these countries the Allies have pursued a policy of out-bidding the Germans. Even this policy has only been partially successful. Many of the neutrals have been more influenced by terror than by

profit. Knowing they were safe from allied aggression, and living in the constant fear of German aggression, they have, in many cases, not dared to cut off their exports to Germany or their imports from Germany. Even where the allies have offered more advantageous terms. As a result, it has not been possible to blockade Germany completely, though every effort has been made to strengthen the blockade by all possible means.

The War in Norway.

One of the biggest gaps in the blockade was in Scandinavia. From the outbreak of war, the Germans have used the territorial waters of Norway to carry their sea-borne imports of essential Swedish iron ore from the Norwegian Port of Narvik to Germany. This iron ore is one of the most important of all German imports. The Allies had no choice but to take effective steps to end the abuse of Norwegian neutrality by the Germans in carrying on this traffic. It was for this reason that they determined to lay mine fields off the Norwegian coast in an effort to intercept it and ultimately to bring it to a stop. The first of the mine fields were laid on April 8th. The following day, the Germans, in what they pretended was retaliation, over-ran and occupied Denmark and invaded Norway. The clock-work like precision with which these

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operations were carried out is convincing proof that they were not improvised at the last moment, but that they had been planned for some time in advance. As is always the case in operations of this character, the aggressor enjoyed the initial advantage. He had the choice of the moment to attack, the choice, too, of the places to be attacked. Despite its ruthless audacity the operation has been only partially successful. To the Germans, its cost has already been tremendous. They have lost at least one-third of their naval strength, and they have extended their lines of communication dangerously across the seas.

not used
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Debate on the Address

D 57100

Re: Choice of Honourable R. B. Hanson as Conservative House Leader.

I do not doubt that I shall be speaking on behalf of all of those sitting with me on this side of the House, in extending to my honourable friend (Mr. Hanson), our hearty congratulations upon his assumption of the responsible office which he has lately been chosen to fill. My honourable friend has now returned to the House after an absence of some five years. He is, of course, no stranger here, though there have been many changes in the membership of the following which he will now lead. I recall that it is nearly twenty years since the honourable gentleman was first returned, at a by-election, as a member of Parliament, and that the present is the fifth occasion on which he has been returned at a general election. I recollect also that previous to serving for a brief period as a Minister of the Crown, my honourable friend had served as Chairman of Standing Committees of the House. Both by lengthy experience and from a judicious temperament he is well fitted for the discharge of the special responsibilities and duties attaching to his office, and he will, I am sure, have the good wishes of all sections of the House.

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D 57102

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Return to J.W.P.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

May 7, 1940.

D 57104

For Mr. Turnbull:

Re temporary Leader of the Opposition

The situation in Parliament after the general elections of 1926 was analagous to the situation which will present itself in the new House of Commons. Mr. Meighen had been defeated in his own constituency and it was necessary to select a Conservative leader in the House. Of course Mr. Meighen had actually resigned as leader of his party, and we do not know whether Mr. Manion will take a similar step.

No notice was taken of the change in leadership on the first day of the session when the Speaker was being chosen. Mr. King did, however, make a brief reference to Mr. Guthrie's new position at the opening of his speech in the debate on the Address. A copy of the reference has been made, and is being held with the other speech material until the Prime Minister is ready to consider it.

J. W. P.

JWP/MP

D57105

The choice of Hon. Hugh Guthrie as
Temporary Leader of the Opposition.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister):

Before I reply to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Guthrie), may I, on my own behalf as well as on behalf of those sitting with me on this side of the House, extend to him our hearty congratulations upon his having been chosen for the high position which he now holds and which by natural endowments and long parliamentary experience he is so admirably qualified to fill. When I read in the press despatches that my hon. friend had been selected as leader of the opposition and of the party to which he now belongs, I confess recalling his old and long associations with the Liberal party of Canada, I felt that the compliment was perhaps greater to the party to which I belong than to hon. gentlemen opposite and the party to which they belong. My hon. friend will, I am sure, be the first to concede that what he inherits in the way of great natural endowments comes to him of Liberal parentage of which he may well be proud, and I have no doubt he will also remember with considerable pride his long association with the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of whom he was a trusted follower almost to the very end of his career. May I say that I think my hon. friend, in accepting the position as

a temporary one, owing to the exigencies of his party and under circumstances which necessarily must be more or less embarrassing, did so from very public spirited motives, and in view of that fact he is as much entitled to the thanks of the House as he is to the thanks of his own party.

Speech on Address. not used

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Section 3: The War.

May 20/1940

D 57107

The issue: same as in last war:

Both wars of aggression;

Germany seeking world domination.

Comparison of Germany in 1914 and 1939:

In 1914 freedom and civilization not extinguished in Germany;

Germany richer in resources, richer in intelligence, less isolated;

In 1939 better organized;

Power of endurance less, but striking power greater;

Hitler determined not to fight in both East and West;

Policy -- to strike one country at a time.

D 57108

Early stages of Nazi expansion:

Justified by desire to unite peoples of German stock;

Austria, March, 1938;

Sudetenland, at Munich, September, 1938;

Czecho-Slovakia and Memel, March, 1939, (Quote Hansard, September 8, 1939, p.p. 25 and 26).

Attack on Poland not the beginning of a war, but the beginning of the military phase:

Nazis made war on civilization from the moment of achieving power;

Extinction of Czecho-Slovakia made Nazi purpose clear to world;

Nazi ambitions limited only by what they could seize.

D 57109

The acquiescence of Russia essential to Nazi plan:

Poland marked as next victim after Czecho-Slovakia;

In 1939 German diplomacy engaged in assuring there would be no Soviet aid to Poland;

Nazi-Soviet agreement the signal for attack on Poland;

Hitler still believed Western powers would not fight.

The Polish campaign:

The Nazis forced for the first time to fight in order to conquer;

Germany had advantage of the initiative;

D 57110

The command of the air decisive in a military sense;

Russian intervention destroyed Polish resistance.

<u>The attack on Poland - the beginning of a general war</u>:

Hitler tried to end general war by so-called peace campaign.

<u>Strategic considerations</u>:

Allies refused to embark on a premature offensive;

Time needed to mobilize resources;

Tremendous ~~support~~ superiority required for successful offensive warfare;

Between nearly equal forces, advantage with defender;

D 57111

No Nazi attack directly on Britain and France;

Brunt of warfare borne by the weak neutral neighbors of Germany;

Neutrals failed to realize full danger of position, (Quote Hansard, September 8, 1939, page 22, re neutrals).

A series of Russian aggressions:

Similarity of Nazi and Soviet methods;

Protectorates established over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania without warfare;

The resistance of Finland;

International reaction to the Finnish war;

Neutrality of Norway and Sweden made effective aid impossible;

D 57112

Finnish war revealed military weakness of Russia.

<u>German aggression in the North</u>:

Denmark over-run, Norway invaded, April 9th;

Evidence of long preparation;

Advantage of initiative;

Norwegian advanture costly to German navy;

A terrific blow to allied complacency;

Further evidence of the decisive importance of air power.

<u>Nazis attack in the West</u>:

Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg attacked on May 10th;

D 57113

Surprise less complete;

Vigorous and determined resistance.

D 57114

The war at Sea:

Terrific allied naval preponderance;

Direct attack on allied navies hopeless;

German attempts to offset allied supremacy:

(a) The Submarine campaign;

(b) The magnetic mines;

(c) The surface raider.

The unanswered question of naval warfare - can naval craft be attacked successfully from the air?

Naval operations dependent on air co-operation.

D 57115

Economic Warfare:

Object:

(a) To preserve and strengthen the economic machine on which military action depends;

(b) To cripple the economy of the enemy.

German Weapons:

(a) Attacks on allied shipping--a failure;

(b) The looting of neutral neighbors--some temporary successes.

Allied Weapons:

(a) The blockade--increasingly stringent;

D 57116

(b) Access to world markets--complete;

(c) Competition for the exports of European neutrals--profit vs. terror.

Striking a balance:

German advantage in immediate striking power;

Allied advantage in far greater resources.

243

57117

Speech on Address

Section One: Introductory Remarks:

Congratulations to Acting Leader of the Opposition: Hon. R. B. Hanson

First elected at by-election 1921,
Re-elected 1921,1925,1926,1930
Returned to the House after an absence of five years;

Pleasure to see so many familiar faces:

Personal though not political regret at some absences;

humane spirit of Parliament

Word of tribute to late Alfred Edgar MacLean:

Member for Prince, 1921-39;
Where he succeeded me, and is succeeded in turn by the Minister of Finance.

D 57118

Reference to Dr. A. B. Hyndman

re-elected for Carleton which
he represented in last
Parliament;

Reference to Rev. W. G. Brown:

long career in Presbyterian
Church;
twice elected for Saskatoon.

Tribute to Lord Tweedsmuir;

Reference to the Earl of Athlone;

Anniversary of Royal Visit to
Ottawa;

Welcome to new members:
responsibilities facing all
younger members;

Congratulations to Member for
Lotbiniere (Hugues Lapointe)
for his own sake;
especially for his father's
sake;
one of proudest moments in
life of Minister of
Justice;

D 57119

personal satisfaction;

wish for son as distinguished
a career as father has had.

Congratulations to Member for
Vancouver North (James Sinclair)

apprenticeship in politics as
Private Secretary;

distinguished academic career
at Oxford and Princeton.

D 57120

Speech on Address

Section 2: Significance of Elections and obligations of Parliament

Reasons for Election:

(Quote from broadcast):

Vindication on April 9th
and again on May 10th;

Vote of fighting forces.

Significance of Elections:

A War Parliament;
A direct and unquestioned mandate;
An end to party strife.

Obligations of Parliament

War has first claim on energies;
Value of criticism and constructive opposition;
Appeal for sense of responsibility;
United war effort of a united Canada.

D 57121

War effort more than a military effort;

War makes demands on all of us;

Domestic problems must be faced to keep national economy sound;

Home front must be kept firm;

Must not win the war and lose the peace:
appeal for study of post-war problems;

Most critical period in history of Canada and of the world; demands utmost effort, need of vision;

Supreme duty of maintaining unity of Canada in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

D 57122

Speech on Address

Section One: Introductory Remarks:

Congratulations to Acting Leader of the Opposition: Hon. R. B. Hanson

First elected at by-election 1921,
Re-elected 1921,1925,1926,1930
Returned to the House after an absence of five years;

Pleasure to see so many familiar faces:

Personal though not political regret at some absences;

humane spirit of Parliament

Word of tribute to late Alfred Edgar MacLean:

Member for Prince, 1921-39;
Where he succeeded me, and is succeeded in turn by the Minister of Finance.

D 57123

Reference to Dr. A. B. Hyndman

re-elected for Carleton which he represented in last Parliament;

Reference to Rev. W. G. Brown:

long career in Presbyterian Church;
twice elected for Saskatoon.

Tribute to Lord Tweedsmuir;

Reference to the Earl of Athlone;

Anniversary of Royal Visit to Ottawa;

Welcome to new members:
responsibilities facing all younger members;

Congratulations to Member for Lotbiniere (Hugues Lapointe)
for his own sake;
especially for his father's sake;
one of proudest moments in life of Minister of Justice;

D 57124

personal satisfaction;

wish for son as distinguished
a career as father has had.

Congratulations to Member for
Vancouver North (James Sinclair)

apprenticeship in politics as
Private Secretary;

distinguished academic career
at Oxford and Princeton.

D 57125

Speech on Address

Section 2: Significance of Elections and obligations of Parliament

Reasons for Election:

(Quote from broadcast):

Vindication on April 9th
and again on May 10th;

Vote of fighting forces.

Significance of Elections:

A War Parliament;
A direct and unquestioned mandate;
An end to party strife.

Obligations of Parliament

War has first claim on energies;
Value of criticism and constructive opposition;
Appeal for sense of responsibility;
United war effort of a united Canada.

D 57126

War effort more than a military effort;

War makes demands on all of us;

Domestic problems must be faced to keep national economy sound;

Home front must be kept firm;

Must not win the war and lose the peace:
appeal for study of post-war problems;

Most critical period in history of Canada and of the world; demands utmost effort, need of vision;

Supreme duty of maintaining unity of Canada in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

D 57127 not used
243
25/5/40

Speech on Address

Chronology

1931: Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

1932: Japanese attack on Shanghai.

1935-6: Italian conquest of Ethiopia (sanctions).

1936: (March 7) German remilitarization of the Rhineland.

(July) Outbreak of Civil War in Spain.

1937: (July) Japanese intervention in China.

Increased Italian and German intervention in Spain.

D 57128

1938: (March 15) German seizure of Austria.

(Sep. 30) Munich settlement: German annexation of Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia.

1939: (March 15) German seizure of Czechoslovakia and establishment of so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

(March 23) German seizure of Memel.

(April 7) Italian occupation of Albania.

D 57129

1939

Aug. 21: Nazi-Soviet agreement.

Sep. 1: German invasion of Poland.

Sep. 3: Britain and France declare war.

Sep. 3: Athenia torpedoed.

Sep. 7: Opening of war session of Parliament.

Sep. 10: Canadian declaration of war.

Sep. 17: Russian invasion of Poland.

Sep. 27: Fall of Warsaw.

Sep. 28: Russian protectorate over Esthionia.

Oct. 5: Russian protectorate over Latvia.

D 57130

1939

Oct. 10: Russian protectorate over Lithuania.

Oct. 10: Air Training Proposal announced.

Oct. 19: Britain, France and Turkey sign mutual assistance pact.

Oct. 28: Mr. Crerar arrived in London.

Nov. 27: British blockade on German exports.

Nov. 30: Russian attack on Finland.

Dec. 13: Battle of Montevideo.

Dec. 17: Scuttling of Graf Spee

D 57131

1939

Dec. 17: Agreement signed for British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

1940

Feb. 16: Freeing of prisoners on the Altmark.

Feb. 29: British interruption of German coal shipments to Italy.

March 13: Capitulation of Finland (so-called peace with Russia).

1940

March 20: M. Reynaud, Premier of France in place of M. Daladier.

April 8: British mines laid off Norwegian coast.

April 9: German occupation of Denmark and invasion of Norway.

April 15: Allied troops landed in Norway.

April 18: Mr. Rogers arrived in London.

May 3: Mr. Chamberlain announced withdrawal from central Norway.

D 57133

1940

May 3: Allied fleets at Alexandria.

May 10: British garrison in Iceland.

May 10: German invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

May 10: Mr. Churchill replaced Mr. Chamberlain.

not used 243

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 57134

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: May 20/40

Re: Speech on Address
Section 4: War Effort.

The Prime Minister might wish, in referring to the problem of supply, to pay a tribute to the co-operation of the Canadian manufacturers.

Attached is a brief paragraph containing the concluding passage from a speech recently delivered in Toronto by Mr. D. R. Turnbull, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which could be quoted as an illustration of their attitude.

J. W. P.

May 14, 1940

In coping with the problem of war supplies the government has received the cordial co-operation of the Canadian Manufacturers generally. The spirit of the Manufacturers is well illustrated in the statesman-like words with which Mr. D. R. Turnbull, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, concluded a recent speech. Mr. Turnbull stated that:

"Canadian manufacturers have four duties:

First: to divert to war production all the manufacturing capacity that is required.

Second: To continue to manufacture goods needed by the people of Canada, thus providing employment and taxes.

Third: To seek constantly for opportunities to maintain and extend export trade.

Fourth: To prepare as far as may be possible for the period of adjustment that will follow the war."

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Third: To seek constantly for opportunities to maintain and extend export trade.

Fourth: To prepare as far as may be possible for the period of adjustment that will follow the war."

D 57137

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Second: To continue to manufacture goods needed by the people of Canada, thus providing employment and taxes.

Third: To seek constantly for opportunities to maintain and extend export trade.

Fourth: To prepare as far as may be possible for the period of adjustment that will follow the war."

 D 57138

The choice of Hon. Hugh Guthrie as
Temporary Leader of the Opposition.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister):

Before I reply to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Guthrie), may I, on my own behalf as well as on behalf of those sitting with me on this side of the House, extend to him our hearty congratulations upon his having been chosen for the high position which he now holds and which by natural endowments and long parliamentary experience he is so admirably qualified to fill. When I read in the press despatches that my hon. friend had been selected as leader of the opposition and of the party to which he now belongs, I confess recalling his old and long associations with the Liberal party of Canada, I felt that the compliment was perhaps greater to the party to which I belong than to hon. gentlemen opposite and the party to which they belong. My hon. friend will, I am sure, be the first to concede that what he inherits in the way of great natural endowments comes to him of Liberal parentage of which he may well be proud, and I have no doubt he will also remember with considerable pride his long association with the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of whom he was a trusted follower almost to the very end of his career. May I say that I think my hon. friend, in accepting the position as

D 57139

a temporary one, owing to the exigencies of his party and under circumstances which necessarily must be more or less embarrassing, did so from very public spirited motives, and in view of that fact he is as much entitled to the thanks of the House as he is to the thanks of his own party.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		Canada's War Effort Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1940	D 57140 - D 57184	
89		Italy's Entry Into the War, Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1940	D 57185 - D 57218	
89		Second Session, Brockington, L.W. Speeches in Parliament	18 July 1940	D 57219 - D 57222	
89		Second Session, Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	1940	D 57223 - D 57232	
89		1940: Upland Air Training School Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 57233 - D 57253	

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CANADA AND THE WAR

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

I. Canada's War Effort Viewed In Relation To The War Effort Of The Allied Powers

II. Italy's Entry Into The War

BROADCASTS BY
RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, and MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1940

OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1940

D 57141

Canada and the War

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

I—Canada's War Effort Viewed in Relation to the War Effort of the Allied Powers

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you to-night in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. To-day, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman

D 57142

oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honoured the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom to-morrow?

Public Questionings and Doubts

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about aeroplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend to-night to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict, also in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight to-day, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

Three Distinct Periods—I. The Shadow of War

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for

D 57143

active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation by Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period, what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war more slowly and later than their enemies. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war-time, and in preparations for war-time. The final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

II. The Outbreak and Beginnings of War

There begins the second period. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man-power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

III. The Blitzkrieg—Lightning War

The third period is that of the Blitzkrieg—lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts,

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D

its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. The element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves—sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They have been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

An Altered and Much Needed Perspective

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

D 57145

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

Extent of Canada's War Effort Obscured by Nature of Events

The dramatic events in Europe served to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of

D 57146

abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive. To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the allied cause.

Measures Taken to Meet Emergent Conditions

You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and are doing.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

The Army

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one Division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were

D 57147

ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When Hitler's lightning war, the "blitzkrieg," began we advanced the date of the despatch of our second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are to-day also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

The Navy

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And to-day, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade

D 57148

them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Co-operation School.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to National Defence for Air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth Plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of May were on their way out to Canada, were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Money and Materials

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will

D 57149

necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

War Supply

By the 10th of May, when the "blitzkrieg" began, orders had been placed for $225,000,000 worth of equipment, material and munitions for the Canadian army, navy and air force. The purchases ranged from clothing and personal equipment to aircraft and ships. Every shipyard in Canada was working at full capacity. The textile and clothing industries were also fully occupied. The production of munitions was being rapidly expanded, and aircraft production was rising steadily.

The blitzkrieg has created new problems of supply. Plans made in the early months of the war provided for the production by Canada of certain lines of equipment and by Britain of others, each to meet the needs of the other in certain respects. Changed circumstances have made it necessary for Canada to produce many things, even at greater cost, which it was expected would be supplied by Britain. In some cases it has been necessary to abandon the practice of using British specifications, if production is to be carried on speedily enough to meet emergent needs. The Department of Munitions and Supply is grappling vigorously with the new problems.

Need for Confidence and Calm

I have told you these things because it is difficult, amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

D 57150

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe to-day, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

Operations in New Theatres of War

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demand of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

New Factors and Friends

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things

D 57151

have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada's New Responsibility

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkirk and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbour will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

D 57152

Canada and the War

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

II—Italy's Entry Into The War

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

The news reached Ottawa a few minutes after one o'clock to-day that Signor Mussolini, in a speech delivered at Rome, had announced that Italy was entering the war on the side of Germany. The official confirmation of this news was not received until the House of Commons met this afternoon. Realizing that the people of Canada would wish the Government to take action without delay, I immediately introduced a resolution which placed Canada at the side of Britain and France in the war against Italy, as was done with respect to the war against Germany in September last. The motion was seconded by the Honourable Mr. Hanson, the Leader of the Opposition, and was in the following terms:

Proceedings in the Canadian Parliament

"Whereas Italy has declared her intention to enter the war on the side of Germany and against the allied powers; and,

Whereas a state of war now exists between the United Kingdom and France on the one hand, and Italy on the other; and

Whereas at the outbreak of war the parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom:

It is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy, and that this House does approve the same."

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The resolution was supported by the Leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democracy groups and was adopted unanimously by the House before four o'clock.

State of War Between Canada and Italy Proclaimed

A session of the Senate was held at four o'clock. The same resolution was introduced and unanimously passed. A meeting of the Cabinet was held to-night, an Order in Council was passed, tendering to His Majesty the King the advice that a Proclamation should issue, declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and the Kingdom of Italy as and from June 10, 1940. The terms of the Order in Council were immediately communicated by cable to the Canadian High Commissioner in London, for submission to the King. As soon as His Majesty's approval has been given a Proclamation will be issued in the *Canada Gazette*, similar in form to that of September 10, 1939, which declared that a state of war existed with the German Reich.

Measures Taken to Maintain Internal Security

The Minister of Justice has authorized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to take steps to intern all residents of Italian origin whose activities have given ground for the belief or reasonable suspicion that they might, in time of war, endanger the safety of the State, or engage in activities prejudicial to the prosecution of the war. Other necessary measures have been taken to prevent trading with the new enemy, or performing other acts which are not consistent with a state of war. Preparations for these and other necessary steps had been made well in advance of the declaration of war.

Italy's Treachery Foreseen

When I spoke to you on Friday evening last, I told you that before many days had passed there was every likelihood that nations which had hitherto avoided or escaped warfare would engage in hostilities. The signs were there for all to see, and messages from Europe served only to confirm the foreboding. As foreseen at that time and as I stated this afternoon in the House of Commons, after

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many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Betrayal of an Ancient Friendship

Barely eighty years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation. At a time when the rest of Europe looked with eyes of apathy, and even of hostility, upon the rebirth of Italy, the government of the United Kingdom in a memorable dispatch advised the Italian people that they turned their sympathetic eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence. The shouts of welcome of the British people to Garibaldi still ring through the years. As his great English biographer said: "Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world, of love of country, and the love of freedom kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind."

Italy grew in power and in influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In that last Great War, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory. Through many

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generations, Britain and France and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From Rome, the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

Amidst the discord and clamour of the world which is falling in ruins around us, I do not forget at this time the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace and the exaltation of humanity itself.

All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of religion, of literature and of art have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

The Strength and Weakness of Italy

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

While at the moment the allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat has now been removed. It has become a stark reality. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. We know where Italy stands. The atmosphere is cleared. The hands of Britain and France are freed for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While

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Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage and to divert the allied effort from the main task of defeating Germany, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts of the conflict and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

Mussolini's Action the Most Ignoble Recorded in History

History will, I believe, record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey waiting for brave men to die.

To-day, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the fateful hour for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proffered concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

No one can foretell the horror that the spread of warfare in lands hitherto untouched by its ravages may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world become gradually but inexorably engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

An old friend and a new friend

When I spoke to you on Friday, I used these words: "If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will rise to help us."

Many of you no doubt heard to-night the eloquent voice of both an old and a new friend—President Roosevelt. An old friend, because his heart, and the hearts of his people have always beaten in sympathy with ours. A new friend because in his ringing dec-

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laration, he pledged the material resources of his great and powerful country to strengthen and maintain the cause of freedom.

Canada More Resolute Than Ever

As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

June 7, 1940.

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Canada's War Effort viewed in relation
to the War Effort of the
Allied Powers.

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day, since their first heroic resistance, has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose mi hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepared to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and

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REPEAT
REPETITION

the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave, who have honoured the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts? You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fithing forces, about aeroplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my

attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe, to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict also, in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation by Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period: what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within

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that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time, became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that,

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from month to month, man-power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

The third period is that of the Blitzkrieg - lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. The element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves - sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the

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ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The moments of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onsalught, and the

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magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparlleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed, equally naturally, a tendency to meausre our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the

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swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has, because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis - and Canada is sharing those risks - but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive. To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort, and a grave injury to the allied cause.

You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could

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only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and

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strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway ~~DD~~ to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A second division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg", Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our second division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third division.

The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated sudddnness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch

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with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army cooperation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Cooperation School.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Cooperation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his

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entire time and attention to National Defence for Air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth Plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of May were on their way out to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is

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being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between

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nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole, in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting

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for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge

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which joins the new freedom of the North American continent, with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkirk, and from the citadel of Calais, the bravest men in the world, battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France, and the same gallantry of Britain, which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbour will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication **Montreal Gazette**

Date **June 8/40.**

D 57175

Subject

TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER KING'S BROADCAST

Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 57176

Subject.....

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war.

Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

BLITZKRIEG BEGINS.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg — lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all - important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves — sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them.

No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were

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reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs.

I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkerque was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

TELLS WHAT WAS DONE.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A Second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our Second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the First Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a Third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

HOME GUARD FORMED.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a Fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the navy, we began the month of may with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers' willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade

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them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions: It is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had a strength of 12,315 men. We fence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

AIR PLAN SPEEDED.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war for our own air force and which were on their way to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the new distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

"ALL IS NOT DARK."

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are now at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new devolepments may be, no one can say.

"What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

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BLOCKADE TIGHTER.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the Brtiish House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

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D 57180

Subject

TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER KING'S BROADCAST

Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

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SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

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SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs.

I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkerque was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

TELLS WHAT WAS DONE.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A Second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our Second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the First Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a Third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

HOME GUARD FORMED.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a Fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the navy, we began the month of may with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers' willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions: It is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had a strength of 12,315 men. We fence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

AIR PLAN SPEEDED.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war for our own air force and which were on their way to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the new distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

"ALL IS NOT DARK."

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are now at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new devolepments may be, no one can say.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

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"What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

BLOCKADE TIGHTER.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the Brtiish House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
	89	Canada's War Effort Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1940	D 57140 - D 57184	
	89	Italy's Entry Into the War, Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1940	D 57185 - D 57218	
	89	Second Session, Brockington, L.W. Speeches in Parliament	18 July 1940	D 57219 - D 57222	
	89	Second Session, Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	1940	D 57223 - D 57232	
	89	1940: Upland Air Training School Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 57233 - D 57253	

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CANADA AND THE WAR

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

I. Canada's War Effort Viewed In Relation To The War Effort Of The Allied Powers

II. Italy's Entry Into The War

BROADCASTS BY
RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, and MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1940

OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1940

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Canada and the War

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

I—Canada's War Effort Viewed in Relation to the War Effort of the Allied Powers

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you to-night in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. To-day, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman

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oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honoured the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom to-morrow?

Public Questionings and Doubts

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about aeroplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend to-night to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict, also in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight to-day, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

Three Distinct Periods—I. The Shadow of War

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for

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active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation by Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period, what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war more slowly and later than their enemies. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war-time, and in preparations for war-time. The final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

II. The Outbreak and Beginnings of War

There begins the second period. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man-power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

III. The Blitzkrieg—Lightning War

The third period is that of the Blitzkrieg—lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts,

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its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. The element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves—sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They have been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

An Altered and Much Needed Perspective

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

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As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

Extent of Canada's War Effort Obscured by Nature of Events

The dramatic events in Europe served to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of

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abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive. To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the allied cause.

Measures Taken to Meet Emergent Conditions

You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and are doing.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

The Army

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one Division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were

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Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

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We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

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We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of uncontemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And to-day, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade

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them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Co-operation School.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to National Defence for Air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth Plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of May were on their way out to Canada, were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Money and Materials

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is $2,000,000 a day, an amount which will

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necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

War Supply

By the 10th of May, when the "blitzkrieg" began, orders had been placed for $225,000,000 worth of equipment, material and munitions for the Canadian army, navy and air force. The purchases ranged from clothing and personal equipment to aircraft and ships. Every shipyard in Canada was working at full capacity. The textile and clothing industries were also fully occupied. The production of munitions was being rapidly expanded, and aircraft production was rising steadily.

The blitzkrieg has created new problems of supply. Plans made in the early months of the war provided for the production by Canada of certain lines of equipment and by Britain of others, each to meet the needs of the other in certain respects. Changed circumstances have made it necessary for Canada to produce many things, even at greater cost, which it was expected would be supplied by Britain. In some cases it has been necessary to abandon the practice of using British specifications, if production is to be carried on speedily enough to meet emergent needs. The Department of Munitions and Supply is grappling vigorously with the new problems.

Need for Confidence and Calm

I have told you these things because it is difficult, amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

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In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe to-day, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

Operations in New Theatres of War

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demand of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

New Factors and Friends

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things

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have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada's New Responsibility

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkirk and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbour will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

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Canada and the War

NEW SITUATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

II—Italy's Entry Into The War

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

The news reached Ottawa a few minutes after one o'clock to-day that Signor Mussolini, in a speech delivered at Rome, had announced that Italy was entering the war on the side of Germany. The official confirmation of this news was not received until the House of Commons met this afternoon. Realizing that the people of Canada would wish the Government to take action without delay, I immediately introduced a resolution which placed Canada at the side of Britain and France in the war against Italy, as was done with respect to the war against Germany in September last. The motion was seconded by the Honourable Mr. Hanson, the Leader of the Opposition, and was in the following terms:

Proceedings in the Canadian Parliament

"Whereas Italy has declared her intention to enter the war on the side of Germany and against the allied powers; and,

Whereas a state of war now exists between the United Kingdom and France on the one hand, and Italy on the other; and

Whereas at the outbreak of war the parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom:

It is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy, and that this House does approve the same."

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The resolution was supported by the Leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democracy groups and was adopted unanimously by the House before four o'clock.

State of War Between Canada and Italy Proclaimed

A session of the Senate was held at four o'clock. The same resolution was introduced and unanimously passed. A meeting of the Cabinet was held to-night, an Order in Council was passed, tendering to His Majesty the King the advice that a Proclamation should issue, declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and the Kingdom of Italy as and from June 10, 1940. The terms of the Order in Council were immediately communicated by cable to the Canadian High Commissioner in London, for submission to the King. As soon as His Majesty's approval has been given a Proclamation will be issued in the *Canada Gazette*, similar in form to that of September 10, 1939, which declared that a state of war existed with the German Reich.

Measures Taken to Maintain Internal Security

The Minister of Justice has authorized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to take steps to intern all residents of Italian origin whose activities have given ground for the belief or reasonable suspicion that they might, in time of war, endanger the safety of the State, or engage in activities prejudicial to the prosecution of the war. Other necessary measures have been taken to prevent trading with the new enemy, or performing other acts which are not consistent with a state of war. Preparations for these and other necessary steps had been made well in advance of the declaration of war.

Italy's Treachery Foreseen

When I spoke to you on Friday evening last, I told you that before many days had passed there was every likelihood that nations which had hitherto avoided or escaped warfare would engage in hostilities. The signs were there for all to see, and messages from Europe served only to confirm the foreboding. As foreseen at that time and as I stated this afternoon in the House of Commons, after

D 57199

many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Betrayal of an Ancient Friendship

Barely eighty years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation. At a time when the rest of Europe looked with eyes of apathy, and even of hostility, upon the rebirth of Italy, the government of the United Kingdom in a memorable dispatch advised the Italian people that they turned their sympathetic eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence. The shouts of welcome of the British people to Garibaldi still ring through the years. As his great English biographer said: "Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world, of love of country, and the love of freedom kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind."

Italy grew in power and in influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In that last Great War, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory. Through many

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generations, Britain and France and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From Rome, the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

Amidst the discord and clamour of the world which is falling in ruins around us, I do not forget at this time the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace and the exaltation of humanity itself.

All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of religion, of literature and of art have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

The Strength and Weakness of Italy

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

While at the moment the allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat has now been removed. It has become a stark reality. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. We know where Italy stands. The atmosphere is cleared. The hands of Britain and France are freed for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While

D 57201

Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage and to divert the allied effort from the main task of defeating Germany, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts of the conflict and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

Mussolini's Action the Most Ignoble Recorded in History

History will, I believe, record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey waiting for brave men to die.

To-day, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the fateful hour for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proffered concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

No one can foretell the horror that the spread of warfare in lands hitherto untouched by its ravages may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world become gradually but inexorably engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

An old friend and a new friend

When I spoke to you on Friday, I used these words: "If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will rise to help us."

Many of you no doubt heard to-night the eloquent voice of both an old and a new friend—President Roosevelt. An old friend, because his heart, and the hearts of his people have always beaten in sympathy with ours. A new friend because in his ringing dec-

D 57202

laration, he pledged the material resources of his great and powerful country to strengthen and maintain the cause of freedom.

Canada More Resolute Than Ever

As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

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As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

Italy's Declaration of War

Speech by Mr. King June 10, 1940.

D 57203

Fellow Canadians:

The News reached Ottawa a few minutes after one o'clock today that Signor Mussolini, in a speech delivered at Rome, had announced that Italy was entering the war on the side of Germany. The official confirmation of this news was not received until the House of Commons met this afternoon. I immediately introduced a resolution which placed Canada at the side of Britain and France in the war against Italy, as was done with respect to the war against Germany in September last. The motion was seconded by the Honourable Mr. Hanson, the Leader of the Opposition, and was in the following terms:

"Whereas Italy has declared her intention to enter the war on the side of Germany and against the allied powers; and,

Whereas a state of war now exists between the United Kingdom and France on the one hand and Italy, on the other; and,

Whereas at the outbreak of war the parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom:

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Whereas at the outbreak of war the parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom:

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 57204

It is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy, and that this House does approve the same."

The resolution was supported by the Leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democracy groups and was adopted unanimously by the House before four o'clock.

A session of the Senate was held at four o'clock. The same resolution was introduced and unanimously passed. At a meeting of the Cabinet held tonight, an Order-in-Council was passed, tendering to His Majesty the King the advice that a Proclamation should issue, declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and the Kingdom of Italy as and from June 10, 1940. The terms of the Order-in-Council were immediately communicated by cable to the Canadian High Commissioner in London, for submission to the King. As soon as His Majesty's approval has been given a Proclamation will be issued in the Canada Gazette, similar in form to that of September 10th which declared that a state of war existed with the German Reich.

The Minister of Justice has authorized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to take steps to intern all resident of Italian origin whose activities have given ground for the

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belief or reasonable suspicion that they might, in time of war, endanger the safety of the State, or engage in activities prejudicial to the prosecution of the war. Other necessary measures have been taken to prevent trading with the new enemy, or performing other acts which are not consistent with a state of war. Preparations for these and other necessary steps had been made well in advance of the declaration of war.

When I spoke to you on Friday evening last, I told you that before many days had passed there was every likelihood that nations which had hitherto avoided or escaped warfare would engage in hostilities. The signs were there for all to see, and messages from Europe served only to confirm the foreboding.

As I stated this afternoon in the House of Commons, after many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the

dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Barely eighty years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

Italy grew in power and in influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last Great War, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory. Through many generations, Britain and France and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To

countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From Rome, the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

I do not forget at this time the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamour of the world which is falling in ruins around us. All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

While at the moment the allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat has now been removed. It has become a stark reality. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. We now know where Italy stands. The atmosphere is cleared. The hands of Britain and France are freed for immediate and vigorous action.

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History will, I believe, record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey, waiting for brave men to die.

Today, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

D 57209

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the fateful hour for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

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Many of you no doubt heard tonight the eloquent voice of both an old and a new friend - President Roosevelt. An old friend, because his heart, and the hearts of his people have always beaten in sympathy with ours. A new friend because in his ringing declaration, he pledged the

D 57210

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As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

D 57211

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dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Barely eighty years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

Italy grew in power and in influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last Great War, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory. Through many generations, Britain and France and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To

countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From Rome, the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

I do not forget at this time the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamour of the world which is falling in ruins around us. All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

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While at the moment the allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat has now been removed. It has become a stark reality. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. We now know where Italy stands. The atmosphere is cleared. The hands of Britain and France are freed for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage and to divert the allied effort from the main task of defeating Germany, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts of the conflict and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

History will, I believe, record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey, waiting for brave men to die.

Today, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

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Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the fateful hour for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proferred concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

No one can foretell the horrors that the spread of warfare in lands hitherto untouched by its ravages may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world become gradually but inexorably engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

When I spoke to you on Friday, I used these words: "If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and ndw friends will rise to help us."

Many of you no doubt heard tonight the eloquent voice of both an old and a new friend - President Roosevel' An old friend, because his heart, and the hearts of his people have always beaten in sympathy with ours. A new friend because in his ringing declaration, he pledged th

material resources of his great and powerful country to strengthen and maintain the cause of freedom.

As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

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89		Canada's War Effort Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1940	D 57140 - D 57184	
89		Italy's Entry Into the War, Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1940	D 57185 - D 57218	
89		Second Session, Brockington, L.W. Speeches in Parliament	18 July 1940	D 57219 - D 57222	
89		Second Session, Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	1940	D 57223 - D 57232	
89		1940: Upland Air Training School Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 57233 - D 57253	

"K" Speeches

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

THURSDAY, July 18, 1940.

The house met at three o'clock.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

BANKING AND COMMERCE—PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT

Third report of standing committee on banking and commerce.—Mr. Moore.

First report of the joint committee of both houses of parliament on printing.—Mr. Dupuis.

L. W. BROCKINGTON

DUTIES AS RECORDER OF CANADA'S WAR EFFORT AND COUNSELLOR TO WAR COMMITTEE OF CABINET

On the order for motions:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Yesterday the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) tabled a reply to a question asked by the hon. member for Gaspe (Mr. Roy). The first part of the question was:

> Has the government appointed any person to write the history of our participation in the present war, and, if so, who was appointed

The answer was, "No," and the rest of the question was answered in the same sense. The answer is literally correct, I think, but in a practical sense I do not think it is correct; and I believe it is due to the house and the country that the Prime Minister should make some explanation as to just what the true position is.

I hold in my hand a copy of a press release issued when the Prime Minister made the announcement some months ago. It describes as follows the duties of the gentleman to whom it refers:

> To act in an advisory capacity to the war committee of the cabinet in the recording and interpretation of Canada's war effort; to advise and assist the government in providing accurate and essential information in these respects to the people of Canada and to the government of the United Kingdom, and to assist the Prime Minister by keeping a chronicle and other essential records of the progress of Canada's war effort.

The press report concludes:

> In this capacity, Mr. Brockington will be designated, recorder of Canada's war effort and counsellor (in the above respects) to the war committee of the cabinet. He will be attached to the Prime Minister's office.

The essentials of the press release are incorporated in the order in council P.C. 4284 passed on the 21st December last, with respect to this appointment.

Now, the question related to the appointment of a person "to write the history of our participation in the present war". The exact duties as defined in the order in council are, "as a recorder and interpreter of Canada's war effort". They mean very much the same thing, and it does seem to me that the answer is somewhat misleading; I do not wish to put a worse interpretation upon it than that. Perhaps the Prime Minister did not give the question any personal consideration. I am not going to attribute any ulterior motives, but I think it ought to be made clear, on a fair interpretation of the order in council, the press release, and the duties to which I understand the gentleman referred to is engaged in, that he is in fact if not in name the historian of Canada's war effort.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I had no intention whatever of misleading the house in any way.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I have not suggested that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As a matter of fact, no one has been appointed as historian of the war. After the last war Colonel Duguid was appointed to write a history of the war and I believe as historian he has thus far published two volumes. Mr. Brockington was certainly never appointed as historian of the war. He was appointed, among other duties, to keep a record of, and to help to chronicle, matters pertaining to the war, which is one of the functions he is performing at the present time.

As my hon. friend must know, events bearing upon the war are taking place in all parts of the world which have an important relation

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one to the other. There is a part of the general war effort of the United Kingdom and the dominions which concerns Europe, a part that concerns Asia, Africa and other continents. The Prime Minister cannot possibly be expected to keep himself posted day by day upon significant features of the war unless there is in his office someone specially charged with the duty of assembling material bearing upon the war and perusing as well as keeping records that are issued from time to time by different governments and from other sources. Since the war started recorded proceedings have been published by different countries setting forth their interpretation of various positions, state documents and the like, all of which material is being collected and in different ways utilized under the responsibility of Mr. Brockington. From time to time, as I have occasion to speak upon these matters, or to consult with my colleagues individually respecting them, or to discuss them in the cabinet, Mr. Brockington brings to my attention essential features which in his opinion the Prime Minister should have a knowledge of. That is the nature of the work which it was intended that he should perform in relation to the chronicling of the war effort.

It was not the purpose that Mr. Brockington should be an historian. I believe it will be found at the close of the war that there will have been assembled in the Prime Minister's office a complete set of documents having an immediate bearing upon the situation as it has developed from day to day and as it is developing from month to month and may develop from year to year. Had there not been someone specially charged with that duty we might find ourselves at the close of this war without any of these official records, so necessary in the present, and so essential for reference in the future.

I have occasion almost every day to make perfectly sure of some fact upon which I am expected to express an opinion publicly, or to take up for consideration with my colleagues, and I cannot possibly go and search my own files to discover relevant documents. I must necessarily appeal to someone who is watching the progress of events from day to day. Mr. Brockington's duties lie, in part, in that field, but that is only a part of his duties.

As my hon. friend must know, in a time of war when events are such as they are to-day, all sorts of unforeseen communications come into the Prime Minister's office which must be dealt with in a more or less exceptional and very careful manner. It would take me too long to enumerate them, but I might point out, by way of illustration, events such as occurred when Holland was invaded, Belgium surrendered and France collapsed. Public reference had to be made almost instantly to the significance of these events. Communications had to be sent by the Prime Minister to representatives of those countries here and abroad. I must take time to outline what I believe ought to be said in these and other circumstances requiring some expression of sympathy of views, to indicate to my staff the tenor of communications that should be drafted in the circumstances. But I have not the time from day to day to sit down and personally draft these particular communications.

From day to day we receive from various sources generous gifts of money, other gifts of one kind or another, from different organizations. The country will expect that where people are voluntarily making contributions to our war effort contributions of the kind should be acknowledged with something more than a mere line from a private secretary or some member of a departmental staff. They should if possible receive a letter from the Prime Minister himself. Mr. Brockington has an exceptional gift in his facility of expression, and I had felt, at the time I asked him whether he would assist me in the other matters to which I have referred, that he might help in the drafting of communications of this kind. Again, in the preparation of statements for this house, and statements to be given to the public over the radio and elsewhere, he has given me very real assistance. Let me say, however, that so far as any speeches that I have made are concerned, any public pronouncements or radio broadcasts that I have given, they have been my own. I have been assisted in the work; but I would ask any hon. gentlemen here who have had experience in matters of this kind, whether they ever found it possible to have someone else write a broadcast for them. Especially would I ask this of one who happens to be in a position of responsibility such as I hold at the present time.

While I am on this subject I might say a word which may help hon. members to understand the position in the Prime Minister's office as contrasted with other departments of government. When ministers of the crown take over different departments they go to departments that are fully organized, with deputy ministers, secretaries of the department, clerks, staffs, and every arrangement made which it is possible to make in order to facilitate the work of those departments. On the other hand, when the Prime Minister goes into his office he walks into an empty office except for one or two secretaries who may have come in with him; and from time to time, as the situation changes, there

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comes upon him a volume of additional demands for which no preparation whatever has been previously made. In other departments it is easy to add to the staff here and there as fresh demands arise. For example, large staffs have been added to the Department of National Defence and to the Department of Munitions and Supply to assist in meeting the demands war has created. In my own office, as Prime Minister I have had to assist me in meeting new situations from day to day since this session began, only Mr. Brockington in addition to one or two other younger men whom I have been able to borrow from some of the other departments. He is the only person who has been given a special retainer in connection with the Prime Minister's office, and this not merely because he is doing some highly specialized work requiring wide knowledge of men and affairs, but because of the exceptional judgment and ability which he possesses.

So far as Mr. Brockington's services are concerned they are not confined to myself. He has generously shared his abilities with my colleagues in the cabinet in connection with many matters to which they have been obliged to give their attention. There is not a day passes when there does not arise some question which calls for careful and thoughtful consideration before the Prime Minister is in a position even to discuss it with his colleagues. In matters of the kind it is absolutely necessary that I should have someone in the capacity of a counsellor attached to my office. Mr. Brockington is one of the leading counsel in Canada. He has had large retainers and he has accepted the position which he now holds in my office at great personal and financial sacrifice. Through myself and the government, in the advice and counsel which he has given to me personally and to the cabinet touching a hundred and one different matters that have come up, he has rendered this country an exceptional service.

I could say a good deal more, but perhaps I have said enough to indicate that at least there is some justification for the Prime Minister having at his side, at a time like the present, a gentleman with wide experience in affairs, an able counsellor, one who is largely informed on public matters, and who because of his special attainments is in a position to be able to render an absolutely essential service to the office of prime minister and to the country in the present state of world affairs.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I made no attack on Mr. Brockington. I made no attack on the Prime Minister, or anything in the nature of an attack, with respect to the matters to which he has alluded. All I rose to do was to call attention to what I considered was an inaccurate reply to a question on the order paper.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hope I have made it plain that the reply was not inaccurate.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I do not think the right hon. gentleman referred to the gravamen of the question at all. In my judgment he entirely disregarded it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Brockington's name was not mentioned on the question at all. I did not assume it had reference to Mr. Brockington; I assumed it had reference to some appointment similar to the appointment made by a former government in the last war, of someone to write a history of the war. It is true that my hon. friend has said nothing in the way of an attack to-day, but he has brought Mr. Brockington's name up on one or two previous occasions. He has been kind enough to say to me that he did not mean anything he said as any attack on Mr. Brockington; quite clearly then he meant what he said as a reflection on myself. At any rate I have taken it as such, and I am replying to what he said in a way which I think will justify before the country the position in which I have been placed.

In addition I would point out that while my hon. friend has been reflecting upon me in the house in this matter, some of his supporting journals on the outside have been making their attack from an opposite point of view; they have been saying it was part of my business to stand up and defend Mr. Brockington. My hon. friend said he was not attacking Mr. Brockington, so that no defence of him was needed; yet by his press on the outside I am being attacked on the score that I have attached to my office a gentleman who is being attacked and I am not defending him.

So far as Mr. Brockington is concerned, I think his abilities speak for themselves, I do not think he needs any defence. So far as I am concerned I am prepared to abide by such attack as has been made and the explanation I have given.

DEBTS DUE THE CROWN

DEDUCTION FROM SALARIES OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES RESIDENT IN PROVINCES OF PROVINCIAL TAXES COLLECTABLE BY DOMINION

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 99, to amend an act respecting debts due to the crown.

He said: The dominion government has agreements with some of the provinces under which the dominion government collects income

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tax and similar taxes imposed by a province. The purpose of this bill is to enable the crown in the right of Canada to deduct from the salaries of federal employees resident in these provinces the amount of the provincial taxes which it is the duty of the dominion government to collect under these agreements.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS—LINES ABANDONED

Mr. ROY:

How many miles of railway line of the National Railways system were abandoned from 1929 to date (a) in British Columbia, (b) in the prairie provinces, (c) in Ontario, (d) in Quebec, (e) in the maritime provinces?

Mr. CARDIN: (a) In British Columbia, 16; (b) in the prairie provinces, 58; (c) in Ontario, 350; (d) in Quebec, 187; (e) in the maritime provinces, 40; a total of 652.

*BRITISH CHILDREN

Mr. BRUCE:

Has the minister set up the dominion-wide organization to facilitate the extension of hospitality by Canada to British children for the duration of the war, to which he referred on June 27th last?

Mr. CRERAR: Substantial progress has been made in the matter to which this question refers. It is still receiving consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER: Answered.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS

SALE OF STEAMSHIP PRINCE HENRY

Mr. DIEFENBAKER:

1. When did the government sell the ship *Prince Henry*?
2. Was sale made by tender?
3. What other offers for the purchase thereof were received?
4. What was the sale price and terms, if any?
5. Has the purchase price been paid? If not, what portion remains unpaid?

Mr. CARDIN: Return tabled.

ALIENS NATURALIZED SINCE 1936 AND INTERNED

Mr. ROY:

1. How many aliens were naturalized in Canada from 1936 to date?
2. How many aliens, naturalized in Canada since 1936, have been interned since the beginning of the war?

[Mr. Ilsley.]

ASSOCIATIONS OR SOCIETIES DECLARED ILLEGAL

Mr. ROY:

1. What associations or societies have been outlawed since the beginning of the war?
2. On or about what dates were such associations or societies organized in Canada?
3. What is the approximate membership of each?

Mr. CASGRAIN: Return tabled.

HUDSON BAY RAILWAY

Mr. ROY:

1. What has been the cost to date of the construction of the Hudson bay railway and equipment at Churchill?
2. How long has the railway been in operation?
3. What have been the receipts, and expenses, each year, as well as the annual deficit?
4. What was the annual volume of exports from Churchill during the past five years?

EXEMPTIONS FROM MILITARY SERVICE

Mr. CHURCH:

1. What classes are exempted from any form of military duty in Canada (a) under the Militia Act, (b) from overseas service, (c) home defence duties?
2. What percentage of Canada's population are exempt from military duty under (a), (b) and (c) above?

EXPERIMENTAL FARMS—SALES OF PURE BRED DAIRY ANIMALS

Mr. BROOKS:

What is the number of pure bred dairy animals, male and female, breed, and the price of each, sold by the dominion experimental farms to individual farmers from 1935 to 1939 (a) in the maritimes, (b) Quebec, (c) Ontario?

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION—SECRETARIAL STAFF

Mr. ROY:

1. Who were the members of the secretarial staff of the dominion-provincial relations commission?
2. What was the remuneration of each?
3. Were they paid any living and travelling allowances?
4. If so, what amount was received by each member of the secretarial staff under each of these headings?

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

QUESTION OF PROCEEDING WITH SECOND READING OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

On the orders of the day:

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I understand my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr.

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89		Canada's War Effort Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1940	D 57140 - D 57184	
89		Italy's Entry Into the War, Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1940	D 57185 - D 57218	
89		Second Session, Brockington, L.W. Speeches in Parliament	18 July 1940	D 57219 - D 57222	
89		Second Session, Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	1940	D 57223 - D 57232	
89		1940: Upland Air Training School Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 57233 - D 57253	

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

SATURDAY, August 3, 1940.

The house met at eleven o'clock.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT ON COMPLETION OF BUSINESS UNTIL NOVEMBER 5, 1940

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, hon. members are anxious, I am sure, to know the intention of the government with respect to adjournment or prorogation when the business for which the present session was called is concluded. My colleagues and I have given thought to what in the public interest would be most advisable, all circumstances considered, and we have endeavoured to meet, as well as it possibly can be met, the convenience of hon. members of the house generally. With the consent of the house, I desire therefore to propose the following motion:

That this house, on completion of the business for which it was specially summoned, do adjourn till Tuesday, 5th November, 1940, at three o'clock p.m., provided always that if it appears to the satisfaction of Mr. Speaker, after consultation with His Majesty's government, that the public interest requires that the house should meet at any earlier time during the adjournment, Mr. Speaker may give notice that he is so satisfied, and thereupon the house shall meet at the time stated in such notice, and shall transact its business as if it had been duly adjourned to that time.

As hon. members will understand, this means that when the business of the session is completed, be it to-day, on Monday, or on whatever day it may be, the house will then stand adjourned until Tuesday, November 5. If in the interval for public reasons it should appear necessary to have the house reconvene, it will be possible for the government, upon consultation with His Honour the Speaker, to bring hon. members together in the shortest possible time. If it should not appear necessary to bring hon. members together until November 5, at that time the government would be in position to know whether the public interest would be best served by calling the next session of parliament almost at that very time. Whether that would be wise or unwise, I am unable to say at the moment. These matters can be decided only in the light of the circumstances that may exist at the time.

I realize that it would be a great inconvenience to hon. members to have them come from all parts of the country to Ottawa for a very short period, have them return home, and then call them back again almost immediately afterwards in order to begin a new session of parliament. At the time to which adjournment is being made, I believe the government will know whether it would be better for the house to meet for what time may be necessary, then prorogue, and have the next session begin early in the new year or, should there not be much business to attend to in November pertaining to matters which have happened meanwhile, and the government then be in a position to bring down its programme for the next session, to prorogue forthwith and have parliament immediately summoned for its next session possibly on the Thursday of the week to which adjournment is now being arranged for.

Upon reflection hon. members will see, I am sure, that the government has considered the matter from every side, in the light of conditions in our own country as we know them, and of conditions in the world as we know them. Hon. members will have observed that when I spoke before on this matter, I always declined to say that parliament would adjourn rather than prorogue, and I declined to give any definite undertaking in respect to prorogation. I have always said that I thought these matters could properly be decided only in the light of circumstances as they might exist at the time when it was necessary to make a final decision. All circumstances considered, I believe what is proposed in this motion will meet with general approval, at least I hope so.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of expressing concurrence in the motion which has just been placed before the house by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). I had asked for something similar to this on two occasions during the

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session, and I had not intended returning to it again, rather leaving it entirely to the discretion of the government.

We are of course aware that parliament is the proper place to discuss the state of the defence of Canada should this country become further imperilled. I have always held the view that if the circumstances are such as to imperil the safety of the state, indeed our very existence, the high court of parliament should be functioning.

I am not unaware of the inconvenience which private members of the house may suffer by the action which is proposed, but I hope they will accept the suggestion contained in the motion as a patriotic gesture in their public service and that they will agree unanimously to the motion.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, the proposal of the Prime Minister meets of course with our approval. I believe it is the right thing to do and I feel that none of us, no matter how inconvenient it may be, can possibly complain with respect to the action that is proposed. We do not know what may happen during the next two or three months and I feel that the Prime Minister is acting in the best interests of the country.

There is just one question I should like to ask, to clear up any doubt there may be in our minds. I understand that the reassembling of parliament on November 5 is mandatory.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Oh, yes. Parliament will have to meet on that day, if it does not meet again at an earlier date.

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Témiscouata): Mr. Speaker, I am always fearful when a suggestion comes from the leader of the opposition. He suggested conscription; we have got it. He suggested an adjournment of the house instead of prorogation; we have got it. It is not the desire of a great many members to have an adjournment at this time. I am not grouching, of course. I am a good enough sport to accept my financial responsibilities as a member, although I am not a big corporation lawyer like the hon. leader of the opposition.

But the Prime Minister should remember one thing. It is that we had a special session of parliament last year, when we came here for one week. Canada is a larger country than England and what works well in England does not necessarily work well here. You can travel overnight from Plymouth to Inverness or from the northern part of Scotland to London or from any part of the British Isles to Westminster. But it takes a long time to come from British Columbia to Ottawa; it takes a long time to come here from Halifax, and it takes a long time to come to Ottawa from Rivière du Loup. But I am not afraid to do so. I can do so. I can pay for my berth; there is no objection to that. But I do not see why people who have high salaries and others who have high positions as corporation lawyers—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. POULIOT: There is one thing, Mr. Speaker, with respect to adjourning the house to a certain date in order to have the members here then. It takes British Columbia members a week generally to get here by train, but if they come here by Trans-Canada Air Lines I wonder if the government would be ready to pay the travelling expenses of the members who want to reach Ottawa in a day. That would be all right; but otherwise it is quite different. Every member must answer the call of the chair for a sitting of the house. It is evident that it is our duty to be here, and in that sense, being true to my duty as a member of parliament, I am behind such a call.

You know, Mr. Speaker, and the members know that I am just as assiduous in my duties in this house as my correspondence will permit, and that correspondence is exclusively political. By that I mean I am working in the interest of my electors. I have expressed regret that I cannot attend the sittings of the house more often because of the trouble we have had in certain departments, but I do my best, as the members will agree. We can come to Ottawa at any time. We have done so before.

But there is another thing. The members of parliament were summoned to Ottawa to sit for one day in January last. They came here expecting to be here for a whole session, and some rented apartments, and when the sitting suddenly ended they had the trouble of settling with the landlords from whom they had rented apartments. Now they are to live on the pure air that we breathe outside. I find it pretty hard.

I remember the time when Mr. Lavigueur was a member from Quebec and Mr. Irvine a member of the Progressive group, and they rose to ask for an increase in the indemnity. We all needed it, but I did not join with them. But this time we have been sitting long enough to be entitled, under the Senate and House of Commons Act, to payment of our full indemnity, and I do not see why we should not get it. Why should we be afraid to speak plainly?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. POULIOT: Most of our indemnity goes back to our electors in the form of contributions of funeral wreaths, masses for the dead, wedding gifts and charity. It costs me

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$1,500 a year of my indemnity to meet these expenses, but now if people will wed or die I shall have to tell them: I am sorry but I have not the means to pay for masses or funeral wreaths, and I can send you only my sympathy; and if they get married I shall have to give them my blessing. I am not afraid to put it in *Hansard*. The people of my constituency know how I treat them. As members most of us spend at least $5 a day in contributions of one kind and another. I do not complain about it, but I want to have what is owed to me according to the statute.

I am sick of the idea of copying what is done at Westminster under entirely different circumstances. The leader of the opposition says, in a prayerful attitude: I hope this motion will be agreed to unanimously. It is not agreed to unanimously; I am against it, just as I was against the rotten social legislation of Bennett and against all bad things. What I ask now I do not ask for myself. I ask it on behalf of my electors. Many members who have just applauded me are in exactly similar circumstances to my own. I tell the Prime Minister once for all that he is on a much safer road when he follows the views of his supporters than when he follows the views of the leader of the opposition. Why, why, why cater to the Ottawa *Journal*, that Tory paper which is making lots of money by renting space to the government during the war. I am not the first to say that. It was said in the house by Doctor Edwards, an Orangeman, a Tory, but a good fellow with a good heart and a sense of fairness. He complained of the Ottawa *Journal* being so greedy to get money and then preaching immolation and sacrifice. They are just hypocrites, like those hypocrites the Lord expelled from the temple with a whip.

Let us be sensible. That is my last recommendation to the house.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I should like at once to say to my hon. friend the member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) that I myself take full responsibility for this motion. It has not been brought forward as a result of any suggestion made from any part of the house. It has been brought forward as the result of careful thought to what is most in the public interest, all circumstances considered, at this time. I believe that the motion as it has been presented will serve to meet any and every possible contingency, in the most effective way. It is not an imitation of what is being done in any other country; it is a statement of what in this country, having regard to the position of Canada, having regard to the position of the United Kingdom, and having regard to the world situation, is obviously the wisest thing to have done with respect to the proceedings of parliament.

In regard to the question of indemnity which my hon. friend has raised, the effect of the motion is that on adjournment of the house, each day on which there has been no sitting in consequence of its having adjourned over such day shall be reckoned as a day of attendance. The result is that hon. members will not get the balance of the indemnity as of prorogation, but will be paid monthly until the $4,000 is fully paid.

My hon. friend has referred to sacrifice. When men of this country are crossing the ocean to join with others in the old land, prepared to sacrifice their lives if need be for the preservation of freedom, it ill becomes, I think, any hon. member of this house to make comparisons with respect to extent of possible sacrifice.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, on a question of privilege. The hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) has referred to me in somewhat contemptuous terms. Under ordinary circumstances I should greet those words with the silence they deserve. But I should like to make this personal explanation to the house. When I was sworn in as a member of his majesty's Canadian privy council in 1934 I severed my connection with my legal firm. I want to say that it was not without a good deal of misgiving that I did so, because it was a firm of which I was very proud and which had grown and been built up in the esteem of a large clientele over many years. In doing so I sacrificed a very substantial professional income. Since that time I have had no connection with that firm save and except in a consulting capacity, and at the same time I returned all the retainers of any consequence and of any character which I had as being a member of that firm. I am happy to think, however, that the firm still bears my name. That is quite in accordance with the laws of the province in which I live. I have had no connection in a professional capacity with any corporation except one since the middle of November, 1934. I have retained such directorships as I have enjoyed because in certain cases I was acting in a fiduciary capacity, and in other cases I felt it my duty to do so and that it was in no way inimical to the public interest.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the house to adopt the motion? Carried.

Mr. POULIOT: On division.

Motion (Mr. Mackenzie King) agreed to, on division.

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PRIVILEGE—MR. POULIOT

Mr. POULIOT: On a question of privilege, I wonder if my chief, the Prime Minister in stating that the soldiers were making sacrifices overseas, was implying that I as a member of parliament was making no sacrifice. If such is the case, may I remind him that both of us are over forty-five years of age and that I am married, am a father, and do my duty as a member of parliament?

A second question is this: Will the expenses of the members, if they come at the call of the chair during the adjournment, be paid or not?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As to the first question, may I say that I am not aware of having made any reflection upon the character of my hon. friend or on the extent of his sacrifices; certainly nothing of the sort was intended. I think we are all fully aware how considerable they are. My hon. friend himself raised the question of sacrifice, and I deemed it desirable in that connection to indicate as I saw it, a true sense of proportion between any sacrifice which a member of parliament as such can make and that which is made by a man who is prepared to give, or actually does give, his life on the scene of conflict.

Mr. MacNICOL: There is no comparison.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As to the question of the payment of expenses of members coming back to attend the session when it is reconvened, whatever is customary in that regard will be followed at that time.

REPORTS AND PAPERS

Volume 2 of proclamations and orders in council passed under the War Measures Act. —Mr. Mackenzie King.

Order in council passed in 1873 with regard to Mennonites, and order in council passed in 1898 with regard to Doukhobors.—Mr. Gardiner.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

*HOUSE RENTALS IN WAR TIME

Mr. HLYNKA:

1. Have rentals of dwellings risen in Canada since war was declared? If so, to what extent?

2. Is the government prepared to adopt any action in checking such rise of rentals?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I might answer this question orally. To the first part the answer is: In some cases yes; as to the extent, not known; impossible to say. As to the second part of the question I would say that the government departments have been carefully watching this situation and giving it as much attention as is possible in the circumstances.

Mr. SPEAKER: Answered.

QUESTION PASSED AS ORDER FOR RETURN

CONSERVATION OF EXCHANGE—USE OF DOMESTIC FUEL

Mr. PURDY:

With a view to conserving foreign exchange and increasing employment, will the government arrange (a) that as far as possible fuels produced entirely in Canada are used in all government buildings; (b) that heating specifications for all buildings now being constructed, including troop accommodation, will be written accordingly?

Mr. CASGRAIN: Return tabled.

PRIVILEGE—Mr. FULFORD

PRESS REPORT IN OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN OF AUGUST 2

Mr. G. T. FULFORD (Leeds): I rise to a question of privilege. In last night's Ottawa Evening *Citizen*, that newspaper, in reporting my few remarks in the house the day before, printed "George T. Fulford (Con. Leeds)." Mr. Speaker, I positively deny that allegation.

NATIONAL REGISTRATION

STATEMENT OF MAYOR OF MONTREAL—ACTION OF PRESS CENSOR IN RESPECT TO NEWSPAPER REPORT

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I rise to put an important question to the ministry.

Yesterday, in the city of Montreal, an amazing thing happened. The mayor of the city of Montreal, in a signed statement delivered to the press at a press conference in relation to the matter of national registration, openly defied the law of Canada. I hold in my hand a copy of the statement which he then made and which was delivered to the press of Canada:

I declare myself preemptorily against national registration. It is unequivocally a measure of conscription, and the government recently elected, last March, declared through the mouths of all its political chieftains, from Prime Minister Mackenzie King to Premier Adelard Godbout of Quebec, and not excluding Messrs. Lapointe and Cardin, that there would be no conscription under any form whatsoever.

Honour the Speaker and the deputy speaker to occupy the Speaker's chair. As a presiding officer, in a temporary capacity and as chairman of standing committees of the house, he earned a high reputation for fairness and a judicial demeanour. We all know in what measure he possesses those qualities of courtesy which are a traditional characteristic of gentlemen of his race. His facility in both of the official languages of the house is a most valuable personal and public asset.

I mention these qualities in order that hon. members on all sides of the house may know in advance why I believe that, if chosen as Deputy Speaker, not only will Mr. Vien do great credit to the position and honour to himself, but as I believe you, sir, as Speaker are doing at the present time, will reflect honour upon the House of Commons itself.

I move, therefore:

That Thomas Vien, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Outremont, be appointed chairman of committees of the whole house.

Motion agreed to.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

PRECEDENCE FOR GOVERNMENT BUSINESS ON AND AFTER WEDNESDAY, MAY 22

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved:

That on and after Wednesday the 22nd May, 1940, to the end of the present session, government notices of motions and government orders shall have precedence at every sitting over all other business except introduction of bills, questions by members and notices of motions for the production of papers.

Mr. T. L. CHURCH (Broadview): Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to oppose the motion, but in view of the fact that this is a war session I believe all parties in the house should act as one. In other words it should be our sole purpose to win the war; that should be our main and only business. While there are many domestic questions, in my view they should wait until the war has been won. I do not intend to oppose the motion, but it is my intention to assert the rights of a free parliament and a private member. I do that because under our constitution the private member is the connecting link between the government of the day and the electorate, and when he ceases to function, parliamentary government is at an end.

I hope the motion before us, if adopted, will not prevent criticism. I am not referring to criticism offered merely for the sake of criticizing. All hon. members want to see the government get on with its war work, but I trust that constructive criticism, or that which is based upon fact, will not be prevented.

Just a year ago we enjoyed the visit of the king and queen, representatives of monarchy. The visit showed the tremendous popularity of the monarchy and the decay and decline of the House of Commons because of the usurpation of the rights and functions of parliament by the executive. In my opinion we should assert the right to free parliaments, free assembly, the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. These conditions should continue, so long as they do not interfere with the prosecution of the war.

We need not be ashamed of the record of private members in the House of Commons. In the last twenty years, while I have been a member of the house, the initiative for forward action has come in a large degree from private members. They have taken the initiative with respect to our national coal supply, rearmament, supporting the war and Great Britain. The war has come so close to us that no doubt the government wants to get along with its programme, and I want, as does the country, action. On the other hand I do not want parliament to become a paradise of inaction, coma and inertia.

The first order under "Notices of Motions" stands in my name, and relates to the advisability of adopting measures for the better protection of soldiers serving in the expeditionary force, with particular reference to the establishment of a system of life insurance for all soldiers. This is not a long motion, and its discussion would not take more than ten minutes. We have insurance on bonds, securities and stocks; why not have it on the men who are overseas fighting our battles for us? The United States had a similar insurance scheme for all its soldiers at the time of the last great war. So had the city of Toronto.

It will be understood of course that I am not now discussing the resolution. Paragraph (b) deals with a transportation allowance for soldiers in Canada. We know the government pays for automobiles for some of its military district officers, and I believe our soldiers are entitled to the consideration I propose. Paragraph (c) of the resolution has to do with the guarding of public property. The last parliament placed responsibility on the municipalities, and the suggestion is that it should be that of the federal authorities.

While I am not opposing the motion I hope that in passing it we will not be turning the House of Commons, this free parliament, into a body of yes-men and nodders. We ought to use great care, because it is yes-men and

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nodders who caused this war and the surrender to tyranny of Germany and Italy. We must be careful not to interfere with the rights and privileges of members of parliament who are sent here. Burke has said of a private member that his wisdom, his knowledge, his mature judgment he does not derive from parliament or the law of the land. It is a trust from Providence, and for such he will later be held accountable.

We should be extremely careful in this new parliament, because the last one was criticized for its lack of action. There are eighty-five new members with us, and we ought to use great care when we are considering the taking away of their rights and privileges and functions, which they may not realize are being taken from them. First I have to consider the rule of anticipation, a rule which, when a matter has by a reference been referred to a committee, prevents one from dealing with a problem until the report of the committee is before the house. I would point out, however, that twenty or thirty important resolutions stand in the names of private members, and that those resolutions in the past have given governments useful ideas. The government rejected for nearly ten years my motion for a national fuel policy, but at the end of that time on the eve of an election they have not been slow to accept and adopt the suggestion. They have not hesitated to say then, "We did this" or "We did that."

In my view the House of Commons should sit longer hours and in the mornings and, at least in the first week or two there should be an hour for the discussion of private members' resolutions. If that opportunity is not given, I hope the government will answer through process of ordinary question and answer, and that attached to answers will be an indication of policies proposed in regard to these private members' proposals.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a word on this motion on behalf of the group with which I am associated. We wish to do everything possible to facilitate the business of the house. We believe that in the crisis which we now face the government should have the right of way with its business, but we want it to be clearly understood that we do not think that this should be allowed to become a precedent at any time. We would suggest that at a later date, when the urgent business has been transacted, some of these resolutions might be allowed to come before the house and be given consideration.

It is now almost a year since parliament met in regular session. During that time we have had a general election, and those of us who are in our seats this afternoon have come from the electorate. There are certain problems that we have been asked to bring before the House of Commons by way of resolution. While we are not objecting to the government asking us to forgo this right because of the circumstances that exist, we would ask the government to provide ways and means later on in the session, when perhaps the regular business slackens—those of us who have been in the house know that at times, for very good reasons, government business is not ready for the house—for the consideration of these private members' resolutions. Perhaps an alteration in the rules would make possible the adoption of some of these resolutions.

On behalf of the group with which I am associated I want to reiterate that we wish to do all we can to facilitate the business of the house, but we also want to maintain the right of a private member to discuss the matters which his electors have requested should be brought forward by member's resolution.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a word on this motion, although hon. members have in some respects anticipated what I had intended to say; perhaps I was not sufficiently alert. I appreciate the desire of the government to get on with the business of the country at this time, especially after what we have heard to-day and what we have been hearing for the last two or three days from the front. I do not think there is any disposition on the part of anyone to retard the business of the session for the sake of discussing, shall I say, what are more or less academic questions.

I have never had a great deal of enthusiasm for the discussion of private members' notices of motions. In the years that I was in the house in days gone by I never had the temerity to introduce one myself. I always thought that it was more or less a waste of time. Nevertheless I suppose ten per cent of the resolutions which have been put on the order paper during the last ten, fifteen or twenty years have served a useful purpose. Of that ten per cent, probably half have resulted in action in one form or another. I had hoped that the government would see its way clear to giving private members at least to-morrow afternoon. I still hope that the government will consider that. It would be a compromise and it would dispel any impression there might be in the minds of hon. gentlemen that they are being deprived of their rights and prerogatives. I just throw that out as a suggestion; I am not going to move an amendment to the motion.

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There is one other thing I should like to point out. I hope this will not be considered as a precedent for future sessions. Private members have substantial rights of debate in this house and if they are taken away at this session, perhaps some future government, not next year but later, will say, "What is the use? We need this time; here is a precedent, let us follow it." I am not hopeful that the suggestion put forward by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat will have any effect on the government. As a matter of fact, as time goes on I believe there will be less and less opportunity for the discussion of private members' resolutions. If this motion is carried we may take it as an accepted fact that it is the end of private members' motions and resolutions for this session. I commend to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the government the suggestion I have made, that private members should be given to-morrow afternoon.

Mr. RALPH MAYBANK (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I rise to express in as few words as possible my opposition to the proposal of the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson), that we postpone the adoption of this motion, or at any rate not make it effective for a day or so. There is a strong feeling in the country that this government is too complacent, that it is not ready to go to work and that it has not been doing any work. Now the government proposes to put everything else aside in order to try to push forward its own plans. In the light of that, no opposition of any kind should be presented to the motion. It should not be delayed until to-morrow afternoon; it should not be delayed one minute. So far as its being a precedent is concerned, so far as taking away the rights of private members is concerned, where the devil would your private members' rights be if we lost the war?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MAYBANK: All right; I will take back that word and speak less feelingly; hon. members will understand it. I share very largely the view that there is too much complacency on the part of the government, and this in spite of what I heard yesterday. I am not satisfied, and I want that to be known now. I would not interfere for one minute in any way with the prosecution of the program of this government. Rather I want to see it put forward and got under way.

Mr. J. H. BLACKMORE (Lethbridge): Mr. Speaker, my group is just as anxious as any group in the house that the business of the government should go forward, but the expedition with which this war is carried forward does not depend altogether upon the speed with which we get through with this session of parliament. The government had plenty of opportunity to show its speed before parliament was called, and it will have abundant opportunity to do so after this session is concluded. Notwithstanding the consideration which should be given to this matter, I believe it is of the utmost importance that the individual members from the various parts of this country should have complete freedom to express the sentiments of their communities. I recognize that in this resolution all that is called for is that a committee shall be struck, and that—

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Then I say what I have said already with greater emphasis. I was out of the chamber temporarily and lost the trend of the discussion. I do not feel well disposed toward limiting the opportunities of private members.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word, because I did not speak on the motion itself. May I state at once how much I appreciate the attitude of hon. members in all parts of the house with respect to the proposal made by the government and the ready manner in which all have accepted it. I should like to assure hon. members that the government is just as desirous as they are that the rights of private members should be as fully preserved as possible. Were this not a time of war and were this not a war parliament; were it not the fact that at the moment the destiny of the great empire to which we all belong is at stake, I would not hesitate to try to meet my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson), in his suggestion that an exception be made of one afternoon for the discussion of private members' resolutions. However, with the situation what I know it to be, and as I have disclosed it to the house, I am sure that the people of Canada generally would feel that we had not a proper appreciation of our responsibilities in prosecuting Canada's war effort to the utmost, in the most rapid manner possible, if we did not seek every means to give precedence to the government's programme as respects Canada's war effort. For that reason I hope my hon. friend will not feel that I have not sought to meet his wishes. I am positive that it is in the public interest that we should make just as rapid progress as possible with the government's measures with respect to the war and Canada's war effort, and take up as little time as possible with other matters until progress has been made with these more urgent measures.

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May I point out that the resolution does not shut out any motion or bill. It simply gives precedence to government measures. Public bills will be introduced as usual and will be given their place on the orders of the day after government business, but they will not be considered after eight o'clock on Tuesdays and Fridays.

In making the motion which I have, we are but following the practice which has been followed at Westminster throughout the period of the war. In relation to the last session at Westminster, Prime Minister Chamberlain, on November 29, 1939, moved:

> That during the present session government business do have precedence at every sitting and no public bills other than government bills be introduced.

It will be seen that motion went even further than the motion before the house. It prohibited even the introduction of public bills. As the positions have become parallel, I should like to read to the house what the Prime Minister of Great Britain said, speaking to the motion on November 29:

> I told the house yesterday that the government intended to propose to take the whole time of the house with government business to provide for the presentation of government bills only, during the present session.

A little further on he said:

> I propose to follow the precedents of the last war. In the sessions of 1914-16, 1916, 1917-18 and 1918 similar action was taken. At that time the then Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, said that every effort was concentrated upon one purpose, namely, the successful prosecution of the war, and that the time was inappropriate to bring forward controversial legislation on matters of academic interest.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to quote from Mr. Asquith certain words which I should like to re-quote inasmuch as they express the present intention of this administration with respect to the matters to which they refer Mr. Asquith said:

> So long as this order is in force the government will introduce no legislation of a party or a contentious character and they will, indeed, confine their legislative proposals, unless in some exceptional case, to such measures as may be found necessary to facilitate, financially and otherwise, the successful prosecution of the war.

Prime Minister Chamberlain went on:

> The position to-day is the same as it was then. We must confine our efforts to the consideration of those matters which are urgently necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

I think hon. members will agree that in following the practice which has been followed at Westminster in this time of war, the government is making no mistake. Indeed, were it to attempt to depart from such a procedure in this all important time of crisis, it would I believe be considered remiss in its duties.

I should like to say one further word in reference to the word "complacency" which with respect to the government's attitude towards the war, has been used in different parts of the house and by a section of the press in different parts of the country, a word of which use was again made this afternoon. I hope that hon. members of the house will seek to appreciate the very difficult position in which the government finds itself with reference to making known to the public from day to day and from week to week much of the information which we should like the people of Canada to have. In the first place when the government did begin to broadcast information with respect to Canada's war effort—it made numerous broadcasts setting forth the work of the government with respect to the winning of the war—we were accused, and accused very widely as I recollect it, especially throughout the recent campaign, of putting forth propaganda. Any description of its war effort was increasingly characterized as an endeavour on the part of the government to popularize itself. That is one ever present danger that it is impossible to avoid in any statements made by the government with respect to Canada's war effort. On the other hand there is the danger, and it is a greater danger still, that in duly publicizing our war effort it is very difficult to give the information that the public generally might wish to have for its own use, without, at the same time, imparting that information in equal measure to the enemy. That is a circumstance of which the government has constantly to take full account.

I really believe that such impression as has been created in the minds of some that the government has been complacent in any particular with regard to its war effort has arisen from the causes I have mentioned. It arose first of all from the fact that during the period of a general election it was inadvisable to introduce into the discussions in a political contest fresh information from day to day with regard to what the government was doing. And since that time such information, for instance, as I gave to the house yesterday was of such a character that it seemed advisable to withhold it until parliament met in order that, if there was any question with respect to its authenticity or the fairness of its being made public by the administration, that question if raised could be immediately answered from official sources on the floor of parliament itself.

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Now that parliament is in session, there will be opportunity for hon. members from day to day to question the ministry with respect to matters concerning which they believe the public desire information. Now that such information will be coming forward from day to day as a result of our parliamentary discussions, I hope that what I believe to be a wholly erroneous impression with respect to complacency wherever it exists will very rapidly disappear. I believe that hon. members who heard what I gave last night, of the government's record must already feel that any criticism of the kind has been wholly unwarranted, and would probably not have been made had the public been able to receive before last night the extent of the information which was given at that time. I mention this only because I feel that at this time of war, when the government is doing its very best on behalf of the people of Canada, it is hardly fair to Canada itself not to give the fairest representation to the public of the government's action, also that when the government is carrying the load it is, the government is entitled to expect as much in the way of legitimate support, as little in the way of non-constructive criticism, as it may be possible to give in the one case, and to avoid in the other.

With respect to the rights of members to get information on matters of interest to their constituents and to themselves, may I say that there is not a subject that I can think of that cannot be discussed frankly and fully on the estimates, or, as regards the defence services, or the appropriation bill. The estimates of the government cover all the public services. They will be presented to parliament, and as they are discussed in the house members will be free to bring up for discussion questions relative to items under consideration. The items as a whole cover, I believe, every conceivable category that has to do with matters of public interest and concern.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER PROCEDURE AND INTERNAL MANAGEMENT

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved:

That a select committee consisting of Messrs.

be appointed to consider with Mr. Speaker the procedure of this house in regard to a more expeditious dispatch of public business and to suggest any changes that may be desirable therein; and also to enquire into the terms and operation of the House of Commons Act, the Senate and House of Commons Act and provisions of other acts relating to the internal management of the House of Commons' affairs; and to recommend such amendments thereto as the committee may deem advisable; with power to call for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses and to report from time to time.

He said: As some hon. members have indicated by what they have already said, it is apparent that this particular resolution bears an immediate relation to the one that has just been passed. The proposal is that a committee of the house should be appointed to consider matters of procedure looking to a more expeditious dispatch of public business and to such changes as may be desirable therein. In other words, while the house has just passed a resolution giving the government the right of way with regard to government business to the fullest extent that could be desired, and to that degree may appear to be depriving hon. members in part of some of their rights, the proposal is that that whole situation will be reviewed by a committee of the house composed of members of the different parties, who will be free to bring back to the house recommendations which in their opinion are essential for the preservation of the rights of private members or for the purpose of making still more secure the position of the government with respect to expediting public business.

I do not think I need say more on this resolution except to observe that, as it stands at the moment, it does not mention the names of those who will compose the committee. If the resolution carries, however, I am advised that there can be no exception to the Prime Minister announcing later on the names that have been agreed upon. The resolution having carried, it will be assumed that the house will be agreeable to the names decided upon after conference between the whips. I believe it is better not to insert the names immediately as not to do so will afford fuller opportunity for careful consideration and conference in the selection of the personnel.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): I wish to ask the Prime Minister a question but I should not like to be debarred from saying something on the resolution later on, although I do not intend to discuss the matter at present. Has not the government in mind something concrete which it proposes to lay before the committee, and if so what is it? I ask that question in order that we may know the reason for setting up the committee. Personally I have not heard a demand for such a committee to be set up, and I would ask the Prime Minister to be good enough, if he feels so disposed, to inform

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the house what the government has in mind, or what has actuated him in making the suggestion.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The sole motive of the government in making the suggestion is to gain an opportunity to expedite the business of the house. The kind of questions that would be considered by this committee might be, for example, to provide for presenting non-money bills without notice and passing them through the three stages the same day. I do not say that would be a question which the committee, if appointed, would agree upon immediately, but they might consider whether it would not be one means of helping to expedite the business of the house. Another matter which would require consideration would be that of giving government business precedence at an earlier date; in other words, a reexamination of the resolution which has just been passed.

Another question might be that of limiting the number and kind of questions to be placed on the order paper. My hon. friend is an old parliamentarian and he has no doubt seen the order paper frequently filled with questions many of which might be asked in the course of discussion in committee of supply, questions that mostly serve to clog the order paper, and help to protract the proceedings of the house. My hon. friend, I am sure, has also seen the order paper clogged with innumerable resolutions often making it impossible for the most important resolutions to be dealt with before others much less important are reached. There might be adopted measures similar to those at Westminster with respect to resolutions, whereby a better method might be found of deciding which of them should have precedence, how many should be taken up, and so on.

Again, there is the question of appeals from decisions of the Speaker. There has grown up in the last few parliaments a practice of appealing from decisions of the Speaker, made with such frequency that it seems at times to make the rule of respecting the Speaker's ruling the exception rather than the practice. That is putting it a little strong, but the committee might well consider whether the practice of appealing from decisions of the Speaker, unless there is a very special reason for so doing, might not be restricted in some way.

Then, again, there is the right of ministers to amend their own motions. It is a very small matter, but I have seen considerable delay created in the house when a minister who has a measure before the house has to turn and find one of his colleagues to propose the desired amendment for him. That seems to me to be the kind of thing which might be regarded as unnecessary at this time, when we have very serious matters to consider.

Then there is the question of a possible change in the hours of sitting. I am not at all sure that I would wish to see the hours changed in many particulars, I think, however, that if we followed the practice on Friday of meeting in the morning and adjourning at six, instead of meeting at three in the afternoon and sitting until eleven usually with a slim house in the evening, that procedure might help to expedite the business of the house to have it attended to more thoroughly and also serve the greater convenience of hon. members. That is a good example of the kind of question that might be considered.

Again, there might be a standing order to curtail protracted debates. There are certain statutes concerning the business of the house that might be improved. A suggestion has been made that there are sections of the Senate and House of Commons Act with respect to the leader of the opposition and some of his perquisites or prerogatives—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I hope you are not thinking of curtailing them.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —which might be looked into with advantage, I believe to him. There are some sections in the Act that are now anomalous or obsolete that might be improved. The clerks of the house and of the senate, and the law clerks, might prepare possible improvements for submission to the government.

That is the presentation as I made it to my colleagues, and I wish to assure my hon. friend that there is no subtle device or aught that is at all devious behind anything that I have put forward or ulterior motive behind the resolution as a whole.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am obliged to the Prime Minister for having acceded to my request and given the house the concrete ideas he has in view. To some of these suggestions I think we can give most favourable consideration; there are others which I should like to ponder a little.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend understands that I am not putting them forward as government proposals, but only suggesting the kind of questions a committee might profitably consider.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I know; I am just making some general observations. There are others to which I should be definitely

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
89		Canada's War Effort Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1940	D 57140 - D 57184	
89		Italy's Entry Into the War, Radio Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1940	D 57185 - D 57218	
89		Second Session, Brockington, L.W. Speeches in Parliament	18 July 1940	D 57219 - D 57222	
89		Second Session, Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	1940	D 57223 - D 57232	
89		1940: Upland Air Training School Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 57233 - D 57253	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date Aug. 6/40.

Subject

57233

Governor General Opens Air School

Crowds Are Thrilled By Formation Flying At Uplands Airdrome

High-ranking Government and R.C.A.F. Officials, Including Prime Minister and Air Vice Marshal Breadner See His Excellency Declare Open No. 2 Service Flying Training School. Thousands Watch Fleet "Harvards" Roar By.

Canada's wartime aviation took another forward step yesterday afternoon when His Excellency the Right Hon. the Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of Canada, officially opened No. 2 Service Flying Training School of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan at Ottawa airport on the Bowesville road.

Leaders Attend.

High-ranking government and Royal Canadian Air Force officials attended, including Prime Minister King, Defence Minister Ralston and Air Minister Power.

Several thousand persons heard the Governor General declare the school open, and also the Prime Minister and Air Vice-Marshal Lloyd Breadner, chief of the air staff, speak briefly.

His Excellency said he deemed it an honor and a privilege in being invited to open the school, "particularly so at this time when such a training school is so important." He recalled that two months ago there had not been a scratch on the surface. The buildings that were to be now seen were tangible evidence of the speed with which the air training plan was being pushed forward.

Reminding his listeners that the government officials and others present had work to do, His Excellency said in conclusion: "You must get on with the war, and in order to enable you to do so I now declare No. 2 Service Flying Training School open."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

57234

Thanks to His Excellency for his kindness in opening the school were expressed by the Prime Minister, who traced briefly the history of the project since its inception. Mr. King also expressed his warm appreciation to the officers and airmen of the Royal Canadian Air Force for what had been thus far accomplished.

"Men in the ranks," said the Prime Minister, "are playing just as important a part as the senior officers. No part is too humble for anyone to play so long as the part is played efficiently. I believe some of the men here will soon be moving off to another land where Canadians have already played an important part. Men taking part in this plan are doing so for the preservation of their liberty and freedom."

Memorable Occasion.

Air Vice-Marshal Breadner said the day was a memorable one for the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Twelve Harvard trainers were lined up on the taxi-strip in front of one of the new hangars, and drawn up before the fast planes was a guard of honor which received the Governor General with a royal salute when he arrived at the airport. His Excellency was accompanied by Sir Shuldham Redfern, private secretary, and Capt. G. Little, comptroller of the vice-regal household. While the Governor General was inspecting the guard, in company with Air Vice-Marshal Breadner and Group Capt. C. M. McEwan, officer commanding No. 3 Training Command, the Royal Canadian Air Force band from Trenton played Land of Hope and Glory.

Formation Flights.

After the inspection and the school had been declared open, the Harvard trainers were flown in various formations, apparently thrilling the onlookers, and when the flying demonstration was ended His Excellency inspected one of the new buildings.

Among those attending the ceremony were James S. Duncan, deputy minister of national defence for air; Honorary Air Marshal W. A. Bishop, V.C.; Air Commodore H. E. Edwards, Group Capt. E. L. MacLeod, Air Vice-Marshal G. M. Croil, inspector general of the R.C.A.F.; J. A. Wilson, controller of civil aviation; Lieut. Commander C. P. Edwards, chief of air services, Department of Transport; Wing Commander F. S. McGill, officer commanding No. 2 Service Flying Training School; Lieut.-Col. the Right Rev. C. L. Nelligan, principal Catholic chaplain, and Lieut.-Col. the Right Rev. G. A. Wells, principal Protestant chaplain of the Canadian Active Service Force.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Uplands Air Tr. School

5-8-40

D 57235

R/Speeches

Service Flying Training Schools

Thanks to Governor General.

Appropriateness of good offices.

Emphasizes co-operative nature of training plan.

Congratulations - Minister for Air, & also

" Air Vice-Marshal Breadner

Workmen and contractors -

part all playing.

Responsibility of an air force.

Air power the key to victory.

Each action important -

saving of life,

achieving of victory.

Fate of lives and nations.

Begin to visualize magnitude of plan.

History of - Poland, etc.

Significance of plan - (see exhibit).

Air training not whole picture of

Canada's air contribution.

Exhibit

D 57236

Before the Agreement was concluded United Kingdom government informed Canadian government of its opinion that "participation in the Air Training Scheme would provide for more effective assistance towards ultimate victory than any other form of military co-operation which Canada can give".

Air Training Plan is one great brotherhood of youth of the Empire, joined together to achieve any victory.

(243)

Notes for Opening of No. 2
Service Flying Training School
at Uplands, August 5, 1940 D 57237

Thanks to the Governor-General

Appropriate that the representative of His Majesty the King should officiate

Emphasizes the co-operative nature of British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Stages in British Commonwealth Plan

1. Polish campaign revealed decisive role of warfare in the air.
2. Proposal made by United Kingdom on September 26.
3. First public announcement October 10.

D 57238

4. British Mission arrived (October 15);
Australian Mission (Nov. 1);
New Zealand Mission (Nov. 3).

5. Details worked out in Ottawa in October and November by 4 governments.

6. Basis of agreement reached (November 27).

7. Agreement signed (Dec. 17).

8. Opening today of the first new Service Flying Training School marks beginning of the third stage in training of pilots.

D 57239

9. Magnitude of enterprise easier to grasp when it is realized this School is only the second of 16 Service Flying Training Schools which will be in operation when the Plan is fully developed.

(Note: No. 1. Service Flying Training School at Camp Borden was already in existence before the outbreak of war).

Stages in Training of Pilots

First stage: initial training	4 weeks
2nd stage: elementary training	8 weeks
3rd stage: service flying	14 weeks
4th stage: bombing	2 weeks

D 57240

Congratulations to Air Vice Marshal

Lloyd S. Breadner

Born Carleton Place (July 14,1894);

Lived in Ottawa since childhood;

Joined Royal Naval Air Service 1915

Served in France

Distinguished Service Cross, Apr.1917

Squadron Commander R.N.A.S.,Nov.1917

later in Royal Air Force until

March 1919;

Appointed to Canadian Air Board, Apr.1920

and to Royal Canadian Air Force

(August 1922);

Officer Commanding at Camp Borden

1924@1925;

R.A.F. Staff College 1926-27

National Defence H.Q.Staff 1928-32

Officer Commanding at Trenton 1932-35

Imperial Defence College 1936

D 57241

Staff Officer at Headquarters
since until appointment as
Chief of Staff, 1940
Recently promoted to rank of Air
Vice Marshal

Record an indication of qualifi-
cations for his tremendous
task.

D 57242

Air Power the Key to Victory

Canadian training programme greatly enlarged on outbreak of war.

At request of British government Canadian training merged in Commonwealth Plan.

In September, United Kingdom government indicated proposed co-operative effort "may prove to be of the most essential and decisive character".

Before the Agreement was concluded United Kingdom government informed Canadian government of its opinion that

"<u>participation in the Air Training Scheme would provide for more effective assistance towards ultimate victory than any other form of military co-operation which Canada can give.</u>

Immense proportions of Plan difficult to grasp;
some impatience at length of time required to produce results;

When Blitzkrieg came, government criticized for sacrificing immediate assistance to long-range plans;

Demands made that the Air Training Plan be abandoned; government

 D 57244

and air force refused to
be stampeded;

Modifications made which <u>speeded up</u>
instead of <u>slowing</u> down
training programme while,
at same time, giving immediate
assistance to Britain;

Recent developments have vindicated
policy: tide of war can be
turned only by development
of air superiority.

<u>Air Training not the whole picture of Canada's air contribution</u>

Home defence squadrons on coast
guard and convoy duty;

Canadian pilots and airmen have

D 57245

distinguished themselves
in Royal Air Force;

A Canadian Squadron was formed in
the R. A. F. which has seen
much service and had many
casualties and many deco-
rations;

Royal Canadian Air Force represented
now in the United Kingdom
by two Army Co-operation
Squadrons and one Fighter
Squadron;

These are the fore-runners of the
stream of pilots, observers
and gunners who will be
trained in the British Common-
wealth Air Training Schools in
ever-growing numbers.

D57246

PROGRAMME FOR OPENING OF
SERVICE FLYING TRAINING SCHOOLS.

1.	Pre-war	No. 1	Camp Borden
2.	Aug. 5	No. 2	Uplands (Ottawa)
3.	Sept. 16	No. 4	Saskatoon
4.	Oct. 28	No. 3	Calgary
5.	Nov. 11	No. 5	Brantford
6.	Nov. 25	No. 6	Macleod, (Alta.)
7.	Dec. 9	No. 7	Dunnville (Ont.)
8.	Dec. 23	No. 8	Moncton

D 57247

Exact date not fixed.

9.	Dec.	No. 9	Moose Jaw
10.	Dec.	No. 10	Kingston
11.	Dec.	No. 12	Medicine Hat
12.	Dec.	No. 13	Carberry (Man.)
13.	Jan.1941	No. 11	Summerside (P.E.I.)
14.	Feb. "	No. 14	Dauphin (Man.)
15.	March "	No. 15	St. Hubert(Montreal)
16.	April "	No. 16	Yorkton (Sask.)

D 57248

SUMMARY OF PROGRAMME

Showing number of schools to be opened by months

August	1
September	1
October	1
November	2
December	6
January	1
February	1
March	1
April	1

D 57249

File

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

I attach a few brief notes for Monday's ceremony. I understand that it will take place at 2.30 P.M., and that the following tentative programme has been suggested:

1. Formal opening by His Excellency the Governor General.
2. A few remarks by the Prime Minister.
3. A few words of thanks by Air Vice Marshal Breadner.

I also attach a copy of the Royal Canadian Air Force Orders of the Day.

August 3, 1940. L.W.B.

D 57250

Thanks to the Governor General for his part in the historic ceremony which marks the opening of the first service flying school under the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

To-day marks the first beginning in concrete form of the final stage in the training of fighting pilots. From this spot the first group of fully trained Commonwealth Air Training Pilots will leave for the battle fronts of Europe after a minimum of 150 hours intensive training, 100 hours of which will be spent in the air at Uplands.

The Air Training Plan is in reality one great brotherhood of the youth of the Empire joined together to achieve winged victory. Canada is proud to be charged with the great trust which is involved in their reception, their training and their despatch.

Describe the Commonwealth Air Training Plan as still the greatest potential instrument of victory. It was conceived with imagination, and has been planned with care, thoroughness, foresight and patience.

On this field in this city on this day, it has become a concrete living thing.

Point out that the opening of this school is one month ahead of the original date. No doubt many improvements still remain to be made, but in all its essentials it is a fully equipped unit.

The early opening has been made possible by the acceleration of the plan to meet the intensity of enemy attack and by typically Canadian improvisation to take care of the unexpected. Above all progress has depended upon the unremitting and devoted labour of those who have been charged with the duties of construction and organization.

It will not be long before the training school which starts to-day with 40 pilots, 15 instructors and 280 airmen and ground staff, will be a school of 160 pilots and a total personnel of 1,000.

We have followed the tried traditions and experienced wisdom of the British Air Force. In the making of an air force there must be character, training and equipment. A successful

air force demands thoroughness of preparation, accuracy, strength and speed of machines and brave, adventurous men. These we have and shall have.

There is something in the character and gallantry of Canadian youth which makes them ideal air men. Their special qualities are bravery, coolness in the face of fire, quickness of hand, brain and eye, and the pioneer's willingness to accept the risk of brilliant and daring adventure.

The Air Forces of the British Commonwealth are admitted to have provided the best men, the best machines, and the best training. Up to date we have led the world in quality. The opening of this field is proof that before many months we will have overcome the disadvantages of numbers.

It may well be that those who chronicle the events of the war of 1939 and the years that follow, will record that the corner stone of triumph was laid when the first fighting pilot took to the air at the Uplands field in Ottawa on August the fifth, 1940.

D 57253

In the name of the government and people of Canada, thank Air Marshal Breadner and his men for what they have done and will do to free the heavens of terror and make the skies of Europe as peaceful as they are in Ottawa on this summer's day.

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