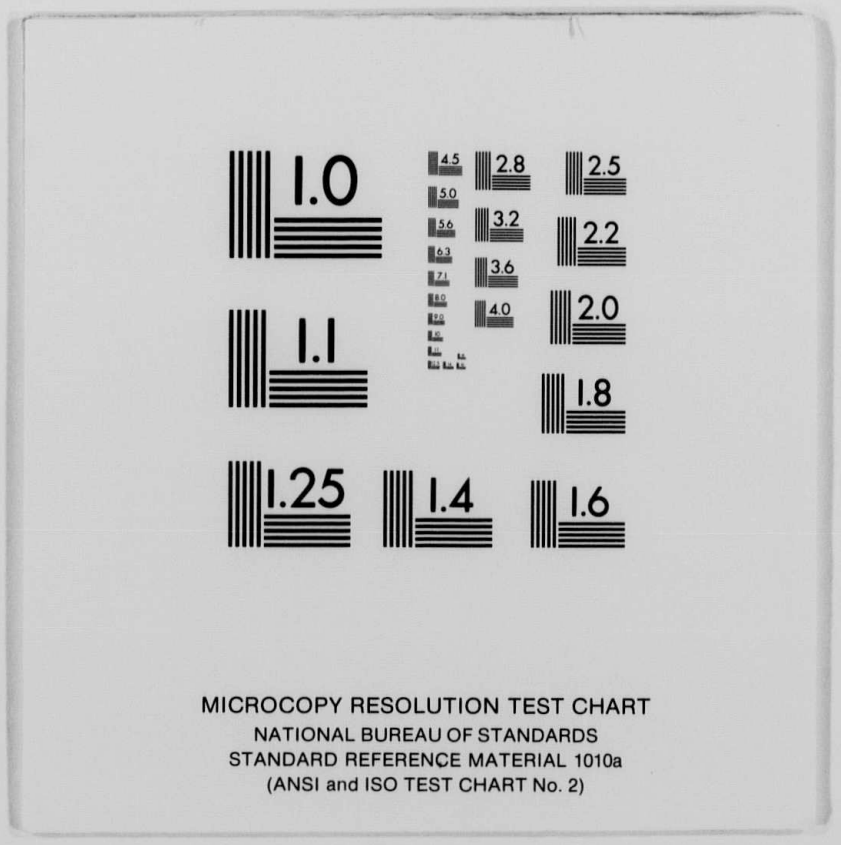
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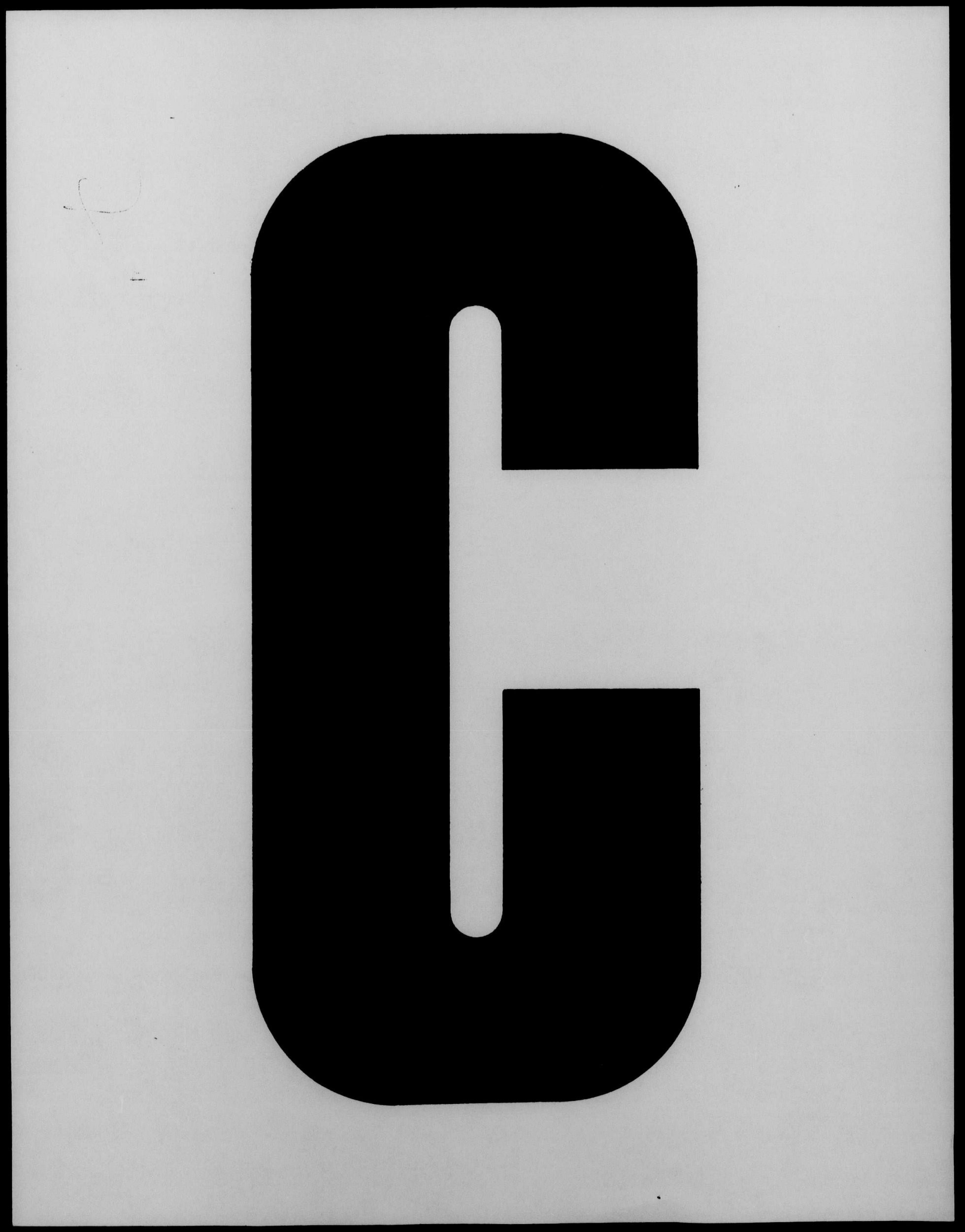

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Archives Section.

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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Correspondance générale. Série J3. Original, 1915-1950, 15.200 m. (Vol. 1-161). Photocopie, 8 pages.
Cette série comprend des lettres personnelles que King conservait à la maison Laurier et qui n'ont pas été retenues dans la première série (J1), dans la série des papiers de famille (J7) ni dans celle de la correspondance générale (J8). Une liste des boîtes est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche. Une liste des auteurs est disponible au Service des archives politiques.

Mémoires et notes. Série J4. Original, 1887-1950, 43.800 m. (Vol. 1-432).
Les mémoires, notes et quelques lettres qui n'étaient pas inclus dans la correspondance se trouvent dans cette série et sont classés en quatre périodes chronologiques : 1887-1921, 1922-1932, 1933-1939 et 1940-1950 avec matériel additionnel à la fin. Une liste complète des dossiers est disponible dans un volume relié, sur microfiche et sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.
Les volumes 1-409 sont aussi disponibles sur microfilms, bobines C-1953 à C-1983, C-2475, C-2475A, C-2476 à C-2480, C-2575 à C-2576, C-2622 à C-2626, C-2693 à C-2731, C-4253 à C-4289, H-1471 à H-1562.

Discours. Série J5. Original, 1899-1950, 10.600 m. (Vol. 1-105).
Cette série comprend des notes de discours, des brouillons, des copies imprimées, des commentaires et comptes rendus de journaux classés par ordre chronologique. Une liste donnant le sujet, la date et l'endroit de chaque discours se trouve dans un instrument de recherche relié séparément et sur microfiche.
Les discours de 1899-1932 sont aussi disponibles sur microfilm, bobines C-1984 à C-1988, C-2788 à C-2800

Brochures et coupures de journaux. Série J6. Original, 1876-1950, 42.100 m. (Vol. 1-245).
Cette série contient des coupures de journaux, des dépliants et des brochures qui sont classées alphabétiquement dans des dossiers de noms et de sujets. Cette série est divisée en deux parties : les documents antérieurs à 1921 et ceux de 1921 à 1950. Une liste est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Papiers personnels.

Papiers de famille. Série J7. Original, 1880-1950, 6.100 m. (Vol. 1-31).
Cette série contient des lettres écrites à King par des membres de sa famille. La correspondance est en ordre chronologique jusqu'à la fin de 1917; après cette année, elle est classée par correspondant. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur le CD-ROM des premiers ministres.
Aussi disponible sur microfilm, bobines H-2244 à H-2270.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

J. A. G.
17.11.44

VII. NO ELECTION IN WARTIME

D 48283

I should like to say a word about my own views on the holding of a general election in wartime. Each successive reassembling of Parliament has aroused speculation about the course of action which the Government would follow. During the LIFE OF THIS PRESENT Parliament there have been general elections in all nine of the provinces. To fill vacancies in the representation o this House, 15 by-elections have already been held. I have throughout been anxious that the political controversy certain to be generated by such electoral contest should not be allowed to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war until final victory is achieved.

I still hold strongly to the view I expressed as long ago as July 24, 1943. At that moment all arms of our fighting services were in the thick of the conflict; and while our fears about the outcome of the war had lessened, in a more immediate way than at any earlier stage of the fighting, the war had been brought closer than ever to the people of Canada. I said:

> "Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

D 48284

Feb 1/43

I still believe very strongly every word of this statement. But this does not mean that a general election might not have to be held before the war in Europe is over on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. If we could be assured that the heaviest of the fighting against Germany were past, that fact would alter the situation. But until that time is past, my view still is that there ought not to be a general election in Canada if it is at all possible to avoid one.

There are, however, other considerations to be weighed. There is, first, the constitutional limitation upon the life of parliament. The people of Canada have a right to say who shall represent them in the making of the laws and in the administration through Parliament of the public affairs of the nation. The law provides for this choice within stated periods, and it is a duty of the government to see that this right is maintained unimpaired. It follows, I think, that even if the war in Europe should not be over by the time the legal life of this parliament runs out in 1945, the government ~~xxxxxx~~ will not prolong its existence beyond the stated time.

There is, secondly, a more immediate issue apart from the constitutional limitation. If there were, for example, sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

D 48285

of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which the government believed to be necessary for an utmost effort in the winning of the war, it might then be necessary to hold an election. The administration in Canada, at a moment when it is devoting all its energies to the prosecution of the war effort, could not continue if the confidence originally expressed in it had been undermined.

A comparable situation would arise if opposition within the House of Commons itself should reach a point where the government felt it did not have the support of the parliament of Canada in meeting the imperious demands of total war.

A fourth possibility, which might lead to a request for a dissolution, would ensue if within the government itself and the ranks of its supporters in this House there should arise differences of view on matters of policy so great as to be impossible to reconcile. In this situation I believe the verdict of the people themselves would be the only solution.

Finally, if it should happen that any extensive reconstitution of the government should become necessary, an immediate appeal to the people might be a necessary prelude to such a mandate of confidence as would be necessary for carrying on the war effort to the end.

D 48286

I have set out these possibilities, not because I apprehend anyone of them as necessarily arising, but because I think it is important hon. members should dunderstand how strongly I feel that a general election should not be held, if it is possible not to hold it, while heavy fighting is still continuing in the battle for the liberation of Europe. If it could be held, still within the space of time specified by the laws, but after numbers of men and women of the armed forces of Canada have returned to their homeland, I would much prefer that it should be held in that way.

As I said on an earlier occasion, a Prime Minister is placed in a very difficult position if he is asked to give an undertaking that there will not, <u>in any circumstances</u>, be a general election. No government on assuming office in the past has had to bind itself to such a commitment. Now, in the midst of war, and after five years of balanced, nationwide effort, the government must, by any standard of fairness, have some freedom of action in relation to conditions which, when this parliament was returned in 1940, could not have been foreseen.

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D 48289

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D 48291

It will be clear, I think, from what I have said, that there are strong reasons why an election in wartime should be avoided if it is possible to defer an appeal to the people upon the policies of the government, until the conclusion of hostilities.

If these reasons are strong, then the reasons why an election should not have to be fought out on the issue of conscription for overseas service are the strongest of all. The prospect of an election, at this late stage of the war, in which the campaign throughout the country would inevitably verge to this one issue only, is an appalling prospect.

If conscription for overseas service were made the issue in such an election, then the election of itself would not settle anything. The government, subject always to its responsibility to Parliament, has power to send overseas men called up under N.R.M.A. if it decides that such a course is necessary for the winning of the war. The holding of a general election would not of itself convince me that the time had arrived when such a course was necessary1 The holding of a general election would not of itself aid in our primary responsibility for the winning of the war. The holding of a general election would not of itself bring back any sooner to a victorious Canada the men and women of Canada'sfighting services.

D 48292

If these are things which the holding of a general election on these issue of conscription for overseas service would not do, let me suggest some of the things which, I believe, such a course would do.

In the present temper of this country, I feel sure that a general election would be a battle, not of principles, but of deep-seated hatreds. It would be a contest, not upon the real necessities of the moment, but upon questions which in this country have never failed to evoke unhappy memories from a generation ago.

To hold a general election at this time, moreover, would be to import into an already strained political situation an issue which did not form a part of the platform of any political party or group at the time when this present Parliament was elected. The question of compulsory service for overseas service was not an issue when this country entered the war more than five years ago. It was not an issue in the general election of March, 1940. It was not the issue in the plebiscite of 1942, when a majority of the electors of Canada voted to relieve the government of responsibility from any previous commitment as to the means of raising men for overseas service.

There have been many attempts to make of conscription for overseas service the issue upon which any forthcoming election would have to be fought. I think the attempts outside this

D48293

Parliament have been of more consequence than those made inside it. There have likewise been many indications that from these same sources would come such a demand that, regardless of the stage which the war against Germany had then reached, conscription for overseas service would inevitably become the chief issue in a political campaign.

I have said on many occasions, and I repeat it today, that our first duty remains the winning of the war. I do not see how we can acknowledge such a duty, and at the same time countenance the kind of clamour which will, if it runs unbounded, make a mockery of the basic unity of our nation. We cannot do our just part in the winning of the war if deep dissensions should flourish in Canada. We cannot say to our fighting men that Canada is in this war to the end if our energies are diverted from the main task by an issue which will not help in the winning of the war. We cannot expect to share in the peaceful ordering of the world of the future - a task in which the magnitude of our war effort would, on many grounds, entitle us to share - if we cannot be united for the needs of victory until that victory is achieved. When Mr. Churchill said to the people of France in Paris, on Armistice Day, that "all the forces of the nation I believe should be directed to the support of stability and authority" , he was reminding all of the United

D 48294

Nations that there must be no slackaning of effort for victory, no undermining of confidence in the ability of any nation to put forward an utmost effort.

We ~~would~~ have been engaged in this war - the war of survival, the war for liberation - for more than five years. The fighting effort of our men in arms, the productive effort of our factories, farms, forests and fisheries, the voluntary effort of tens of thousands of men and women on the home front, the measure of our potential strength and the guage of our capacity to speed foward the day of victory - all of these have been the envy of many nations in this world-wide struggle.

The more than five years through which this nation has been fighting for the Allied cause represent a considerable space in the lives of all our citizens. They represent years in which hope may have wavered but never despaired; years in which remembrance of valour and sacrifice have deepended with the hallowing of time; years in which consciousness of our strength as a nation have kept alight the vistas of a world at peace. Much of this must be in all our minds today.

I would ask all my fellow-members, all my fellow Canadians whether now, today, at this stage of a titanic ~~effort~~ conflict, where the stark issue has been of survival and of freedom against the prospect of slavery, men and women will now stand up and say that the <u>voluntary</u> principle upon which

D 48295

our effort has been based and broadened, should be abandoned? We know that hard fighting must lie ahead before we can speak of victory. We know that we dare not falter in our national effort towards the winning of the war. Are we to admit now that all our efforts - our voluntary efforts - have been in vain? Are we to set no value at all upon the crowning glory of our fighting men - that every Canadian fighting now in western Europe is there of his own free choice?

It was upon the basis of a voluntary effort that this country entered this war. It is upon a voluntary basis that it has continued the fight into this sixth year of battle. It was in this spirit that we were able with the united support of the Canadian peo le to become a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome and a shipyard of freedom. Are we now to cast a blight upon this honourable record? Are we to cast doubts upon this free expression of a free people?

D48296

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date Nov 10/44

D 48301

Subject

Wartime Elections

MR. Churchill, with his customary felicity of expression and wisdom of counsel, congratulating the Americans upon the conclusion of their election campaign, tells his own people in Britain:

"We must be very careful to avoid mixing ourselves up in American political affairs." He finds that the British people generally were pretty careful and he thinks they avoided offense. We have not done too badly ourselves in this matter here in Canada.

With due regard to the monition, it may still be permissible, now that the race in run and the debate silenced, to comment upon a very common reaction to their accomplished election among some of the people of the United States themselves.

Nothing is more remarkable among all this comment, and especially that of the radio commentators, than their assumption that the American people are the only people who can hold a popular election in time of war. Some of them have said this in so many words and more than a few of them have been pretty complacent about it.

Well, it is true enough that holding the election in the midst of the war was really a test of the validity of the American political system. But it is also true that it was the only thing they could do under their system, unless they wanted to do violence to their constitution, the organic instrument of their government and laws.

But this is not at all to say that a nation can only have democratic self-government if it has an election at fixed intervals, every two or four years. The British people, for instance, have not had a general election for nine years. They decided it that way for themselves.

Their system permits them to meet the emergency of a war by that sort of device. They have a law which says there shall be an election every five years. But it was a law made by Parliament and Parliament, which made a law in the past can set aside or suspend that law in the present. It is not the constitution which is supreme under the British system, it is the national legislature.

And as to the test, in any wartime comparison of the British and American systems, the British people would be greatly astonished to learn that anyone supposed they had abrogated their self-governing liberties during this war. They would say, with all respect, that their system is more flexible, more adaptable to the necessities of the time, than the American system.

But similarly many of our American friends would be greatly astonished to hear that.

D 48302

Keep a duplicate set of communications x

(1 + 7)

Folders with topics on outside

1 for each section

Churchill with de Gaulle

Why no election in Wartime

Procedure

Resolution

Topics for Folders

D 48303

1) Chronology of events

2) Bill 80 and Conscription (understanding in 1942)

3) Demands of present situation

Total War vs Needs of Army alone

4) Manpower situation in Canada
appeal and response

5) The Conscription Issue
problems still to be face

6) Government's Position re Draftees
also re Soldiers Overseas

7) No election in Wartime

D 48304

Topics for folders D48305

A) Procedure in Hq C
Nov 22, 1944

B) Tabling of Correspondence

D 48306

From the Ottawa Citizen - August 8, 1944- by J. A. Hume

"I can't say at this moment when an election will come,".....

"I have said that I will not, if I can prevent it, have Parliament run beyond its constitutional term and I have said I would not, if I can avoid it, bring on an election while the war is on," Mr. King added. "I intend to stand by both of those statements.

"The war is still going on, though I believe now victory is rapidly and happily approaching," the Prime Minister continued. "Our objective must continue to be that of bringing the war to a conclusion as rapidly as possible. If God gives me strength and life, I'll put the best effort I possibly can into another election fight," Mr. King added.

"I am ready to go through at least one more general election, but we must not think of anything beyond that. I will put the best that is in me into the next campaign because I believe in the importance of the social program we must put into effect to bring in a new order and because I believe that in no part of the world is there a greater opportunity for service presented than there is in Canada today."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date November 3, 1944

Subject

D 48307

Rumors of Fall Election Spiked by Prime Minister

Ottawa, Nov. 2 (Staff).—Election rumors, upsurging in the wake of former Defense Minister Ralston's resignation and Cabinet crisis on army policy, subsided tonight when Prime Minister King issued a formal statement which reiterated his announced policy of avoiding a wartime election.

"I wish to repeat definitely what I have said consistently for more than a year, that I will do everything in my power to avoid a general election until the war is over," he said.

He made one condition, "which I have also consistently stated," that the people will not be denied the right the Constitution gives them of choosing their representatives in the House of Commons every five years. He said he issued the statement to prevent any misunderstanding.

On the basis of Prime Minister Churchill's forecast to the British House this week, that the European war may not end before Easter or early summer, Mr. King's latest statement would suggest that the House will be called into normal session on Jan. 31, and sit until dissolved in time for an election in the late spring.

That is, of course, provided that "everything in my power" is sufficient to stand off an election against any issue which might arise before the life of Parliament expires in June.

Member feeling, which was anxious for a fall election in spite of Mr. King's wishes, in recent weeks has been batting for a quick dissolution of Parliament when it meets on Jan. 31, with an early spring election.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date November 14, 1944

Subject

D 48308

Election Before the End of the War

Prime Minister Mackenzie King has legitimately tried to carry on the government without another general election before the end of the war. The signs are, however, that another election is inevitable. Mr. Churchill told the people of France last Saturday that it is possible the enemy will have been beaten six months hence. It could possibly take longer. It would be unwarranted complacency to figure on an earlier end of the war in Europe.

Preparations for the campaign next spring across the Rhine are doubtless already under way. German statements have lately been given out to lead the people of the United Nations to expect a winter offensive by the Allied forces, but Canadian readers are better advised to rely on the British prime minister's statement.

There will, of course, be fighting everywhere on the Rhine front through the winter months, but it would be vain to expect that the German army can be forced to fight in a final knock-out battle until the whole power of the Allied forces is brought to bear simultaneously from every direction on the Hitlerite stronghold.

* * *

The life of the parliament of Canada will expire next April. The government of Canada cannot long be carried on without money voted by parliament. Another session of this parliament could perhaps vote money to keep the government in office even after the mandate of the electorate had expired, but the Canadian prime minister is loyal to the constitution. He would never try to hold on to office by such an expediency.

A general election this winter has to be considered. Unless there is more confidence in the government than is at present being manifested throughout the country, the Liberal majority is liable to be wiped out. But there is no more confidence in the negative politics of the Conservative party: nor are many people likely to be imposed upon by the "Progressive" label attached to Conservative. Where Conservative candidates take an honest stand for conscription, they should win some seats; but nowhere in provincial elections, nor in federal by-elections, has there been anything to warrant the expectation of a Progressive Conservative majority in the next general election.

Many people will vote C.C.F.—as much in protest against the negative politics of the other parties as for any other reason. Alberta is strongly behind the Social Credit provincial administration.

* * *

Presumably the impetus of the Canadian war effort will carry the nation on through the next six months or more, irrespective of a confused political situation. It would be healthier for Canadian nationhood, however, to have definite, forward leadership than confusion at the seat of government while the Canadian forces overseas are fighting in the knock-out battles of the sixth year of war with Germany.

Prime Minister King's government declared war in the autumn of 1939. The government's war record has been meritorious—excepting on the failure to lead the nation unitedly along the path of collective national service, as in the other great democracies.

There is little doubt that the nation-wide demand for the selective draft to back the Canadian army overseas will crystallize into a national movement to form a national government. It could better be a national government formed before the next general election than in an aftermath of political confusion.

Even after the election, however, it is probable that the governor-general will again have to call upon the present prime minister to form the next government. Hon. J. L. Ralston is reported to be determined to retire from politics. He came back to be minister of finance at the beginning of the war only under the strong urge of patriotic duty. A similar urge could perhaps prevail again, but the necessary action to assure reinforcements to the Canadian army overseas will have to be taken soon to be most effective.

It is within the power only of the prime minister to initiate this action. He could call an early session of parliament, or ask for the nation's mandate through a new parliament, to employ the whole of Canada's trained manpower to back the attack in the decisive battles of the war within the next six months.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		"Five Years of War", Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 48041 - D 48084	
77		Reform Club, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Sept. 1944	D 48085	
77		Second Session of UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Sept. 1944	D 48086 - D 48172	
77		Dinner for Press, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Sept. 1944	D 48173 - D 48176	
77		Address to Trades and Labour Congress. Speeches outside Parliament	23 Oct. 1944	D 48177 - D 48258	
77		Canada's Support of the Army Overseas, Radio Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Nov. 1944	D 48259 - D 48282	
77		No Election in Wartime. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Nov. 1944	D 48283 - D 48308	
77		Speeches in Parliament	19 Nov. 1944	D 48309 - D 48429	

J. W. P.
19.11.44

D 48309

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re Speech in Parliament

It is suggested that the speech should include the following topics:

1. Statement of difference between the government ~~the~~ and the former Minister of National Defence.

   (avoiding, as far as possible, any recriminations and keeping point as clear as possible - stressing Mr. Ralston's frequently expressed preference for the voluntary system).

2. Very brief statement as to facts about reinforcements - to indicate change since Mr. Ralston's report. (A statement is being worked out which can be read. This statement to cover main points in J.W.P.'s sections 2 and 4) It might be followed by reading of General McNaughton's letter re military security and reference to secret meeting of both Houses.

3. Outline of alternatives which faced the government

   (along lines of J.W.P.S. notes sec.3)

4. Statement re Quebec (see J.W.P.'s notes re)

D48310

5. Statement of future army policy (see J.W.P.'s notes sec.5)

6. Why an election should be avoided.

(See references collected by Mr.Gibson)

7. The motion approving the government.

8. The issue before the House.

(Sustain the present govt. or find a new govt. in the present Parlt. See J.W.P.'s notes, section 6)

By following this scheme the following effect should be achieved:

1. The practical importance of the difference with Mr. Ralston should be minimized.
2. The proportions of the reinforcement problem should be made very clear.
3. The gravity of alienating French Canada should appear as a national (not a party) danger.
4. The positive army policy should be very clear.
5. No doubt should be left as to the real alternatives before Parliament.

After your speech (if the secret meeting is held on Thursday) there will be nearly 48 hours for the new issue to sink into the minds of Members and of the public.

Conscription will recede into the background and the dubious possibility of forming a viable alternative government will give pause to many of the most disturbed.

Confidential

J. A. G.
28.xi.44

D48312

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: Quebec as seat of future World Organization

1. You wished to be reminded to mention to Quebec members of the House of Commons the question of Quebec as

   (a) the seat of a future world organization
   (b) the meeting-place for future international conferences

2. Both of these possibilities were much in the news at the time of the Quebec Conference, 1944, and also during the discussions on world security at Dumbarton Oaks. We know, from two different sources (one quoted by Mr.Wilgress and the other by Mr.Pearson) that Quebec was specifically mentioned as first choice for a future headquarters.

3. The City of Levis is formally on record as favouring project (a). The City of Toronto on October 14 last passed a resolution that

   "the Government of Canada be requested to consider extending invitations to the Governments of the Allied Nations to a conference to consider the establishment of peace on a secure and enduring basis".

4. The present controversy may have cooled the ardour of some of the well-wishers of Canada who have urged that both the Peace Conference and the future security organization should be located in Canada.

J.A.G.

D48313

For the Prime Minister:

Mr. Heeney reports that at Council this morning General McNaughton and Mr. Macdonald made a full report on the latest figures concerning reinforcements, and the effect of adding 16,000 prospective reinforcements under authority of P.C.8891. They also reported on estimated casualties over the next few months.

Mr. Heeney adds that members of Council feel very strongly that these figures very strongly support the government's decision in implementing the Order-in-Council; and that it would be most useful to have these figures before the House at as early a stage as possible in the debate.

The figures can only be given in secret session.

Council feel that just as soon as is possible after the Prime Minister's speech (and, presumably, the speeches of the three other leaders), the figures should be given, by General McNaughton if the House wishes to recall him, otherwise by Mr. Macdonald.

The Prime Minister may wish to have a word with Mr. Crerar and Mr. Mackenzie on this point.

J.A.G.

November 27, 1944

Suggested by Col. Wallace

D 48314

Re General McNaughton

I do not believe I need to tell the House with what gratification I learned that General McNaughton was prepared to accept the responsibilities of this portfolio. Gen. McNaughton is one of the great soldiers Canada has produced, and during his lifetime has many magnificent achievements in the scientific as well as the military field to his credit. He was the individual creator of the Headquarters which, at this moment, are so competently and smoothly serving our fighting men in two theatres of war. And what is most important of all to me, no General Officer Commanding has had, I believe, more of the confidence of the troops who served under him, or the parents and relations at home, than General McNaughton.

D 48315

Re: General McNaughton

I should like to express my appreciation of General McNaughton's readiness to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence at a moment it is apparent that a "last mighty effort" is required. General McNaughton's own distinguished career in the present war is well known. The earnestness with which he has addressed himself to the problems of the moment is a renewed evidence that the administration of his department will continue to have the close and careful attention. I am personally very glad that he has been willing to give of his great talents at a time of need.

Secret

D 48316

The Difference between the Government and the former Minister of National Defence

1. There is only one point of difference between the Government and the former Minister of National Defence.

That point is: Whether resort to conscription has become necessary to provide adequate reinforcements for the army.

2. There is no question of the government abandoning its policy of 1942. I stand squarely by every statement I made in the debate on Bill 80.

3. There is no difference between the Government and the former Minister on the merits of conscription and and the voluntary system.

The former Minister (Mr. Ralston) said (Unrevised Hansard, July 10, 1944, p. 4753):

"I am for keeping our army overseas 100 per cent volunteers if we can do it ....."

D48317

4. The principle of voluntary overseas service was accepted by the House overwhelmingly in 1942 in the debate on Bill 80. Everyone who voted for the Bill accepted the policy of "not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary."

5. No reason, at this stage of the war, for revival of the debate on the comparative advantages of conscription and the voluntary system.

6. The question which arises is: Can we continue to support the army by the voluntary system?

7. The former Minister (Unrevised Hansard, July 10, 1944, p. 4753) added these words to the sentence already quoted:

" .....but if we cannot maintain the army overseas with volunteers and it is necessary to send N.R.M.A. men, there can be no alternative for me but to recommend action under the act, and I shall do so."

8. The former Minister believed the time had come to make that recommendation when he returned from his visit to the Army on October 18th.

9. After considering all the facts, the government did not believe the possibilities of voluntary means had been exhausted, and was not prepared to accept the recommendation to resort to conscription.

10. The former Minister thereupon left the government. Nothing to be gained by a <u>sterile</u> debate on the circumstances surrounding the resignation.

11. It is important that we keep strictly to the point of difference:

<u>Is conscription now necessary or is it not necessary to provide adequate reinforcements</u>?

12. That question can only be answered intelligently when all the facts are available.

(Follow with section on the reinforcement situation)

2

D 48319

The facts regarding reinforcements

1. The need for reinforcements is based upon the rate of casualties; in other words, upon probabilities.

2. The probabilities of casualties are based upon:

    1. past experience,

    2. probable course of future operations.

3. The provision made for casualties in Italy has been satisfactory up to the present.

    In over-all numbers, the provision of reinforcements for Northwestern Europe has also been adequate.

    The difficulty has arisen because infantry casualties were under-estimated and casualties in other arms over-estimated.

4. The former Minister reported that probable casualties for October, November and December would total _____ of which ____ would be infantry casualties.

5. To replace these casualties, it was reported that _____ would be available, of which number _____ would be adequately trained infantry casualties.

D 48319-1

6. Actual casualties from October 1st to date have been _____, of which _____ have been infantry casualties. Up to the present all casualties have been replaced by fully trained reinforcements.

7. _____ additional trained infantry reinforcements will be available between now and December 31st.

8. _____ fully trained infantry reinforcements will become available in January and an additional _____ February, from men who were in training on October 31st.

9. It is estimated that _____ infantry reinforcements will be required from now until the end of the year; _____ in January and _____ in February.

10. Since November 1st _____ additional volunteers have been remustered from other duties and _____ draftees have enlisted for general service. Of these _____ will be available in the field in January.

11. This leaves a probable deficit for January and February of _____ infantry reinforcements.

D 48314-2

12. This deficit can be met only from the 8,000 fully trained draftees (or the number left after allowing for those who have enlisted since November 1st.) <u>That is the full extent of the immediate problem</u>.

13. If we can meet the problem for January and February, we can count on two favourable facts for March, April and succeeding months.

14. These factors:

1. the large number of volunteers already in the training stream,

2. the response of draftees who still require some additional training.

D 3
48320

The Alternatives

1. From the review of the facts two cardinal points emerge:

   (i) there will be a probable deficit of _____ infantry reinforcements in January and February.

   (ii) this deficit can be met only from the fully trained draftees who numbered 8,000 at the time the former Minister recommended their compulsory employment.

2. The government had to choose between:

   1. making all draftees available for general service by resort to conscription, or

   2. appealing to the fully trained draftees to meet the need voluntarily.

3. In making the choice, the government had to consider, not only the need of supporting the army, but also the need of backing up all other phases of Canada's war effort.

D 48321

4. Considering first the army alone:

(1) We might possibly deliver more of the 8,000 men overseas in January and February by resorting to conscription than by appealing for volunteers.

(2) But we cannot tell how long the fighting in Europe will continue. We may continue to need reinforcements in March, April and May.

(3) We know by experience the voluntary system has produced results and continues to produce results.

About 900,000 men have volunteered and been accepted for service in Canada's armed forces. For the a my alone there have been nearly 50,000 volunteers in the present year.

(4) We believe that, by a special appeal, the present emergency can be met by a voluntary response.

D 48322

(5) Conscription would probably serve to meet the immediate situation, but only at the expense of grave division of the country.

(6) The dissension caused by a resort to overseas conscription might cause such grave disunity, that there would be serious difficulty in the enforcement of the law. With a resort to conscription, the voluntary system would be gone and we might face a much more serious problem in supporting the army in March than the problem we are now facing.

(7) No responsible government would take such a risk (even if it is only a risk) until all else had failed.

5. But, in addition to the army, the government has to consider the other aspects of the war effort. Unless we are to abandon our resolve to make an utmost effort, we must:

D 48323

(1) Continue to support the navy and the air force.

(2) Maintain our war production for our own forces and our allies.

(3) Continue to provide "mutual aid" and relief to the liberated peoples.

(4) Keep up support for war savings and Victory Loans.

6. We cannot maintain our total war effort unless it is supported by the vast majority of the Canadian people in every section of the country.

7. Canada's war effort, thus far, has been supported by the majority of our people in every province. No better proof of that than the recent Victory Loan.

8. By resorting to overseas conscription, we would run the risk of dividing the country and, in the long-run, weakening support not only for the army but for all other phases of our total effort.

D 48324

9. What matters to the army overseas is that we should get the men: not the method by which we get them.

10. Encouraged to redouble efforts to get a voluntary response, by experience of recent Victory Loan.

Last summer, in the budget, compulsory savings were discontinued because of misunderstandings and, in many cases, hardships. At that time the Minister of Finance expressed the belief that all who could do so, would make an equal voluntary response. These were his words: "If our people understand the need, I am sure that they will answer the call."

And they have answered the call magnificently!

11. It is in the same spirit and the same belief that we are telling the men of the need for voluntary service overseas.

12. The government is certainly not prepared to admit failure before General McNaughton has been given a chance to find voluntary support for the army he built and commanded.

D 4
48325

Is Conscription necessary now?

1. In his statement to the press on November 12th, the former Minister of National Defence, in referring to my broadcast of November 8th, states:

> "What is particularly important is that the summary gives no indication of the necessity of sending additional infantry reinforcements at the earliest possible date."

2. No desire to quarrel about words, but I did say that the speeding up of the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements was "an immediate problem which had to be faced."

3. The former Minister states that the 8,000 draftees sufficiently trained for early combat as infantry reinforcements could not have been available in the battle areas until January 1 - 15.

4. (Here bring in facts re shipping, what is maximum number who could be sent overseas before Dec. 31st, and how many fully trained volunteers are already available to ship.)

5. In other words, there will only be shipping for men, whether they are sent as volunteers or draftees.

6. More shipping will, of course, be available after January 1st, and, by that time, we expect that, as a result of the appeal, more fully trained draftees will have volunteered.

7. But the crucial point is that resort to conscription would <u>at the maximum</u> yield only the difference between 8,000 men and the number of those 8,000 who volunteer for overseas service. All of them could not be sent overseas before December 31st, because of lack of shipping.

D 48326

8. The number of additional men who could be secured to meet the immediate need by resort to conscription is, therefore, exceedingly small.

9. Against this possible immediate gain, the government had to balance the risk of weakening our whole war effort.

10. On July 23, 1942 (Unrevised Hansard, p. 4987), speaking on the third reading of Bill 80, I said that when the bill passed and was assented to, the government would have been given by Parliament power to conscript men for overseas service. I added: "That power will rest in the government. It will be there. The policy of the government is to exercise that power when it believes it necessary to do so, when it is necessary to resort to conscription to make Canada's war effort more effective."

11. The government has not exercised that power and does not propose to exercise it <u>at the present time</u> because we do not believe it is necessary to resort to conscription to make Canada's war effort more effective.

12. Will go further and say that resort to overseas conscription at the present time would almost certainly make Canada's war effort less effective by dividing the country and dissipating our energies in domestic controversy.

5-

D 48327

Future army policy

1. The choise was not between accepting the former Minister's recommendation and merely continuing present policies. Rather a choice between resorting to conscription and redoubling efforts to secure an adequate voluntary response.

2. Steps taken include:

   (1) Measures to make a larger number of existing general service men available and available sooner as infantry reinforcements;

   (2) Measures to stimulate enlistment of draftees.

3. Measures to stimulate enlistment of draftees include:

   (1) Intensification of infantry training of draftees already trained or being trained for infantry duty

   (2) Re-mustering for specialized infantry training, where possible, of draftees trained or in training for other arms

   (3) Recall for infantry training of all suitable men engaged in works projects.

   (4) Individual canvass of suitable draftees to explain the need and the opportunity of overseas service.

   (5) Announcement that priority in demobilization and employment to be given to men with overseas service.

D 48328

(6) Announcement that draftees who do not enlist and who are not required for military training or duties will be employed in national service under military discipline at army rates of pay.

4. Other aspects of policy re draftees to be mentioned:

(1) Draftees to be retained on active service as an ultimate reserve of reinforcements in case other methods fail and resort to conscription should it become necessary.

(2) National service policy will ensure that draftees not maintained in idleness where not needed for military duties.

(3) Military call up to be maintained to ensure reserves as long as war lasts.

5. Re army overseas, following points to be made:

(1) Definite assurance that men who have been wounded are not sent back into action until they have recovered thoroughly

(This question is causing great agitation)

(2) Repeat assurance that "re-mustered" men are given specialized infantry training before going into action.

(3) Repeat assurance that replacements in the line have been adequate up-to-date

(4) Repeat announcement that men with 5 years service will be given leave in Canada as quickly as it can be arranged.

(5) Announce that no soldiers will be sent to the Far East without opportunity of leave in Canada (and, if possible, opportunity to volunteer again).

6

D48329

The Gravity of the Issue

1. The position of the government is clear: we do not accept the view that a resort to conscription is <u>necessary at this time</u> to support the army overseas.

2. The issue before the House of Commons is equally clear, but <u>it is not the same issue</u>.

3. If they wish to give effective support to the army, the members of the House of Commons have to decide whether they will support the present government or replace it by another government which can find a majority in the present House of Commons.

4. It will <u>not</u> help the army to defeat the present government and force an election on the issue of conscription.

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

D 48330

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

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

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

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

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

D 48331

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

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

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

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

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

D48332

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48333

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

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

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

JAG/DR
16.xi.44

D 48334

I. Historical Sequence of Events

The question of reinforcements has been a matter for consideration for many weeks. Even when important gains were being made by Allied forces in Western Europe, and while steady progress was being achieved on the Italian mainland, it was apparent that casualties, expecially to the infantry arm, had been heavy. Infantry casualties were proportionately heavier than in any other arm of the service and, so far as the Canadian Divisions were concerned, considerably heavier than had been estimated.

During September my honourable friend who was then Minister of National Defence had left for a visit to European battle areas in which Canadian forces were engaged. When he returned from this visit, some five weeks ago, he was accompanied by Lt. Gen. Stuart, then Chief of Staff at Canadian Military Headquarters in London.

Reports both from the Minister and from General Stuart to the War Committee of the Cabinet indicated that the provision of reinforcements for the infantry arm presented an immediate problem. That problem was to find the means of speeding up the blow of fully-trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

I should perhaps emphasize that in the overall

D 48335

picture of potential reinforcements there is no shortage. Many thousands of men are in training. Enlistments for general service are continuing at an encouraging rate, and in recent months more draftees have volunteered for overseas serving than the number of men called up under N.R.M.A. We do not know how long the war in Europe may last. There are many indications that there must be much heavy fighting before the German enemy is defeated. We must continue recruiting for overseas service to maintain the supply of reinforcements.

It was against this background that my honourable friend, the then Minister, stated that it appeared to him to be clear that enough volunteer personnel could not be made available to meet the need for substantial numbers of additional trained infantry personnel. In these circumstances, the then Minister said that he considered he had no alternative but to recommend that N.R.M.A. personnel be sent overseas as reinforcements.

This recommendation the Cabinet did not feel able to accept, and on November 1 the Minister resigned. He was succeeded in office as Minister of National Defence by General McNaughton, who was sworn in on the following day.

I think I ought to mention that the honourable member made his own position perfectly clear. He has said he felt there was no alternative to the course he recommended. He has said that he wished to be assured that if the need for reinforcements over-

D 48336

seas continued, and if volunteers in sufficient numbers were not available, then N.R.M.A. personnel would be sent. He felt, in fact, that without some guarantee, express or implied, that, if the need were shown to exist, conscription would be resorted to, he would not be fulfilling the assurance he had given to Parliament (as recently as July 10 last). On November 1st the Minister stated that no such assurance was forthcoming, and he tendered his resignation on that day.

The Minister had previously stated that if the recommendation for the sending overseas of N.R.M.A. personnel were placed formally before the Cabinet and not accepted, he would feel compelled to resign. It was in the circumstances of the possible resignation on these grounds of the hon. member that I felt it my duty to consult advice outside the Cabinet. I consulted General McNaughton. I discovered that he was not satisfied that compulsory service was necessary to provide full support for the army overseas. General McNaughton further said that, if he could have the co-operation of the Cabinet, he believed it would be possible to obtain necessary reinforcements by voluntary means. He had said also that if the former Minister should resign, he would be prepared, in the belief I have mentioned, to assume the responsibility of Minister of National Defence.

D 48337

I then felt it important that there should be no further delay in reaching a decision on a matter that had already been under close scrutiny for several days. I therefore recommended that General McNaughton should be appointed Minister of National Defence, and he was sworn into office on November ...

Within the next few days, General McNaughton had two opportunities for stating publicly his belief in the desirability of continuing the system of voluntary enlistments for overseas service. The one was in a speech at Arnprior and the other at a meeting in Ottawa.

In the radio broadcast which I made on November 8 I tried to set out all the relevant facts about the strength and stage of training of N.R.M.A. personnel in Canada. I tried also to explain why in my view it was not necessary, at this advanced stage of the war, to resort to compulsion to provide reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

On November 12 the former Minister issued a statement which received wide publicity. In this statement, he said, in part:

> " .. during my inspection of the battle areas I found that they (reinforcement pools) had been so depleted as not to ensure the prompt replacement of casualties. On the advice of the commanders in the battle areas, I considered that such pools should be re-established at adequate strength. There were not infantry reinforcements available for that purpose".

D 48338

In another part of his statement the hon. member reiterated his view that enough volunteer personnel could not be made available to meet the need for trained infantry reinforcements.

This statement by the former Minister, together with the extended amount of discussion and controversy generated throughout the country, left no doubt in my mind that the proper course would be to reconvene the House of Commons so that authoritative statements could be made to the elected representatives of the people of Canada. The situation was grave in any event because the lives of Canada's fighting men hung in the balance. I was unwilling that misrepresentation should arise and that misunderstanding should continue because of any lack of fullest consideration by the Parliament of Canada of any of the issues involved. I therefore announced on November 13 that the House of Commons would be summoned to reassemble on November 22.

JAG/DR
16.xi.44

D 48339

I. Historical Sequence of Events

The question of reinforcements has been a matter for consideration for many weeks. Even when important gains were being made by Allied forces in Western Europe, and while steady progress was being achieved on the Italian mainland, it was apparent that casualties, expecially to the infantry arm, had been heavy. Infantry casualties were proportionately heavier than in any other arm of the service and, so far as the Canadian Divisions were concerned, considerably heavier than had been estimated.

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Reports both from the Minister and from General Stuart to the War Committee of the Cabinet indicated that the provision of reinforcements for the infantry arm presented an immediate problem. That problem was to find the means of speeding up the blow of fully-trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

I should perhaps emphasize that in the overall

D 48340

picture of potential reinforcements there is no shortage. Many thousands of men are in training. Enlistments for general service are continuing at an encouraging rate, and in recent months more draftees have volunteered for overseas serving than the number of men called up under N.R.M.A. We do not know how long the war in Europe may last. There are many indications that there must be much heavy fighting before the German enemy is defeated. We must continue recruiting for overseas service to maintain the supply of reinforcements.

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This recommendation the Cabinet did not feel able to accept, and on November 1 the Minister resigned. He was succeeded in office as Minister of National Defence by General McNaughton, who was sworn in on the following day.

I think I ought to mention that the honourable member made his own position perfectly clear. He has said he felt there was no alternative to the course he recommended. He has said that he wished to be assured that if the need for reinforcements over-

D 48341

seas continued, and if volunteers in sufficient numbers were not available, then N.R.M.A. personnel would be sent. He felt, in fact, that without some guarantee, express or implied, that, if the need were shown to exist, conscription would be resorted to, he would not be fulfilling the assurance he had given to Parliament (as recently as July 10 last). On November 1st the Minister stated that no such assurance was forthcoming, and he tendered his resignation on that day.

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D 48342

I then felt it important that there should be no further delay in reaching a decision on a matter that had already been under close scrutiny for several days. I therefore recommended that General McNaughton should be appointed Minister of National Defence, and he was sworn into office on November ...

Within the next few days, General McNaughton had two opportunities for stating publicly his belief in the desirability of continuing the system of voluntary enlistments for overseas service. The one was in a speech at Arnprior and the other at a meeting in Ottawa.

In the radio broadcast which I made on November 8 I tried to set out all the relevant facts about the strength and stage of training of N.R.M.A. personnel in Canada. I tried also to explain why in my view it was not necessary, at this advanced stage of the war, to resort to compulsion to provide reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

On November 12 the former Minister issued a statement which received wide publicity. In this statement, he said, in part:

> " .. during my inspection of the battle areas I found that they (reinforcement pools) had been so depleted as not to ensure the prompt replacement of casualties. On the advice of the commanders in the battle areas, I considered that such pools should be re-established at adequate strength. There were not infantry reinforcements available for that purpose".

D 48343

In another part of his statement the hon. member reiterated his view that enough volunteer personnel could not be made available to meet the need for trained infantry reinforcements.

This statement by the former Minister, together with the extended amount of discussion and controversy generated throughout the country, left no doubt in my mind that the proper course would be to reconvene the House of Commons so that authoritative statements could be made to the elected representatives of the people of Canada. The situation was grave in any event because the lives of Canada's fighting men hung in the balance. I was unwilling that misrepresentation should arise and that misunderstanding should continue because of any lack of fullest consideration by the Parliament of Canada of any of the issues involved. I therefore announced on November 13 that the House of Commons would be summoned to reassemble on November 22.

United Kingdom House of Commons

D 48344

Hansard, 27th May, 1941

pp.1718-9

NORTHERN IRELAND (Conscription)

The Prime Minister: My right hon. Friend the Member for Antrim (Sir H. O'Neill) had a Question (No.46) on the Order Paper about the application of conscription to Northern Ireland. I said a week ago that this matter had been engaging our attention. We have made a number of inquiries in various directions, with the result that we have come to the conclusion that at the present time, although there can be no dispute about our rights or about the merits, it would be more trouble than it is worth to enforce such a policy.

Sir Hugh O'Neill: Will it not make a rather bad impression throughout the Empire that, once again, the Government have had to burke this issue, obviously because of pressure from Southern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: I do not think that I can put it better than I have done. After a full survey we came to the decision which I have announced.

Sir H. O'Neill: There is one point which I think, in fairness, the Prime Minister would like to make clear. Was it not the view of the Government of Northern Ireland that conscription could be and should be applied?

The Prime Minister: Yes, Sir. That was the view of the Government of Northern Ireland, for whose loyal aid and continued and constant support of our cause, no words of praise can be too high.

Professor Savory: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he is not aware that the Government of Northern Ireland were unanimous in recommending that conscription should be applied to Northern Ireland?

Mr. Speaker: That question has been answered.

United Kingdom House of Commons

Hansard, 15th April, 1943

pp. 1382-3

D 48345

NORTHERN IRELAND (Manpower)

46. Sir William Davison asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that between 20,000 and 25,000 young men and young women of military age in Northern Ireland are unemployed and making no contribution to the war effort; and whether, in view of the serious shortage of man- and woman-power in Great Britain, immediate steps will be taken to accede to the often expressed desire of the Government of Northern Ireland for the extension of conscription to Northern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: I understand that, according to the latest information, the number of men and women of all ages registered as unemployed in Northern Ireland was 19,778. I have no new announcement to make about the second part of the Question.

Sir W. Davison: Will my right hon. Friend give the reasons why the often expressed desire of the Ulster Government to have conscription in Ulster, the same as in Great Britain, cannot be acceded to, especially having regard to the great hardships being suffered in this country in order to provide the necessary men for the Armed Forces and factories?

The Prime Minister: When this matter was last raised, about 18 months or two years ago, I think, I came to the conclusion that it would be more trouble than it was worth, and I have not seen any reason up to the present moment for making a pronouncement on the subject.

Sir Hugh O'Neill: Does not my right hon. Friend think that, in view of the critical position of man-power at the present moment, he ought to take a new decision, in spite of the threats of various kinds from the neutral State of Southern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: Certainly, it is a very unsatisfactory situation when large numbers of Americans are taken by compulsion from their homes and made to stand on guard while large numbers of the local inhabitants are under no such obligation.

Sir Alfred Beit: Failing conscription, cannot the unemployed there be directed to war factories like anybody else?

Sir W. Davison: Will my right hon. Friend say why we should be content to take distinguished generals like Montgomery, Alexander and Dill from Northern Ireland and neglect to avail ourselves of the services of thousands of ordinary men and women of fine quality in that Province who are now out of employment?

Mr Gibson

D 48346

The Real Meaning of the Motion

The motion does NOT:

ask for approval of the Order-in-Council P.C.8891.

That Order was enacted in strict conformity with Bill 80 and the government's authority to take such action was specifically approved by the vote on Bill 80 in 1942.

The issue of conscription was settled two years ago.

It is not being decided by this vote.

The motion does NOT:

ask for an unlimited vote of confidence in the government.

To do so would be unfair to political opponents of the government who nevertheless are willing to aid the government in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The motion is NOT

to be construed as an endorsation of government policies generally. So far as it relates to confidence in myself, that confidence is being expressed in relation to myself as one charged with responsibility of seeing that the policy set forth in the Order in Council is duly administered.

We have not abandoned the volunteering principle.

We shall continue our efforts to secure all voluntary enlistments possible.

D 48347

The motion DOES ASK, and asks only:

whether Members are prepared to support the present government continuing to carry on Canada's war effort at this time.

Any member who votes against this motion is asking to have the present administration resign, and another administration immediately take its place.

D 48348

Re: General McNaughton

I should like to express my appreciation of General McNaughton's readiness to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence at a moment it is apparent that a "last mighty effort" is required. General McNaughton's own distinguished career in the present war is well known. The earnestness with which he has addressed himself to the problems of the moment is a renewed evidence that the administration of his department will continue to have the close and careful attention. I am personally very glad that he has been willing to give of his great talents at a time of need.

D48349

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I do not believe I need to tell the House with what gratification I learned that Gen McN was prepared to accept the responsibilities of this portfolio. Gen McN is one of the great soldiers Canada has produced, and during his lifetime has many magnificent achievements in the scientific as well as the military field to his credit. He was the individual creator of the Headquarters which at this moment are so competently and smoothly serving the fighting men

in two theatres of war. And what is more important
of all to me, the General Officer Commanding
has had, I believe, more of the confidence of the
troops who served under him, of the parents
and relatives at home, than has the Slaughter.

D 48350

D 48351

PART I

Sequence of Events -

Canada entered war, 1939, - all parties agreed:

No conscription;

Voluntary enlistment.

General Election, 1940, - all parties agreed:

No conscription.

Fall of France, ~~1941~~ 1940, - National Resources Mobilization Act.

No conscription for Overseas;

N.R.M.A. men,- draftees, - service in Canada (National Selective Service)

Principle of conscription recognized - applicable to home.

The Plebiscite - Opening of Parlt., 1942 (See Speech from Throne)

Individuals and Parlt. freed of all pledges (AA)

Legal right - always present

moral obligation (removed)

Not a vote for conscription (See Hansard) (BB)

quote Leaders -

Nothing to be gained by misrepresentation

(War becoming a World War)

D 48352

Introduction and enactment of Bill 80 - Amendment to N.R.M.A. 1942.

Recognized principle of conscription - applied to overseas.

What was understood -

(I) broadly in reference to "winning of the war";

(2) narrowly in reference to the army reinforcements.

Give quotations illustrating both -

how men's minds might incline.

On one thing agreement:

"Not necessarily conscription,
but conscription if necessary".

(Nothing said of "all out conscription" or of

"limited conscription"

"necessary" the governing word.

1942 - Passed - Conscription not necessary

in either broad or narrow sense.

1943 - Passed - Conscription not necessary

1944 - First 7 months - January to August - not necessary.

August 7 - 700 additional men for extra battalions in Italy;
no drain on man power;
reinforcements adequate
(Chief of Staff to War Committee).

Dat 19

D 48353

Sept. 10 to 17 (Churchill arrival and departure)

Conference at Quebec.

Members of War Committee, Canada.

Canadian Chiefs of Staff - General Stuart letter ?

British Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. Churchill.

Till that time conscription NOT necessary.

Note: This was after more than 5 years of war.

This was on the eve of certain victory.

D. 48354

PART II

Beginning of period of unrest -

an effort to shake confidence in government's administration of Canada's war effort.

Statements made untrained men being sent into battle.

" not answered.

Col. Ralston left for overseas -

found statement re training NOT substantiated;

found over-all casualties less than anticipated;

found Infantry casualties larger than anticipated.

13 October [redacted]th - cabled me. 13

October 18th - arrived Ottawa -

War Committee Cabinet.

Indicated at once he would have to resign unless N.R.M.A. men were sent overseas.

First official intimation - to Cabinet.

Recognised at once "conscription" issue had arisen in relation to reinforcements of army overseas.

A distinct shock to the entire Cabinet

(as indeed it had been to Col. Ralston himself).

D 48355

PART III

Why majority in Cabinet unable to believe it was "Necessary" to resort to any measure of conscription:

(I) The stage of the war, and the progress of the war.

The probability of early victory (Montgomery) (Eisenhower)

Available figures about total G.S. men in Canada.

The certainty of ultimate victory.

The actual position since the invasion - "D" Day.

Landing of troops in France a moment of supreme significance:

(I) if unsuccessful - heavy losses, etc.,
it would have meant one thing -
prolongation of war;

(2) if successful - a shortening of the war.

What Government would have done if resistance of enemy such as to leave victory in any doubt -
Would have regarded necessary to pass Order-in-Council to send additional reinforcements overseas under Bill 80.

D48356

Condition in Europe quite different:

At that time - October 18th - on:

France had been liberated;

Belgium " " " ;

Part of Holland had been freed;

In Italy much of country freed and allied armies advancing;

Greece partially freed;

In Yugoslavia, allied forces united against Germany;

German's satellite States: Roumania and Bulgaria - former allies, not fighting against her.

Most important of all - German forces driven out of Russia.

Russian armies fighting on German soil.

Internal conditions in Germany frightful.

Allied victories at sea, and in the air.

In the Pacific - successive victories over Japanese.

L 48357

Then there was all that Canada had already done in this war -

in bearing her full share in the winning of the war.

Over 5 years - our all-out effort:

Our Army in Britain, Italy and Europe;

our Navy and its contributions on the Atlantic,

in the Mediterranean

in the North Sea and elsewhere;

our Air Force - over skies on all fronts;

our organization of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan;

what we had done in munitions and supplies;

what we had done in supply of food;

what we had done in finance - the contribution of the people;

our policy of Mutual Aid to all our Allies;

our policy of furnishing relief under U.N.R.R.A.

D 48358

Add to this:

(A) Government had been working for months on plans of demobilization of armed services;

(B) Had before it still its part in the post-war organization of Europe;

war against Japan.

The effect of introducting conscription:

Always a difficult problem,
but what the effect on top of all this?

(1) On our war effort from now on in all its phases;

(2) On the solution of post-war problems;

(3) On Commonwealth international relations;

(4) on Canadian unity now for generations to come.

The example of introduction of conscription in last war.

At that time, conditions different -
it looked as if the enemy might win;
fighting in France.

This time, enemy being defeated on every side
and ultimate victory certain.

(Churchill at Paris).

CC

We had to consider what "conscription" in Canada might mean in the way of stiffening resistance of Germany - fight harder for a negotiated Peace.

Is it any wonder Cabinet felt it necessary to explore every possible means, short of leaving our men on the field of battle without the necessary reinforcements, to avoid the inevitable consequences which resort to conscription, however limited, was certain to mean.

D 48359

Discussions in Cabinet.

War Committee and entire Cabinet

almost continuously for nearly 6 weeks (since Oct. 19).

Necessarily secret -

not to be described at Ralston-King battle.

Enough given in correspondence to enable all to judge

of nature and extent of.

16109 } male
120 747 }
rect N/S
+ CWAC

Particular attention to number of General Service men

(a) over 130,000 in Canada

(b) Overseas (secret).

What number likely to come forward from N.R.M.A. training camps.

Already had volunteered.

Belief that additionab men could be secured by public appeal.

Necessity for trained men, were in N.R.M.A. camps.

Decision to have public appeal.

Question : where should public appeal be concluded?

Here difference of view:

(I) time to be determined by results as went along;

(2) time to be determined in advance

to be made known publicly or in secret,

with condition Order in Council to be passed applying conscription -

reconvene the House of Commons.

D 48360

The argument against beginning appeal

with assumption it would not succeed.

(See Hansard reference)

DD

?

don't know which one this is.

Comparison with Victory Loan

voluntary vs. compulsion

loans vs. taxes

D48361

Re: Ralston's resignation.

Ralston repeatedly mentions intention to resign if his recommendation not accepted (see same). Finally made clear this was getting to be a matter of Was I justified in seeing how situation should be met if he did resign?

Look at the position as I faced Ralston's resignation:

(I) No Minister of Defence;

(2) The Associate Minister of Defence had been absent - No Minister for Air same time, on account of illness - undergoing operation;

(3) Possible, yes probable further resignations if no Minister of Defence.

This, at a time of war.

This, with no Parliament in session - there might possibly have been no government.

I had offered to step aside and let other colleagues assume the responsibility.

How would this help to get the men required?

Would probably mean general election in middle of war.

D 48362

In these circumstances I sought out General McNaughton.

We had great faith in voluntary system.

Believed his presence would give assurance to men overseas

and to parents and relatives at home..

McNaughton coming in saved that situation at that time.

Where would we have been today?

in Canada,

men overseas, etc.

Government in Canada would have crashed.

To war overseas, there would have been added

civil strife in all parts of Canada.

Would that have helped men overseas?

Would that have helped Quebec?

Only unparalleled dissension.

D 48363

Public appeal for voluntary enlistments:

General McNaughton at Arnprior (EE)

" " in Ottawa (FF)

My own appeal over radio (copy attached) (GG)

Continued sifting re General Service men available.

Officers called in.

Cabinet Committee formed (1) get out facts,

(2) work out means of individual approach to draftees.

Appeal by other Ministers - e.g. LaFleche.

Note - clearing up of numbers,

" " " situation re French-Canadians.

Appeal frustrated by counter measures of section of press and some other organizations.

Situation growing more serious.

Parliament summoned.

In all this one favourable factor - Ministry maintained intact.

Time gained and given for people to understand the issue.

Opportunity given peoples representatives in Parliament to decide.

D 48364

Situation at moment Parliament assembled.

Those in Cabinet who believed resort should be had to conscription under Bill 80.

Those who believed means could still be found to avoid resort to conscription.

See Power's reasons for resignation.

It was clear that if a considerable number of Ministers on either side were to resign, it would be necessary for me to tender my resignation to the Governor General. This I was quite prepared to do. But, I owed it to the country to be sure that before so doing I could find for His Excellency some one who was willing and able to form a ministry to carry the government of the country either under a policy of out and out conscription or under a policy of voluntary enlistment for overseas, - I could think of none, either among my own colleagues or others - and that in so doing there would be the slightest hope of meeting the real objective - namely, securing the necessary reinforcements for overseas.

Again, there was danger of the whole structure of government crashing to the ground, Canada being left without a government at a time of war, and no prospect that I could see of one being formed that would be able to carry on.

AA

Extract from
SPEECH FROM THE THRONE
January 22, 1942

speech from the throne:

My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.

The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

D48365

BB

Re: Necessity of Conscription in times of National Unity

Unrevised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3518

Revised Hansard
p. 3236

D 48366

"There is, fortunately, a third view -- a view which I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British Commonwealth of nations, and of the other united nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

[Task of Parliament to safeguard unity]

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription.

PRESS CLIPPINGS Churchill CC Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date NOV 13 1944

Subject D 48367

Strong French Army Is Necessary To Balance Sanity, Says Churchill

By HAROLD CALLENDER

(By Wireless to The New York Times and The Gazette.)

Paris, November 12.—After four hours of diplomatic discussion with Gen. Charles de Gaulle and his foreign affairs advisers, Prime Minister Churchill in a speech today said the British Government felt that the "establishment of a strong French army as soon as possible is absolutely necessary to balance and sanity in Europe."

The Prime Minister also said France "must resume her place with the other great nations" and he urged the French to "rally round" Gen. de Gaulle who, he said, was the "undisputed chief" in a time when "all the forces of the nation should be directed to the support of stability and authority."

Mr. Churchill said he understood the French desire to play the greatest possible part in the war with as much help as possible from the Allies. But, he added, "of course we cannot prolong the war just for this, as Germany may be beaten in six months; but we shall do all we can to enable France to make the greatest possible effort in the war."

Speaking of Gen. de Gaule, the Prime Minister said: "We have had differences in the recent troubled years, but I am sure you should all rally round him.'"

Mr. Churchill spoke in French at a reception at the Hotel de Ville given by the temporary government of Paris, the Parisian Committee of Liberation. The Prime Minister paid tribute to the Paris revolt which aided the city's liberation.

It is known that armament of additional French troops has been one of the main topics of discussion in the talks here yesterday and today, and that Allied military authorities have hesitated to make extensive promises in view of the needs of the existing Allied forces and the lack of training of the French Forces of the Interior whom Gen. de Gaulle wants to arm.

The French have spoken of five to eight divisions which they desire to create, and one of Gen. de Gaulle's advisers said the general would like an army of at least 60 divisions by the time the war ends, as a sign of France's role as a great power.

The problem of Spain among others was raised today, it was learned tonight. A new revolution apparently brewing in Spain, this time against Gen. Francisco Franco, worries the French because of the thousands of Republican Spanish on this side of the Pyrenees, and, in the absence of the extra divisions Gen. de Gaulle would like to create France is inadequately placed to control the border. The hope is that the Spanish pot will not boil over until Germany is beaten.

Regarding the Far East which also came up in the talks, the French have notified the Allies they would like to contribute military units to the war against Japan, but no arrangements to this end have yet been made by the combined chiefs of staff.

Though not directly represented, the United States and Russia played their parts in the Franco-British talks. It is understood Mr. Churchill tried to remove Gen. de Gaulle's misapprehensions about President Roosevelt and to explain the American delay in recognizing the de Gaulle government and inviting it into the Allied councils, and it was understood his efforts had some success. Some of those who saw Gen. de Gaulle after the talks said they had never known him to look to pleased. Mr. Churchill beamed as if he too were satisfied with his effort at reconciliation.

As for the Russians' role, two events drew attention to it. One was statement in Ambassador Alexander Bogomolov's note to Foreign Minister Georges Bidault that Russia had proposed inviting France into the European Commission. It was said here the Russian government was very keen to be allowed to take this initiative. The other was silence about the "western grouping of nations" as Gen. de Gaulle called it, which seems to have been imposed by Russian suspicion of any blocs or groups under whatever name. On the day of Mr. Churchill's arrival Gen. de Gaulle told the French press it was not a question of separating any part of Europe from any other part, and today it was said in diplomatic circles that the group scheme was dead, at least for the present.

When Gen. de Gaulle was in Algiers last March and first mentioned such a group, which was designed to embrace France, the Netherlands and Belgium, Mr. Bogomolov immediately inquired what was up. He remarked that it seemed to include the Netherlands whose government had never recognized the Soviet regime. It was mad clear that Moscow frownd upon the scheme, and Moscow's frown is understood to have been repeated recently and thus to have provoked Gen. de Gaulle's disavowal.

Some informed observers interpreted this to mean that nothing would be done in Western Europe to which Russian objected, although the impression had been that Russia was content with a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and would seek to have no say in the affairs of Western Europe. At any rate, the result seems to have been omission of the western group scheme from the talks here.

France to Have Voice

Washington, November 12.—(AP)—Nazi-trodden France will have a full voice in imposing justice upon a defeated Germany.

Even those points on which the "Big Three" already had decided, apparently are reopened to incorporate French ideas.

Germany may be split four ways instead of three for occupation purposes.

Those appeared tonight to be the main prospects raised by announcement that France has been invited to sit with Britain, the United States and Russia on the European Advisory Commission.

The main work of the Commission is planning the occupation and control of Germany. Considerable progress recently has been made on these problems but none of the work has embraced French ideas. That is because the French have refused to give their counsel unless they could share in the decisions and responsibilities.

The announcement Saturday, following Allied recognition October 23 of the administration of Gen. de Gaulle as the provisional government of France, marked the end of exclusive "Big Three" domination in Europe.

Assuming France's acceptance of the invitation, and with China counted in, it marks the beginning of a "five-power" era for the erection of world peace machinery. In preparation for this, Britain, the United States, Russia and China agreed at Dumbarton Oaks that "in due course" France should be counted as one of the powerful permanent five members of the proposed world security council.

Presumably Saturday's action means that the qualification "in due course" has been met and that France will go on the council immediately if and when the world organization is set up.

But the initial consequences of adding France to the European Advisory Commission are more military than political and they raise several issues with respect to the conclusion of the war against Germany.

The commission is a sort of clearing and planning agency for the Allied powers. It has no authority to make any decisions.

Some time ago the Commission asked all the smaller Allied coun-

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Even those points on which the "Big Three" already had decided, apparently are reopened to incorporate French ideas.

Germany may be split four ways instead of three for occupation purposes.

Those appeared tonight to be the main prospects raised by announcement that France has been invited to sit with Britain, the United States and Russia on the European Advisory Commission.

The main work of the Commission is planning the occupation and control of Germany. Considerable progress recently has been made on these problems but none of the work has embraced French ideas. That is because the French have refused to give their counsel unless they could share in the decisions and responsibilities.

The announcement Saturday, following Allied recognition October 23 of the administration of Gen. de Gaulle as the provisional government of France, marked the end of exclusive "Big Three" domination in Europe.

Assuming France's acceptance of the invitation, and with China counted in, it marks the beginning of a "five-power" era for the erection of world peace machinery. In preparation for this, Britain, the United States, Russia and China agreed at Dumbarton Oaks that "in due course" France should be counted as one of the powerful permanent five members of the proposed world security council.

Presumably Saturday's action means that the qualification "in due course" has been met and that France will go on the council immediately if and when the world organization is set up.

But the initial consequences of adding France to the European Advisory Commission are more military than political and they raise several issues with respect to the conclusion of the war against Germany.

The commission is a sort of clearing and planning agency for the Allied powers. It has no authority to make any decisions.

Some time ago the Commission asked all the smaller Allied coun-

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tries of Europe and also France, to submit their ideas for handling Germany. All did except France. Gen. de Gaulle sent word that he would not put in French ideas unless France also could help make the decisions.

Already, however, the Commission had worked out—and Moscow, London and Washington had approved—a set of terms to be imposed after Germany's surrender. The Commission also had worked out and obtained approval for a three-way-split plan for occupying Germany.

Russia would occupy the eastern third, the British the northwestern portion and American troops the southwestern section. The whole administration would be under an Allied military commission in Berlin.

Beyond that period of military occupation decisions still have to be made on long-range policies for control and pacification.

Many diplomatic officials were startled to read in the announcement on France's new position that "among the matters which are receiving close attention of the commission is the question of the surrender terms to be imposed on Germany and the treatment to be accorded that country."

This appeared to mean that every issue of German control, beginning with the surrender terms, will be brought up for review in order to give the French opportunity to express their opinions. Their opinions are strong as to the role France should play.

As long ago as last July Gen. de Gaulle told a Washington news conference that he believed and "all the world believes" that the French army must occupy the Rhineland. Just after his government received diplomatic recognition he said that French troops will occupy such territories as they conquer and that it was inconceivable that Germany could be occupied without French participation.

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Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48369

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date November 6, 1944

Subject Speech at Arnprior, Nov 5/44 ; Gen. McNaughton

Complete Text.

The complete text of Gen. McNaughton's speech follows:

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am indeed grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me of taking part in these dedication services in Arnprior here today and for the further opportunity of saying a few words to you this afternoon. It seems to me there are really three matters, all of which are of present interest not only to you who are gathered here, but also to the public of Canada wherever they may be, on which I think you would like to hear from me. The first is this 7th Victory War Loan. The second is the support which we owe to our armed forces overseas. And the third, and certainly at this time the most vitally important, is the question of the provision of reinforcements for those forces to the fullest extent that will be required.

I will, if I may, deal with all these matters.

The 7th Victory War Loan is now well advanced and, while we have not the figures for all Canada, we do know with certainty that it promises to be an outstanding success. We do know the figures for this community to date and I offer my sincerest congratulations on the fine showing which you have made, and which are the result of the devoted work which has been undertaken and carried through by the many men and women of goodwill who have come forward and undertaken this task. I offer my congratulations too to the "Citizens of Arnprior" who have made it their business to subscribe generously to this loan, for by so doing they have willingly denied themselves many pleasures and luxuries that they might otherwise have had at this time in order that Canada might be provided with the financial resources to carry forward our struggle with our enemies overseas who have sought to threaten the whole basis of this civilization in which we believe and to compromise our way of life. Thanks to Divine Providence and to the Allied armies and navies and air forces these enemies are now being driven back. And perhaps we can glimpse an end to this great struggle which has now raged throughout the world for five years past.

No Relaxation of Effort.

I said perhaps, because if we are to win through in the last hard stretch there must be no relaxation of effort here at home or in the armies in the field. We here in Canada must go on as you have done in this Victory Loan to deny ourselves so that the fruits of our labor many go directly to the forces in the field to help them finish off these cursed nations who have sought to break our right to individual liberty to the freedom of conscience and of expression which our fathers won for us and to which we hold as the most precious things on earth.

Until quite recently in Italy and in northwest Europe our forces were advancing very rapidly. They were driving the Germans before them in great disorder and great victories followed one another in rapid succession. We were reaping to the full the great advantages which lay with us in this mobile type of war, where the superior initiative, the high intelligence and the individual skills of our men are assets which could be given full scope. We reaped to the full the fruits of carefully prepared mobility of our wonderfully effective mechanical transport and armored fighting vehicles and other gear, much of which is the product of our own Canadian factories.

In all these great advances in northwest Europe and in Italy our men have given a marvellous account of themselves. Their gallantry in action—their skill in tactics—their hard endurance has carried their fame throughout the whole known world and we may well take pride in what they have accomplished for the CAUSE.

Perhaps in these months of summer we have become accustomed to victory. Perhaps we have been unduly optimistic that the forward progress would continue with unabated speed. Perhaps we have thought that the end for Germany was nearer than it is.

Form of War Changing.

Now we are coming up against the heavy zone of fortifications which the Nazi has prepared close in to Germany itself and to which he is clinging with desperation for he well knows that when we pass these he is done. The form of war is changing. We are nearly through the mobile phase in which the advantages lay with us. And now we must conduct siege warfare of the most intense character to crush the enemy's defences out of existence and free the way for our infantry to advance.

We must not ease our pressure. We must not let him check the rate of our advance, for if he does, then he gains the time he seeks to make his preparation for the different kind of war he plans—to organize his forces underground for sabotage and murder—to complete new weapons and devices of vast power to use against us.

For siege warfare we need lavish supplies of guns and shells, and these we must provide as a first priority. We have learned that the price of victory can be paid either in lives of men or shells, and so we must see to it that guns and shells go forward in the great quantities that are required. I have visited many of our munitions plants and I have seen the great effort which is being made. I have watched our men and women working long hours day after day and month after month—running into years. The need continues and this effort now must be increased. More men and more women are required in the factories. And I do appeal that all who can will volunteer their services to this task. Women are particularly required for their slim dexterous fingers can do the delicate operations in assembly plants and factories that no man can well accomplish.

I say to those who come forward for this work that you can take the utmost satisfaction in the contribution you are making to your gallant men folk overseas who are now closely engaged in battle with the enemy. You can take the satisfaction that what you do will ease their task and save the precious lives of those who are near and dear to all of us.

Vital Need.

And now I would say a few words to you about our men and units in the field and the vital need that must be met that our forces are maintained as is required in the last phase in which we seek to finally destroy the Nazi—and to assure that the peace which we gain will be safely confirmed.

I believe that they and we are fully determined that we will maintain our just part in the

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great Allied effort that is still required.

For this two things are needed —munitions and men for reinforcements. Munitions, I am certain, are in sight on the lavish scale which is required, and the only question is the men who are needed to keep our units engaged in battle up to strength. This is the vital matter that rightly engages the earnest thoughts of everyone in Canada today, and it is a question for which an answer must be found—and promptly.

Two methods of solution are open, either of which we might take. One is to continue the voluntary system for service overseas. The other is to resort to compulsion.

I know full well that there is an honest difference of opinion as to the respective merits of these systems, and I am going to tell you very frankly what I think about the matter myself.

First, let me say that all through the war and even when I have not been directly concerned with this problem I have continued to give it the closest attention, and during the last few days since again I have responsibility I have explored every possibility with the utmost care. I have read and studied the reports from our officers in the field—I have read and studied the suggestions and proposals made by our officers here—and I am firmly convinced that the best hope lies in the maintenance of our long traditions of voluntary service. We have had this from the earliest days of this war. We had it in the last war until we changed, and then we gained no benefit in time to be of use. We have had it long before in other wars in which we had to fight in the defence of our homes and of our kith and kin.

We have built the system of discipline in our army on the principle of an honorable obligation voluntarliy assumed. That army went through the very difficult and anxious time of waiting for the proper time to strike. It was the high purpose of the men —their devotion to the great cause that they themselves had taken up which gave us the strength to carry through.

That army has now gone through with the greatest credit the stern test of battle, and its morale stands high in the estimation of all the world.

You will I know forgive me if I stress to you the importance of these great advantages which we now have and understand I am sure the anxious thought I have that they should not be lost in any way.

The figures of the reinforcements now available show that we can safely count on some short period yet before there is danger of the situation becoming acute. I think that there is time to tell our public of the great need as I now do. I know their deep interest, and I am confident that, now the need is known, our men and women will come forward to serve—that they will take up this honorable obligation and rally to the support of our gallant comrades overseas. I hope that the public of Canada, knowing the urgency, will give them every support and encouragement.

We have a foul enemy to contend with. We must finish him off quickly. We can only do this if we base our efforts on the united purpose of all Canada—united spiritually in thought and in action.

Speech at Ottawa Nov 6/44 Gen McNaughton

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Text follows on p. 2

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The text of General McNaughton's formal speech is carried later on so some attention is now paid to the 25-minute question period which followed, after Mr. Halpenny observed, "I will accept any question that is not embarrassing to our guest."

First question was, "Is the policy advocated by the minister popular in the eight English speaking provinces?"

General McNaughton: "That is a fair question. I have never been one who rested decisions in great matters on popularity, one way or another. When I was first summoned to organize the 1st Canadian Division, I made it clear to the government, beyond peradventure of a doubt, that Canada could only carry the war to success if based on the voluntary enlistment system. When I came back from overseas in the last war, I was commanded by Sir Arthur Currie (Canadian commander in the Great War) to give study to the basis on which our forces of the future might be organized and from then on I have never ceased to study the problem. I have given my life to that particular kind of work and I sought to carry the little nucleus of militia we had through the hard days (between wars) when we were scorned by all and sundry. I sought to keep it alive as a spark which could be rekindled and rebuilt in time of danger as a means of Canada's defence.

"I have seen what voluntary effort did and I say if we had not had that system we would have had no army today worthy of the name. There was a score of years when everybody, including Parliament, drove us underground so we hardly knew what to do to hold together the militia as a defiance to keep the enemy from our shores when war came again. Popularity has nothing to do with the situation today, as far as I am concerned; it rests on merit itself."

Frank Williams, admidst cheers and cries of "Hear, Hear," asked what the minister would say to young boys coming of age who had lost brothers overseas. "To send such boys overseas would be heartless and utterly bad when you have 70,000 Zombies you don't know what to do with," Mr. Williams averred.

General McNaughton: "This is no way to debate one of the most serious questions in front of us today. There never was a time when we should approach matters with open minds and take our conclusion on the basis of cold, considered reason."

There were some cries, "You haven't answered the question."

"Political Expediency."

Mr. Taylor—"Giving the minister credit for his personal sincerity in setting forth the policy he has here tonight, will General McNaughton say, in his conscience, that also he is satisfied the Prime Minister is not looking to political expediency only?" There were cheers and applause and cries, "65 (Quebc) Votes," "Answer 'Yes' or 'No' ."

General McNaughton—"Our army in 1939 was raised on the basis of advice I then gave to the government in favor of voluntary enlistment. The very fact I have accepted the responsibilities of defence minister which I have today shows conclusively, I think, that the Prime Minister of Canada has stuck to the advice given him by myself and those who made a special study of the position. I would not have been here today under any circumstances whatever if the fundamental basis of voluntary enlistment, which I believe with every atom of my being, were not acceptable to the government of Canada."

A voice from the audience, "What about what is acceptable to the people of Canada, not the government?"

John Young, observing that "everything has been done to evade conscription," asked "Why does the government not give conscription a try?"

Test in 1917.

General McNaughton—"I have the most lively recollection of the test made of conscription in 1917 and I know what that test cost in the battlefield then. It cost us one of the finest divisions we ever had, the 5th Division under Garnet Hughes, which had to be broken up for reinforcements while the public mind was upset about conscription and while the whole flow of volunteers stopped. That was the cost then to us when we were changing the fundamental basis of army service in mid-stream. I for one do not want ever to be associated with anything like the heart-break we suffered at that time."

Somebody asked a question whether, with new forms of battle in this war, new methods of recruitment for the forces were not needed as well.

General McNaughton—"I don't think the new forms of battle have anything to do with the problem here. I think the man who comes forward voluntarily and shoulders the obligation of honor to fight for his country is a better man and better able to fight than the conscript."

There were cries, "The Germans are doing pretty well otherwise" and "What about the U.S. draft?"

"Zombies at M.D.H.Q."

Another veteran then asked, "I would like to know what the minister is going to do with the zombies at M.D.H.Q. here in Ottawa and other zombies in No. 8 Building, who are from one regiment around Quebec city?" Cheers followed this question, and someone called out, "Now you have put your finger on it."

General McNaughton—"I may say that engaging the very earnest attention of the adjutant general are the very men of whom you speak and what he is going to do about them I will probably know in one or two days."

A voice—"And the zombies are put out on subsistence."

General McNaughton—"Don't forget, however, I did not put them out on subsistence."

Another question was, "Why did Great Britain follow the compulsory system of enlistment instead of depending on the good old voluntary system?"

General McNaughton—"I believe we have our own problems and that we have to solve them in our own way. We must give our problems consideration, take a decision, and then, as in all military matters, stick to it."

Mr. Halpenny, though there were some members of the audience still obviously desirous of asking the minister further question, observed—"I think General McNaughton has been more than generous in coming here and answering questions. (Applause). General McNaughton knew the attitude of the Legion before he came to this meeting and I think we should conclude our questions now because we did not bring the minister here to embarrass him."

General McNaughton read the first part of his prepared speech without much interruption. However, when he spoke of two plans of enlistment, the voluntary one and the other "the resort to conscription," the meeting broke out into wild cheering, and cries of "Exactly." He continued "I know full well . . ." "You don't," somebody shouted. "I know there are honest differences of opinion about this matter," the minister went on. "Not a bit of it," called sombeody.

An Angry Chorus.

When General McNaughton went on to say he is firmly convinced the best hope for Canada lies in continuing the long tradition of voluntary enlistment, there was an angry chorus of "No, No," "Send the Zombies," "Don't listen to expediency," "What about men who have been over there fighting for four years?"

When General McNaughton spoke about the morale of the Canadian army being the highest of any in the war, a voice shouted, "And the Zombies stand the lowest."

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Then the miniter, reiterating part of his Sunday speech at Arnprior about there being a short period yet before there is danger of reinforcements becoming acute, somebody called, "How long?" and another, "Wait till winter comes."

The minister referred to his confident belief that, now the need is known, "our men and women will come forward to serve." "Yes, the women will come," somebody agreed, and there was laughter and ridicule.

"I hope the public will give every support and encouragement to men to enlist voluntarily and that is my declaration of faith in the voluntary system," General McNaughton continued.

"Dictated by Mackenzie King," and "Get a Boy Scout," voices shouted.

"I ask you to accept by assurance and belief that no other way than continuance of the voluntary system will be in time to be of use in this war," the minister went on. This was greeted by a murmur and a chorus of "No, No."

Laughter greeted the minister's reference to the home defence army men carrying on a multiplicity of purposes. Applause followed his assertion that N.R.M.A. men would not be permitted to carry on other than military duty. When he added no more men would be supplied by the army for such work, granted it was more or less essential, a voice cried, "What does King say to that?"

Pledge to Men Overseas.

When the minister gave his pledge to volunteers overseas that the draftees would not get an earlier chance at remunerative jobs ahead of the volunteers, a voice shouted, "It has happened already."

Unbelieving shouts of "Oh, Oh" followed the minister's expressed belief that with draftees being "encouraged" to play their part as soldiers the reinforcement problem would largely disappear. "Providing I have your support and I want to give them (draftees) a new deal," the General added. "Give them guts," a voice replied.

Outburst of Applause.

The General's announcement about leave in Canada for volunteers with long service was accorded a great outburst of applause.

Concluding, the General read his message to the army overseas on assuming the portfolio of defence. "I have sent a message to our army pledging myself to them; I ask you to join me in this pledge."

"We do, but not the Zombies," someone shouted and then the General had finished his formal speech.

Earlier in the meeting 45 of 82 new members were welcomed into the branch. Of the 82, it was stated, 57 are veterans of this war. The branch now has about 1,282 members of whom about 300 are veterans of this war.

Lady Byng, widow of Lord Byng, one time commander of the Canadian army in the last war and later governor-general of Canada, occupied a seat on the platform as an honorary life member of the Legion.

Mrs. Bernard M. Alexandor spoke briefly on behalf of the Legion Poppy Day on Nov. 11, Armistice Day for the Great War.

About seven members of the R.C.M.P. were on duty in the building during the evening, but their services were not required as Mr. Halpenny was able to keep the meeting under control at all times.

The meeting was held in the Museum auditorium which served to house the House of Commons for four years after the disastrous fire which swept the Parliament Buildings in 1916.

Partial Text.

A partial text of General McNaughton's speech, omitting the lengthy quotations he made from his Arnprior speech follows:

Mr. President;

Comrades of Past Wars:

This is the first opportunity which I have had to thank you personally for the action which you took some eighteen months ago when you elected me an honorary life member of your branch of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service ~~Your letter to me was written~~

Your yetter to me was written in May, 1943, and I received it in June, at which time we were in the midst of the planning, the special training and the moves of the troops of the First Canadian Division into place to launch the attack on Sicily.

Those were very anxious days and I can tell you now that your message and your good wishes and the confidence which you expressed in your comrades in the Canadian Army overseas was very much appreciated indeed.

Tonight, you have done me this great honor of presenting me with the badge of this honorary membership and I will always treasure it and I hope I may from time to time be privileged to attend your meetings and to take some part in your discussions, for there are many matters concerning the welfare of those who have served Canada in this and other wars on which I would like to talk with you.

I say to you that I believe the Legion and the great organizations which have been set up in Canada by the veterans of past wars have a very important part to play in all that must be done. You are men who have had experience of battle. You have gone through the days of bitter struggle when success hung in narrow balance. You have seen that success and victory achieved and then, when the fighting ceased, you came back to Canada to go through this difficult experience of demobilization and re-establishment in civil life.

First Hand Knowledge.

From all this you have acquired a first-hand knowledge which should be turned to full account as we grapple with the problems which will present themselves to the younger generation of Canadian soldiers. There are many things which were done after the first world war which should not have been done. There were many things which would have helped which were not done, and it is only by drawing wisdom from past experience that we can hope to make things right for the future.

However, it is not of post war problems that I would talk to you tonight. We have yet to bring this titanic struggle, in which we are now engaged, to a satisfactory conclusion and meanwhile we must concentrate our full attention on what is required to support our forces in the field in the battles they yet must fight before we pass this last hard stretch.

In numerous talks which I have given to the public in the last few weeks, I have tried to point out the nature of the task which has yet to be completed. We now, both in Italy and in northwest Europe, are up against fortified zones of great depth and strength, with every obstacle and device to hamper our advance which the German mind has been able to conceive. Hundreds of thousands of slave labor have been employed for years to create these fixed defences. They have been carefully sited by the skilled engineers of the German army to give them every advantage of terrain. They are provided with all the accessories to make life easy for those in garrison—land or water—communications, bomb proof shelters—concrete machinegun and anti-tank posts—anti-aircraft guns—roads and railways — everything which could be thought of which could be of use. To pass these lines we must turn to the practice of siege warfare of the most intense character and above all else, we must have guns and shells in lavish quantities.

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You have heard me say many times that the price of victory must be paid either in shells or in the lives of our men and every shell which can be produced and shipped and delivered at the front is a contribution to preserving the lives of those who are very dear to us.

I have spoken in many of our munition plants to bring the importance of this matter to the attention of the workers engaged on this vital task—to ask them to increase their efforts on behalf of our men overseas—to ask them to beg their friends to volunteer their services to increase the numbers engaged. I feel the importance of this matter so keenly that I will not neglect any occasion which offers to bring it constantly before the attention of the people of Canada. And I have faith in those people of ours that once they know and recognize a need they will see to it that the proper answer is given.

Much of the work in the filling and assembly plants, and even in the factories where the shells are produced, can best be done by women. They handle the delicate gear with great precision and they have a natural aptitude for many of the operations. We men must admit that in this they are superior to us.

So what is now required is that more women come forward to undertake this vital work and I appeal to all who can to do so. To those who do I would say you can take the utmost satisfaction in the work you do and its contribution to saving the lives of our men.

For Reinforcements.

There is another great need of which I also would like to speak to you, and that is men for reinforcements. Yesterday afternoon I spoke of this at a dedication service in Arnprior, and no doubt many of you know what I said but the importance of the matter is so great that I would ask you to let me read to you the exact words which I used:

(Here he read extensively from his Arnprior speech, the text of which was published in The Citizen yesterday.)

"Declaration of Faith."

That statement, old comrades, is my declaration of faith in the system of voluntary enlistment for services overseas.

I know full well and I have said that here and elsewhere there is an honest difference of opinion, but we cannot proceed two ways at once and I earnestly plead with you—you who are veterans in past wars who know—to accept the assurance that I give that there is no other way to correct this situation to be in time to be of use.

In the last few days since I have had the opportunity I have been investigating the situation of the N.R.M.A., men and recruits, and there are many steps which can and must be taken to bring this situation into order.

First, I find that this group of men has been held together for a multiplicity of purposes. Some of them have been trained as soldiers. Others, being fully trained as soldiers, have been used from time to time as a sort of reserve of workers to move about and undertake construction and other tasks—others have been similarly used to gather crops—to work in the mines and in the woods.

No doubt all these works are of national importance but I do not think that they should be done by soldiers to the prejudice of their proceeding overseas.

"Quite Fantastic."

I find that many of these men have been able to obtain remuneration on a scale which is quite fantastic and I do not wonder that those who seek their personal advantage and who have their chance to make large sums in cash would fail to come forward to volunteer for service overseas.

I have issued instruction that this practice is to cease—no more men are to be supplied and the officers of the department will at the earliest recall any now out who are fit for military duty.

I feel, and I know our comrades overseas feel, too, that this large group of men is a danger to their prospects of remunerative employment after demobilization—that they being on the spot will have the first call on the best jobs. They and you can be assured that this will not be allowed to happen. I have promised fair play to our comrades overseas and they most certainly shall have it, even if it means delaying the demobilization of the N.R.M.A. men who do not volunteer and so remain in Canada.

Now this—you will agree—is all negative, but I have positive proposals as well to correct abuses and unfortunate procedure and attitudes which seem to have developed or crept in.

These N.R.M.A. men were placed under the direction of the Department of National Defence to be trained as soldiers, and trained as soldiers they will be.

They will not be subject to the abuse of which I have had instances reported to me. They will be given the best officers and instructors that I can find. They will be given training on the same fine basis that we gave to our troops in England preparing for the assault. They will be encouraged to play their part as soldiers and to accept the honorable obligation of service overseas and I have confidence that with these new conditions and new background the problem will largely disappear, provided—and this is most important—that I can have the support of you men who know what a little sympathy and help will do for men who have been driven. I want to give them a new deal and I beg your aid in this. You cannot drive men of spirit but you can encourage and lead.

Leave to Canada.

From the information which I have I am so convinced that this project will give us the reinforcements that we need when we require them that I have already taken another step which otherwise I could not have done. I have ordered that arrangements should be made forthwith to open leave to Canada for those of very long service overseas and I hope the first of these will be home with us for Christmas.

Shipping is a difficulty and so the number wil lbe small at first—I cannot yet give details.

And so now my friends and comrades, I ask your help. I have sent a message to our army pledging myself to them. I ask you to join me in this pledge.

Message to Army.

To all ranks of the Canadian army overseas.

"Through all the long months since I had to leave you I have followed your progress with the deepest interest. Your performance on the field of battle has been magnificent and all at home in Canada have thrilled with pride in your gallantry and your mastery of arms.

"In a steady succession of hard-fought actions, in Italy and northwest Europe, you have driven the enemy before you in disorder and you have played your full part in bringing victory nearer.

"Your great successes have given the deepest satisfaction and from my heart I congratulate you all.

"Now, I have been called again to a position of responsibility in your affairs. It is my concern to see to it that you will have the support you need; and we will maintain our just part in the great Allied effort to bring the enemy to final defeat. It is my concern to watch over your every interest now; and when peace shall again be established.

"Then, we will enter a new and changing era of great promise for Canada and my concern and duty will be to ensure that you who have borne the heavy burden in the heat of battle shall have fair play."

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CANADA AND THE WAR

D 48374

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 8, 1944

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1944

D 48375

CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE ARMY OVERSEAS

Broadcast by

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

Wednesday, November 8, 1944

I am going to speak to you tonight of Canada's support of our army overseas.

The government has been giving the closest attention to all the available facts. We have been examining the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. We have been considering particularly the methods of supplying reinforcements required by the army. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety we have taken the time needed to look at all the facts. In war time conditions change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught us all that nothing is more uncertain than war.

I emphasize the question of reinforcements because no other question is more important to our fighting men. The government is fully aware of the public concern about reinforcements.

The Problem of Reinforcements as Related to Canada's Total Military Effort

Let me begin by placing the question in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is about three-quarters of a million. All but 68.000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than twelve millions, particularly when account is taken of the manpower required for war production and vital civilian services.

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The problem of reinforcements concerns only one of the three armed services. The navy and the air force have no such problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements. For that, we should all be thankful. The reason is that air force casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than were anticipated.

The present strength of the army including the draftees is over 455,000 men. Of this number, about 390,000 are volunteers. Over 45,000 men have volunteered for general service since January 1st of the present year. Most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

Concerning the Training of Reinforcements

It is against this background that we should examine the statement that reinforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian army is a huge organization. At one time or another, more than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of Canada's army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of our army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since they went into action in July, 1943, our troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the army is not being adequately supported.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. When we speak of the number of casualties, this does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, and also those who because of sickness or other incapacity are not available for immediate combat.

The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be in northwestern Europe. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most

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careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the probable nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June. The army has been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements. This procedure is known as "remustering". Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm. But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

Concerning the Reserve of Reinforcements

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of reinforcements for the army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to reinforcements for the infantry. Infantry reinforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the army overseas, Colonel Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates, the flow of infantry reinforcements from Canada should be accelerated. One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential reinforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. Because we cannot tell how long the war may last, we must, as long as a possible need may arise, continue to recruit men for the army to keep up the supply of reinforcements. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained.

Colonel Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which had to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of reinforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many of you will ask at once, is: why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. It is not, however, in accord with the policy of keeping our army overseas a 100 per cent voluntary army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war. We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country would be more united in their support, if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Concerning the Change of Minister of the Department of National Defence

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He considered, therefore, that he had no alternative but to recommend that draftees should be sent overseas as reinforcements. The acceptance of this recommendation would have required agreement by the government that no alternative existed to a resort to conscription for overseas service. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. Days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of all possible alternatives.

When I realized that unless Colonel Ralston's recommendation were accepted by the Cabinet, his resignation would follow, I felt it to be my duty, as Prime Minister, to seek the most expert advice I believed to be available. I accordingly consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, no man, I knew, had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted.

The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted. Following his resignation, General McNaughton assumed the duties of Minister of National Defence.

I regret deeply the difference which led to Colonel Ralston's resignation. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war. In this matter Colonel Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience in what he feels he owes to his pledged word.

I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

Continuance of Voluntary Enlistment Preferable to Resort to Conscription

Let me give you some facts and figures which were before the government in reaching its decision.

There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay, and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect. The facts are quite different.

In March, 1941, we began to call up men for compulsory service in Canada for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total number of men enrolled as draftees is about 68,000. Of these some 9,000 are on extended leave, on compassionate or other grounds. Many of them are unsuited for military duties. Of the so-called "home defence" force the effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000.

Here I pause to correct one widespread false impression about the draftees. Of the 60,000 only 23,000 are from the Province of Quebec, and only 25,000 from all Canada are French speaking.

You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000 including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers. About 6,000 draftees have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force. The largest group, about 43,000 have enlisted as volunteers for General Service in the army. General Service includes service overseas. In the army overseas fighting today are many thousands of men who were once draftees.

The "home defence" army is not a static force. Its composition is constantly changing. This year, nearly 15,000 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees, and more than 10,000 draftees have volunteered for General Service. Since the landing in France in June voluntary enlistments for overseas from the "home defence" troops have been higher than the numbers called up and accepted as draftees.

From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. The military authorities report that enlisting gives the draftees a new

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outlook, new self-respect, and a determination that comes from having made a great decision. That is bound to make them better soldiers. This is very important, because we are as much concerned with the quality, as with the numbers, of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

We must remember that if draftees are sent overseas before they volunteer, they will not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. Over and over again it has been said that conscripted men would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent overseas to join. It is also said that the presence of conscripts would constitute a source of division, and possible dissension, in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would have to take, if it were necessary to enable Canada to bear her just share of the load in the winning of the war.

Concerning Numbers of Trained Men Available and Effect thereon of Resort to Conscription

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. There are, in addition, many thousands of volunteers in training in the army in Canada. Every day draftees are volunteering for overseas service. We believe their number can be increased by emphasizing anew the need and the opportunity for overseas service.

We had to ask ourselves one other question: How many additional men would be immediately available if compulsion were resorted to in order to send draftees overseas? I have told you that the present effective total of draftees in the army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry. It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date.

Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. The voluntary system has not broken down. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home, in the period immediately ahead, particularly to provide personnel in an advanced stage of training.

How great the difficulties would be in substituting conscription for overseas service for the voluntary system no one knows. But everyone who is honest with himself knows that there would be

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genuine difficulties and that they might be very grave. Instead, we are redoubling our efforts to meet the existing situation by the voluntary method. In these efforts, I appeal for the patriotic co-operation of all Canadians.

Concerning the Position of Men Drafted for National Service in Canada

Many of you will ask why, if they are not to be sent overseas, the draftees are not disbanded? There are several reasons. One is that ever since early in 1942 draftees have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands. Many more are trained, and will wish to volunteer for service overseas now that it is clear that the need for "home defence" has passed. Another reason is that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it has been decided to follow the principle that those men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be given the first opportunity of demobilization. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service.

But this does not mean that draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and certain other non-operational duties. Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are being performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of these duties will necessarily continue to be discharged by draftees.

While we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, compulsion where necessary will continue to be used to ensure that fit men of military age perform national service required by our war effort. Draftees employed in national service will remain in the army under discipline at army rates of pay. Obviously, it would not be fair to allow draftees preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Another reason why draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded, is that so long as they are in the army and adequately trained, they will continue to be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered.

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Means to be Employed to Increase the Flow of Infantry Reinforcements

To increase the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army we shall intensify our effort to encourage voluntary enlistment. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every volunteer who is fit for combat duty. We shall continue to draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service.

We shall make every effort to have all draftees told individually of the need for their services. We shall also make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful re-establishment in civil life. In this we shall follow the principle set forth by General McNaughton: "You cannot drive men of spirit but you can encourage and lead them."

The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air and on every fighting front is there by his own choice. In this world conflict Canada has produced a race of noble warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to destroy that magnificent record. It is the hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men, in the army and outside its ranks.

Appeal for Full Support to Canada's Army Overseas

I would ask my fellow Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party to join with me in the appeal which I now make for full support to Canada's army overseas. I ask all to join no less unitedly than we have joined in the appeal for the Victory Loan. This is a higher call, and it should bring forth an even greater response.

No pride could be greater than our pride in what our armed forces are doing to help win the war, and to give Canada a foremost place among the free nations of the world.

The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today and to those men and women who are giving them full support. They will be the leaders of our country through years to come.

To you, young men, who are serving in Canada's "home defence" forces, I should like to make a special appeal. Because of the training you have already received, you are in an exceptional position

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to give service which is particularly needed at this time. I have told you of the need. Let me emphasize the opportunity—the greatest you will ever have—to further serve your country and to bring honour to yourselves and your families. You will never regret the decision to do all you possibly can to support Canada's fighting army. In doing that, you will be helping to destroy the enemy of mankind and to provide security and opportunity for yourselves, your children and your fellow-men. You will be doing more than that. You will be helping to remove a source of misunderstanding, bitterness and division in our own country and to preserve its strength through years to come. You will be helping to lay the foundations of a better world.

A Victorious Canada, Free, United and Strong

I appeal no less earnestly to the friends and families of our young men to help and encourage them in a decision which will mean everything to them through the rest of their lives.

It is the government's responsibility to make the decision as to the best methods of supporting Canada's army overseas. No decision could possibly please everyone. We have made the decision which we believe will best support the army and contribute most effectively to an utmost national effort in the winning of the war. But to achieve these ends, we shall need the help and co-operation of the people as a whole. Partisan controversy and division at this time will weaken, not strengthen Canada's war effort. If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

D 48384

It had become clear that the results of the public appeal might be too long delayed to meet the needs of the soldiers overseas. The military authorities were of that belief, having regard to the time required to sufficiently train men overseas.

D 48385

"Not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary"

"Necessary and advisable"

This brings me to the govt's policy as set forth in June 1942 and which has been defined as

"Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary" - and I might add the words "to the extent necessary".

See statement re

D 48386

Policy under O-in-C ~~1880~~ 8891 ?

Precisely what I said in terms I would do in 1942

Here answer Hanson's question. .

Here set out what was said in 1940.

D 48387

Situation similar to that in Sir John A. Macdonald's day

Where supporters will be obliged to resign

Those responsible for defeat of administration must assume responsibility of forming a government

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See article in Journal

Run over different groups

D 48388

With possibility of no government

Note 3 crises: (1) Ralston's resignation

(2) eve of passing order in C. P.C. ~~1889~~ 8891 ?

conscription to the extent necessary agreed upon

(3) House of Commons

alternative govt.

D 48389

<u>At end</u>

Move resolution

Make clear request by myself to House of Commons to endorse the government's action as set forth in P.C. 18891 for conscription only to the extent necessary to support our troops overseas in Europe.

It is not to be construed as an endorsation of government policies generally. So far as it relates to confidence in myself, that confidence is being expressed in relation to myself as the one charged with the responsibility of seeing that the policy set forth in the O.-in-C. is duly administered.

We have not abandoned the voluntary principle. We shall continue our efforts to secure all voluntary enlistments possible.

Note difference with Tory motion - <u>all out conscription</u>

(See first day's motion)

In these two operations—Holland and Italy—very heavy losses have been sustained, in the greatest proportions by the British and Canadian forces. . . . In the fighting along the Leopold Canal, major water barrier south of the Scheldt, Canadian troops met the sternest opposition, and units suffered heavily.

No one can be blamed for hoping that victory may come to the Allies and peace may come to Europe in 1945 . . . but it will take the full exertions of the three Great Powers, every scrap of strength they can give.—Prime Minister Churchill, London, Wednesday, Nov. 9.

The Confession

The broadcast which Prime Minister King made to the nation Wednesday night did nothing to relieve the anxiety which the Government crisis stirred in the public mind. On the contrary, anxiety has deepened. What the people heard was not a plan for solving the shortage of trained reinforcements, now endangering the lives of our fighting men, but a pathetically confused confession of their own worst fears and suspicions.

The Prime Minister revealed that the Government has no practical, no immediately serviceable alternative to Col. Ralston's recommendation that the conscript forces be sent overseas as infantry reinforcements. Instead, it hopes by special appeals to have the Canadian people, and especially those draftees who thus far have ignored all appeals, provide a voluntary solution.

It is not necessary to argue the case as the Prime Minister presented it. The defense he offered for his action and Gen. McNaughton's advice is self-contradictory. He said there was "no actual shortage of reinforcements now," and in the same breath revealed "the army (had) been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained for other arms into the pool of infantry reinforcements."

As to the charges of insufficiently trained men being rushed into the front lines, he described these as "exceptional cases." The public has been left to guess at the Prime Minister's interpretation of what is "exceedingly small" numbers against the background of evidence which has been flooding back to Canada in the letters of officers and men.

Why should any poorly trained reinforcements go into battle in a properly and adequately reinforced army? Why should there be a single life wasted in this way while there are 8,000 men in the conscript army who the Prime Minister admits are fully trained for combat duty, and the Government is pledged to conscription when necessary?

The Prime Minister told the nation the draftees are not needed overseas, and promised the same audience that "we shall make every effort to have all draftees told individually of the need for their services." He sought to prove that the 60,000 conscripts now on strength would be of little use in the present emergency, and then addressed this "special appeal" to them: "Because of the training you have already received you are in an exceptional position to give service which is particularly needed at this time."

Mr. King said it would be a terrible thing to "create division and possibly dissension in the fighting units" by mixing conscripts with volunteers. He also said the Government can only get "volunteers" by keeping conscription. He reached his emotional peak in his plea for keeping the Canadian 1st Army 100 per cent voluntary, ignoring what the whole world knows—that over half that army is composed of conscript British and American divisions.

The Prime Minister can settle with his own conscience his accusation that only unpatriotic "partisans" will refuse to endorse his course. The fact which the Canadian people cannot escape is that the speech had been judged and found unworthy of them by the one man most competent to judge. The arguments which Mr. King offered them were the same arguments, minus many important facts, which Col. Ralston, as the man responsible for the support of the army, could not accept.

It is not to be supposed that the other Cabinet Ministers who stood with him during the crisis—Messrs. Macdonald, Ilsley, Crerar, Gibson and McLarty—found it any more acceptable. There is logic in their deferring their departure till the Victory Loan campaign is passed. There was not in Mr. King's reasoning the logic which would alter their convictions. Significantly, it was not possible for the Prime Minister to assure the public that he had. He defined his

1 of/de

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J.W.P.
26/11/44

D 48391

When is a Man Actually a Conscript?

The authority vested by P.C. 8891 in the Minister of National Defence to despatch N.R.M.A. personnel overseas compulsorily will not be invoked until the men reach the point of embarkation, and are on the point of embarking. Until that stage, the Minister has adequate powers under the law as it stood before this Order in Council was passed.

Every man who volunteers up to the point of receiving the order to go on board ship will cross the gang plank as a general service man, not an N.R.M.A. man.

As to the point raised about "compulsion to volunteer", it can be said that until he receives the order to go on board ship no man will know absolutely certainly that he, as an individual, will in fact be despatched. What he will know is that his unit has been selected for despatch. But it will be obvious that the units selected must contain numbers considerably in excess of those who will actually go on to the ships. Right up

D 48392

to the last minute, there is bound to be wastage through illness, accidents, etc. and a considerable margin for safety is necessary in order to ensure that adequate numbers actually embark.

Only the men who embark without converting to general service will be counted as N.R.M.A. men despatched from Canada.

Should N.R.M.A. men be permitted to volunteer for general service after embarking?

The answer is yes. Under P.C. 8891, these men are only liable for service in Europe. It is to the advantage of the State to have them convert at any stage to general service. Once they have done so they become available for service in any theatre. It is also to the man's advantage as it permits him to remove (the stigma any invidious association which attaches to a conscripted man.

any suggestion of difference

D 48393

Why conscripted men in Europe must be allowed gratuities.

The Government has already recognized that the men who went to Kiska are entitled to gratuities. It is obviously out of the question to deny the gratuities to the men who are sent to greater danger in Europe.

But like the Kiska men, under General McNaughton's proposal, they will count only their service outside Canada. If any of them return to Canada and continue to serve, they cannot count the time in Canada, so general service men will always preserve some advantage. This approximates as closely to equal justice as it is practicable to reach.

D 48394

Will Compulsion Strengthen the War Effort?

Unrevised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3521

Revised Hansard
p. 3240

"..... the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort."

D 48395

National Resources Mobilization Act (1940)

Passed House of Commons June 20, 1940

Received Royal Assent June 21, 1940

National Resources Mobilization Act, Amendment (1942)

Passed House of Commons July 23, 1942

Received Royal Assent August 1, 1942

National Selective Service

Manpower and a Total War Effort
August 19, 1942

(printed copy attached)

D 48396

Extract from reprint of
Broadcast by Rt. Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King
"Manpower and a Total War Effort"
August 19, 1942

"The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service."

D 48397

CANADA AND THE WAR

MANPOWER AND A TOTAL WAR EFFORT

National Selective Service

BROADCAST BY

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

AUGUST 19, 1942

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

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

D 48398

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MANPOWER AND A TOTAL WAR EFFORT

National Selective Service

BROADCAST BY

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

AUGUST 19, 1942

I am speaking to you on a memorable day. You have learned that, after long months of training, Canadian soldiers from Britain have been in action against the enemy. We know how eager the army overseas has been to share the actual combat with their comrades in the navy and the air force. We were proud to hear that our troops had a foremost place in the raid on Dieppe.

The news of any action should not be allowed to destroy our sense of perspective of this world-wide conflict. We have reached one of the gravest hours in history. This is true whatever appearances there may be to the contrary at any given moment.

The Germans are still advancing into the richest areas of southern Russia. Their advance threatens to cut Soviet communications with the forces of the United Nations in Persia, or Iran as it has come to be known, and with their forces in the Middle East. The Nazi advance threatens Persia, and beyond Persia, India.

60150—2

D 48399

From the Far East, the Japanese advance westward has reached the frontiers of India. The Japanese forces in Burma are being strengthened for a drive into India itself.

The Magnitude of the Danger

It is plainer than ever that Germany and Japan are engaged in the greatest pincer movement in the whole history of warfare. Their design is to envelop the vast land mass of Russia and China by joining forces in India.

India itself is divided and threatened with disorder. All free peoples sympathize with Indian aspirations for self-government. But deeply as we may regret lost opportunities, we cannot have any sympathy with a course of conduct which places in danger the freedom of mankind. The weakening of Indian powers of resistance can only help the Axis; it cannot help India.

It is not only on land that the outlook is dark. On all the seven seas, the naval supremacy of the United Nations is gravely threatened. The Axis powers are making a stupendous effort to cut off vital supplies at the source, and to isolate North America from the Old World. Japanese landings in Alaska, and attacks already made on both coasts of our own country have brought the danger to our very doors.

Need for the Utmost Exertions

The United Nations have not yet begun to win this war. The danger is not only plainer than ever, it is greater than ever. We shall gain nothing by refusing to face the gravity of the situation. It should not be the occasion for despair, but rather for grim determination. It is clearer than ever that the freedom of the world, and with it the freedom of our own continent and our own country, can only be saved by the utmost exertions of all the United Nations.

The picture fortunately is not wholly dark. Russia and China have been gravely weakened, but their peoples fight on with unparalleled heroism. Despite her losses, Russia has immense resources of manpower and materials and a huge territory untouched by the enemy. In Egypt the enemy has been halted, and held at the very moment when all there seemed to be lost. The Mediterranean has not been closed. Britain remains a fortress of world freedom. From the British base, offensive action has steadily increased. The nations of the British Commonwealth continue to combine their forces and to fight as one. With every week that passes, Canadian and American forces at sea, on land and in the air, are adding to the strength of the United Nations in all the theatres of war. In the Pacific severe blows have been dealt to Japanese power. The immense strength of the United States is making itself felt on all the continents in the world. Complete agreement exists among the Allied powers on the present and future plans of campaign.

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The great strength of the United Nations affords us the needed courage to turn our hopes into the reality of successful action. The magnitude of the danger must increase our determination. More essential than ever to the winning of the war is the need of the most complete organization of all efforts. To this one end, Canada's contribution must be made just as comprehensive and effective as it can possibly be made. Every citizen must make his most useful individual contribution.

The Aim of Manpower Policy

The aim and the means employed by the government to direct the services of all men and women into the most needed channels are described as its manpower policy. The government's manpower policy has already touched the lives of millions of Canadians, but there still remain considerable numbers who are capable of rendering much greater service than any they have thus far performed.

The government's policy is that every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and which the demands of war require. This policy will necessarily immediately affect all but the very old, the very young and the disabled among us. A total effort for total war has been the goal towards which the government has been steadily striving. While much has been achieved, we have now come to the time when, on all sides, any and every means necessary to the accomplishment of our aim must be employed. The government's policy is a positive, not a negative policy. It will be administered without fear or favour and without regard for race, or creed, or class. It must be recognized that the security of each individual is bound up in the security of the nation as a whole. Every person must regard his services as essential to the combined effort. Moreover all should realize that the lives of our fighting men at sea, on land and in the air depend on men for the reinforcement of their ranks and on unremitting toil on the farm, in the mine, in the forest, in the mill and the factory, and on the merchant ships. Our growing consciousness of the danger will, I believe, increase the readiness of all to accept the added direction of their efforts.

The Need for the Services of All

I have told you that the services of all are required. This includes the services of women as well as of men; the services alike of young and old; the services, as I have said, of all except the very young, the very old and the disabled. The power represented by these combined services, we speak of as "total manpower". As you see, it includes, as well "womanpower" and the power of youth.

The government is determined, as far as it is humanly possible, to make sure that the best use is made of the services of all men

D 48401

and women, and that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of essential service, in the armed forces, in war production or in a vital civilian activity. Selection enforced where need be by positive action on the part of the State is the method employed to ensure this end. The phrase used to describe this process is "national selective service".

I do not need to tell you that, to the total war effort which is our goal, it is not only the services of all that are essential, but what is of equal if not of greater importance, the efficient use of those services.

The efficient use of services of men and women for war purposes demands two things. It demands first that the services of all persons not needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people should be employed directly for war purposes. This, in military language, is spoken of as "mobilizing" manpower. Secondly, it demands that the services of the persons who are thus "mobilized" shall be employed in the most useful manner.

The services of men and women are imperatively needed for the armed forces. All, however, cannot be employed in the armed forces. For example, it would not be possible to have a total effort if so many men were training for the navy that none were left to build ships. We could not have a total effort if so many men were taken into the army that enough were not left to make tanks and guns and shells. One could go on and give hundreds of similar examples, but others will suggest themselves to your own minds. Those whose services are needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, if they are doing all they can in their respective occupations, should not feel that they have no place in the war effort.

A Balanced Programme

Parliament, as you are aware, has given the government immense powers to control and direct the total services of men and women to meet the needs of war. I propose to tell you how some of these powers have been used. I wish also to speak of a number of new measures it is intended to employ.

I think the manpower policy might be clearer to you were I to answer a number of questions which many of you have already been asking.

The first question I shall answer is: What tasks are men and women needed for in wartime? Men—and women, too,—must be raised for the fighting forces. And to achieve a total effort we must not only raise, but be prepared to maintain, a navy, an army and an air force as large as Canada can support in a long war.

Men and women are needed to make the machines, the munitions and weapons of war for our fighting men, and to provide their food and clothing and shelter.

D 48402

Men and women are also needed to make machines and munitions of war for our partners in the war. More men and women are also needed to provide food for the people and the armies of our allies in the active fighting zones.

In wartime, as in time of peace, the people of Canada must continue to be fed, clothed and sheltered; the young must be educated; the sick and the elderly must be cared for; police and fire protection must be provided; transportation must be maintained—a large undertaking in a widespread country. Everyone can think of other work which cannot be neglected. All civilian tasks should, of course, be cut down to the limit. But even when cut to the limit, to fulfill them requires a very large number of men and women.

It is, also, of first importance, that all the demands on the services of our men and women should be kept in balance. If too many persons are allotted to one task, some other task will suffer. There are few more difficult problems than accurately to decide how many men and women should be allotted to the several tasks. To this should be added the problem of deciding what proportion of our forces, supplies, equipment, food and much else should be sent abroad and what proportion it is wise and necessary to retain here.

Administration of Manpower Policy

I come next to the question: Who administers the wartime manpower policy?

The main responsibility for administering wartime manpower policy rests with the Director of National Selective Service, Mr. Elliott Little. He is responsible to the Minister of Labour. For local administration, Employment offices of the Unemployment Insurance Commission provide a ready-made administrative machinery. This machinery is being rapidly expanded.

The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service.

In the exercise of its immense powers over the services of men and women, it is realized that the National Selective Service administration may make decisions which, if needless hardship is to be avoided, will require revision. The National War Services Boards

will accordingly be retained to hear appeals from decisions of Selective Service officers.

The Use of Compulsion in Selective Service

A word now as to whether national selective service need be or should be wholly compulsory.

The purpose of National Selective Service, is, as I have said, to control and direct the services of men and women in the manner which will best serve the national interest at a time of war. The control and direction need not be wholly compulsory. In itself compulsion has little or no merit. To the many who are willing to serve there is no need for the employment of compulsion. Compulsion is necessary, however, to obtain service from those who otherwise would not be willing to serve. The application of compulsion requires the services of men to administer and enforce it. Unnecessary compulsion is a waste of time, labour and money. Voluntary methods, where they are satisfactory, represent an immense saving of what is commonly called "red-tape". In times of peace compulsion may readily be kept at a minimum: in times of war, however, its use becomes increasingly essential to an all-out effort.

Compulsory service, in other words, conscription, for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada, has been a part of the law of the land since 1940. This has been frequently forgotten, if not at times intentionally overlooked.

The Basis of Selective Service

Without accurate and up-to-date information about our manpower resources, there cannot be total mobilization. It is impossible to control and direct the activities of men and women without knowing how many are available, and what their capacities are. To attempt such a task would be comparable to the attempt of a tailor to make a suit without knowing how much cloth he had. How then, you will ask, is accurate manpower information secured, and how is it kept up to date?

The national registration which was made in 1940 provided basic information which has been of great practical value. A more scientific record of Canada's industrial population has been provided by the records of the Unemployment Insurance Commission. These two sets of records have been combined in a central registry in the Department of Labour. Because of the constant shifts in population in wartime, the task of keeping the records up to date is immense. The records must be so kept if manpower is to be directed efficiently or fairly. This task is now being performed by the Department of Labour.

Special surveys and registers of manpower, needed from time to time, will be made as required. A special registration of womanpower will be undertaken shortly. Also, in the near future, employers will be asked to report all additions to and separations from their staffs since April 1st. I would ask that all concerned co-operate with the government in providing this essential information.

Increasing Total Manpower

The effective use of manpower has two sides. One is concerned with making the services of more persons available for war service; the other with directing men and women into the most suitable forms of service.

How, it will be asked, is the total available manpower for war purposes increased?

The employment of women who have not previously been employed increases the total manpower resources. Apart from the new generation of young men available each year, the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women. Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production. Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

Concern has been expressed as to the effect of the employment of women on the welfare of the family. That concern is fully shared by the government. It must, however, not be forgotten that a total war effort is needed to protect everything we hold dear, including the family and family life; and that the employment of women is essential to a total war effort. We have only to think of what has happened to family life in enslaved Poland to realize what will happen to the Canadian family if this war is not won.

To help safeguard the welfare of the family, day nurseries for the care of children of working mothers are being established, in co-operation with the provincial authorities, in the two large industrial provinces. Other welfare activities are being vigorously developed in order to protect the health and well-being of women workers and their families.

Cutting Down Non-essential Activities

The total manpower available for war work is also increased by shifting men and women from unessential civilian tasks to more essential activities.

Up to now the shifting of manpower to the armed forces or war production has been the incidental result of cutting down unessential production. The reason for the curtailment has been

the need to conserve scarce materials. But the main reason now for a further cutting down of civilian activities is the need to conserve manpower for direct war needs.

Under the conditions of total war, some industries are properly regarded as wholly non-essential. Many industries in this category have already been shifted to war production, or closed down to conserve materials. In other fields of civilian activity, a certain amount of production is essential for the maintenance of the health and efficiency of the community, upon which the entire war effort depends. Up to a point, the production of such industries is no less essential to a total war effort than the production of war industry itself. Beyond the point of meeting necessary minimum requirements, however, further production is non-essential.

The government, accordingly, has decided that non-essential civilian activities should be curtailed or eliminated. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, which exercises control over civilian trade and industry, has been directed to put this policy into effect by such measures as appear necessary for the purpose. Additional manpower for war service will thus be made available as rapidly as possible. Besides restricting and eventually eliminating non-essential activity, measures will be taken to ensure that minimum essential needs are satisfied by the use of the least possible amount of manpower, materials, machinery, fuel, power and transportation. In restricting civilian activity, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board will act in closest collaboration with the Director of National Selective Service, whose duty it will be to direct into the most useful channels the manpower released from non-essential civilian activities.

Means Taken to Increase Efficiency

By better organization and by the development of skill, fewer men and women are required for the same task. The efficiency of the manpower and womanpower of Canada has been greatly increased by labour training in technical schools and in industrial establishments. Labour training will be continued on a growing scale.

Provision for housing, the reconditioning of the physically unfit, the maintenance of health standards, and the organization of personnel management are also being promoted by the government. All are contributing to the effective employment of Canadian manpower.

The Direction of Manpower

Turning now to the direction of the services of men and women, you will probably ask: How are persons being directed into the appropriate form of war service?

Men are being compulsorily directed or conscripted for service in the army. Compulsion for military *training* began in 1940; and for military *service* in Canada in 1941. From the outset, all the men were called up who could be trained and equipped. Training facilities and equipment have been made increasingly available. In consequence, in recent months the number of men called up has been increased several times over.

In March last, compulsion and direction were extended to a much wider field than military service. The entry of men into a wide variety of occupations was drastically restricted. As a result, men seeking employment were automatically directed into service more immediately concerned with the war. To conserve essential manpower on the farms, employment in agriculture was stabilized.

A plan was set up to divert engineers and other technicians into direct war service. When this plan was announced, it was indicated that similar direction might later be given to the service of skilled workmen. The first step in directing the services of skilled workmen was taken in June. All industrial employment was, at that time, brought under the control of the Employment Offices. Much more complete control and direction of employment is now necessary.

The Control of Employment

Under the measures of control to be adopted shortly, apart from a few common-sense exceptions, no employer will be permitted to lay off any employee, and no employee will be permitted to quit his employment, without giving reasonable notice in writing. This notice will be called a "Notice of Separation". A copy of this notice will have to be furnished to the nearest employment office. No employer will be permitted to interview or engage any applicant who has not secured a permit from an employment office. Permission to seek employment may be restricted to a given locality, industry, occupation or establishment.

Control will be established over "help wanted" and "situations wanted" advertisements.

After a fixed period, unemployed persons may be required to accept any available suitable work, and persons employed less than normal full-time may be required to transfer to available, full-time, suitable work of which there is special need, or in other words, what is spoken of as work of "high labour priority".

Any employed person who is induced by a National Selective Service officer to accept a new position in which he can contribute more effectively to the prosecution of the war, will be entitled, upon the termination of such essential work, to a similar right to reinstatement in his previous position to that accorded to men in the armed forces.

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An aggrieved employer, employee or trade union will have the right to appeal the decision or direction of a National Selective Service officer.

The progressive application of selective service is having two effects. By the elimination of unnecessary civilian activities, luxuries and numerous comforts are disappearing. This may mean inconvenience for many and hardship for some. But it also means that the supply of manpower to fight and to make the weapons with which to fight is being kept up or increased. That is the goal of national selective service.

Appeal for Co-operation and Support

But enact what measures the government may, national selective service cannot succeed unless the Director and his officers receive the whole-hearted co-operation of all the citizens of Canada. I therefore appeal to each one of you for your co-operation and support in this great national effort. Let it never be said that you favour national selective service for someone else, but that you wish to escape it for yourself.

With such time as I have had at my disposal, I have tried to bring home to you the magnitude of the danger and the gravity of the need for the utmost effort on the part of all. It cannot be said too often that the survival of freedom in the world is at stake. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the existence of our own freedom is bound up with the world's freedom. In the present war millions of lives have already been sacrificed "that freedom may not perish from the earth." At this time of the world's greatest need, I appeal to every man and woman in Canada willingly and cheerfully to accept such control and direction of his or her services as may be required in the national interest. It is the sum of individual contributions that makes up the power of the nation as a whole. No service efficiently rendered is too small to help save defeat and to tilt the balance toward ultimate victory. Be inspired by the belief that such self-denial as your war service may involve is essential to the preservation not only of your own freedom but of our country's freedom, and of the freedom of mankind.

Nov 23, 1944

D 48408

Mr. Speaker:

The reason for my being here today is to report to the House of Commons the facts concerning reinforcements for the Canadian Army overseas; to give the House whatever assistance I can in the interpretation of the facts; to state the problems which now exist; to indicate the action which has been taken and the further measures which are being instituted.

The problem is complicated because time is required to translate action taken in Canada into numbers of fully trained men in the reinforcement pools in the theatres of operations and immediately available for posting to units in the field.

In what I am to say today I have had to remember that the information I shall give goes out to all the world. I have to be very careful indeed that no word of mine will carry new information of value to the enemy. For if this should come about it would bring hazard to our troops in action and prejudice their further operations which is the last thing any of us here would wish to do. I need not, I think, emphasize this grave responsibility. I recognize that this inhibition will result in there being important gaps in the full information I seek to give. I am completely at the disposal of the House should hon. Members wish to examine me under circumstances in which

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I shall be free to give precise answers to questions relating to the Canadian Army. If it is arranged that this matter may be further discussed in secret, I shall endeavour to give as complete information as possible on any matter pertinent to the business of keeping our Army overseas up to strength in all its units and in its varied Arms and Services.

It is perhaps needless to say that I am not at liberty, in any circumstances, to disclose information affecting allied armies which we have received under an undertaking that it should be kept strictly secret. Some of this would be interesting for comparison and to develop the basis on which our own figures have been estimated but I do not think it is really necessary for an understanding of our own position.

Right at the start I would like to say that there is no difference of opinion as to <u>purpose</u> between my predecessor in the office of Minister of National Defence and myself. We both of us are determined with all the strength we have that our troops in action will not lack for reinforcements to carry forward our part in the war in North-west Europe and in Italy. No Canadian would

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leave without full support the men of Ortona, - , Caen, Falaise and the Scheldt. We intend to march forward with our Allies to crush Germany finally into defeat and to confirm the safety of the Peace which follows. There is no doubt about this intent. That has been stated by the Prime Minister on behalf of all in clear, explicit terms.

There is agreement ~~We are all agreed~~ on the Establishments of our Army overseas which should be kept up in present circumstances. We are agreed as to where our several formations should operate and under which Higher Command and as to how our command should be organized ~~and operated~~. I have made no change in any of the arrangements overseas which were made by Col. Ralston.

Where my predecessor and I differed was on the methods which should be used to provide the reinforcements needed. He took his stand on the basis that in October last we had outrun the possibilities of maintaining our forces overseas by voluntary enlistments. At that time I took the stand that our traditional system which we had used throughout this war and long before, was capable of producing the results we sought and of producing them in time; provided always that it was given the full public support which was requisite.

D 48411

I submit that it would have been very dangerous indeed to hazard achange until all measures proper to the existing method had been developed to the full and it had become clear and evident to all that they would not suffice. To do so might well not have increased the rate of flow of reinforcements but might instead have reduced it most seriously. This is what I think would have happened if voluntary service had been abandoned in the late days of last month when the question had first come up. Since then conditions have altered, public attention has been riveted on these matters. The paramount need of reinforcements in adequate supply has been recognized throughout our land from coast to coast. For myself I frankly state I prefer our present system in its application to the conditions we have in Canada but I have not excluded the other in circumstances in which it is absolutely necessary.

Since I took office early in November, I have pressed the application of the voluntary system by every means and method. At the same time I pressed forward the completion of the organization and training of the men in the N.R.M.A.

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In my first public address as Minister of National Defence at Arnprior on Sunday, 5th November, I spoke of the last hard stretch we had to pass before victory was achieved - that there must be no relaxation of effort here at home or in the field. I told of the principles I had followed in the organization of our Army in England. I stressed the advantages I thought we had. I hoped that the urgent need for support to the Army being known, the public would support and encourage our young men to take up voluntarily the honourable obligation of service overseas. The following day, to give greater emphasis to my appeal, I repeated these views before an audience in Ottawa. At the same time I drew attention to factors which were deterring N.R.M.A. men from converting to general service. I undertook that these difficulties would be removed.

I told the men in the N.R.M.A. that fair play required that, in demobilization, our troops overseas would have the first call on all gainful employment and that those who did not convert to general service would have to wait their turn.

Then followed the radio address made by the Prime Minister on Wednesday, 8th November. He covered again the points I had previously been authorized to make.

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I thought that this appeal addressed to the men and the other measures we were taking would have the effect desired and that, as well, we would have the united support of all our people, and that shortly our difficulties in finding men trained as infantry would be largely over.

I drew the policy defined in the Prime Minister's speech to the attention of all our senior Commanders in Canada. I directed that it be adopted forthwith, and I asked their help in every way.

Later these officers met me in Ottawa and I was able to explain to them personally the objectives which we should reach if the numbers of reinforcements for overseas were to be adequate to meet the Army's needs. I was able to hear at first hand their views on the problem and discussed with them the means of removing the difficulties which had operated to deter N.R.M.A. men from converting to general service. I undertook that these matters would be corrected and this has in large part been done. The District Commanders told me quite frankly they had not much hope that our requirements would be met but they loyally undertook to make another effort. This they have now done, and I must admit that the results have not been

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adequate. I am advised that there are very many N.R.M.A. men who will not volunteer under present circumstances but who are quite willing to be sent overseas.

I think that I should now state our problem in terms of numbers and times.

First, let me say that in total for all arms and services overseas there is no present shortage. Moreover, no shortage is expected in the period for which the figures have already been forecast which extends well on into next Summer. Unfortunately, however, it is not in totals that our present problem can be expressed for men are not quickly transferrable from one arm of the Service to another, and even with time, there is a limit beyond which remustering cannot be carried out.

The difficulty we have arises in the infantry, for it is in this arm that we have unfortunately experienced heavy casualties in Italy and in Northwest Europe since D Day. In total for all arms the casualties have been very close to the estimates, but in infantry they have been heavier than the forecasts on which our plans for reinforcements were based. Provided casualties continue at the higher rates, there is a possible prospective shortage of fully trained infantry, which may come late in January

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or in February next. Against this there will be, at that time, large numbers of infantry in the depots whose training has approached completion and who will be available for posting to the units shortly thereafter in the following month. We must remember that our figures are forecasts and estimates and so we cannot expect a high order of precision. There are many uncertainties one way or another, such as sailing dates delayed by adverse weather, quarantine for minor contagions, etc., which may affect particular groups of the men concerned and for which allowance must be made. The figures I am using to assess the situation are definitely pessimistic and I think it well that this should be so, for if there is any error it should be on the safe side. In all the figures which are used the rates of wastage and the scales of future activity are those which have been arrived at by our own officers in the field and confirmed by the theatre commanders.

Later on in the spring or early summer the forecasts show another period when the infantry reserves behind the troops might become low. In this period the intake into the pools of trained infantry reinforcements depends on the numbers now in the training stream and on the conversions

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to General Service from the fully or partially trained infantry in the N.R.M.A. The number of volunteers in the training stream is known. The number of conversions from the N.R.M.A. to general service has been estimated at the average rate of recent months.

The forecasts have not as yet been carried through the summer and all I can now say is that the situation then will depend on the rate of recruiting for General Service in December and in the following months.

I look forward to placing before you the actual figures up to the end of May inclusive under conditions in which they can be disclosed.

Within the general infantry situation there is another which I frankly admit is giving great concern. I refer to reinforcements for our French-speaking infantry units. These, like our English-speaking ones, have had very heavy fighting for prolonged periods and our reserves are low. Special measures have been and are being taken to correct this situation and already there are some promising results. We need all the help we can be given in this matter and I look forward to placing the full details before you for consideration.

D 48417

To summarize the situation in respect to Reinforcements: I would say that the actual despatches during this calendar year in total will be very much greater than originally planned. Shipping is completely arranged till the end of December and while there may be some delays in sailings, I do not believe that the effect will be serious. Some additional shipping can be obtained in December if we should be in a position to make use of it.

I want to say, quite definitely, that all anxiety would be removed if we were able to find in December a total, above the numbers now arranged, of 5,000 infantry fully trained or in an advanced state of training, a similar number in January and a further 6,000 in the succeeding months.

Every possible economy in the employment of fit general service personnel in home establishments has now been made or is in process, and the men so made available are included in the figures of planned dispatches.

In consequence, the only source from which this additional 16,000 can be secured is from the N.R.M.A.

If we are to dispatch any considerable body of these men in time to ease the anxieties in the situation, arrangements for shipping must be initiated forthwith.

D 48418

To be realistic, our plans for the future must be strictly related to the nature of the task which remains to be completed and so I shall, if I may, give the House an appreciation of the nature of the battles which lie before the Allied Armies of which our Canadian troops now form an important part.

We now, both in Italy and in N. W. Europe, are up against fortified zones of great depth and strength with every obstacle and device to hamper our advance which the German mind has been able to conceive. In N. W. Europe hundreds of thousands of slave labor have been employed for years to create the fixed defences of the West Wall. They have been carefully sited by the skilled engineers of the German army to give them every advantage of terrain. They are provided with all the accessories to make life easy for those in garrison: heavy concrete emplacements for machine and anti-tank guns, bomb-proof shelters for resting personnel, elaborate roads and railways for rapid transfer of reserves from place to place, deeply buried cables to maintain certain intercommunication, huge dumps of food and ammunition and spares and replacements for guns and tanks and other gear. We can take it that these defences are provided with everything which could be thought of which would be of use and every day they are being strengthened by the forced labour of the German people.

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To break through these lines we must turn to siege warfare of the most intense character and above all else we must have guns and shells in lavish quantities.

We learned in the last war and again in this that in siege warfare there is little opportunity for manoeuvre. When we attack we must use vast quantities of shells to crush out of existence wide sections of the enemy's defence and to paralyze his garrisons and so free the way for the advances of our infantry closely supported by the fire of mobile guns. By reason of the immensity of the volume of fire required and the time taken to get the ammunition forward, these battles go in phases marked by short periods of intense activity and longer periods of quiet in between.

The conditions in N.W. Europe will, I think, approximate very closely to those we experienced in France and Flanders in the later phases of the first World War. We will have to turn back to this period for guidance on the wastage rates to be expected in the various arms and services. It is probable that these rates will be more uniform throughout all troops in the forward areas. We must be very careful that the remustering from other arms which we have been carrying out to make up for the higher rates in the infantry in the mobile war since D. day is not carried too far. Fortunately, as I have said, we have no

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present anxiety as to the adequacy of the reserves in arms other than infantry, but the situation must be closely watched.

So with the business of siege warfare in front of us it becomes most important to remember that the supply of shells and munitions is a vital necessity which must be met. The call has gone out to multiply the rate of production several fold and this must be done as a first priority on our industrial effort. I believe that the effort which is required can be made without diversion of men needed for reinforcements. We can divert men from less essential industries. We can use very many more women. We can use some of the personnel in the armed forces who are not in the categories fit for service overseas. I have proposals in this connection which I hope to raise in later discussions to arrive at an effective use for large numbers of men who have come into the army in Canada, both General Service and N.R.M.A., who never can be employed in battle.

The only other observation I would like to make in connection with this vital industrial effort in the production of shells and guns and certain other gear is that we in Canada are now a great source of supply for all our allies engaged with us in battle in Europe. In some things

D 48421

we are the only source and it is therefore most important that this industry be not disturbed for any reason, or otherwise there will be most serious consequences for all. In siege warfare you have to pay for victory either in shells or the lives of men and very great quantities of shells must be expended if there is to be any progress at all. We are determined to expend more shells and fewer human lives.

Now May I turn to the N.R.M.A. Since I was called to office I have been investigating the situation in this Department of the Army. First, I find that this group of men has been held together for a multiplicity of purposes. Some of them have been trained as soldiers; others fully or partially trained as soldiers have been used from time to time as a sort of reserve of workers to move about and undertake construction and other tasks. Others have been similarly used to gather crops, to work in the mines, and in the woods.

I do not doubt that all these works are of national importance but I do not think that they should be done by soldiers to the prejudice of their proceeding overseas.

D 48422

I find that some of these men have been able to obtain remuneration on a scale which is ~~quite~~ extravagant fantastic and I do not wonder that those who seek their personal advantage and who have had the chance to make large sums in cash would fail to come forward to volunteer for service overseas.

The policies which are to govern the N.R.M.A. in future are given in the statements made by the Prime Minister when he addressed the people of Canada by radio on 8th November. The particular points which it is my duty to develop now are in relation to the employment of that force in Canada.

In fair play to our men who have long served overseas and carried the heat and burden of the battle, it has been decided that they will have first claim on employment opportunities when the war ends. This means that the N.R.M.A. remaining who have not volunteered will be held until they can be demobilized without prejudice to the interests of our men returning from overseas.

These are all most important matters on which you will wish to be fully informed and I shall do my best to give this information as briefly and as clearly as I can and to report progress as to the measures which have been adopted.

The position of those who volunteer for service

D 48423

overseas is straight-forward. They cease at once to be members of the N.R.M.A. and pass to the depots and holding units to be given the final training and instruction which they require. They become in all respects an integral part of that great band who serve Canada by their own free will and whose pride it is to go where duty calls and needs dictate.

The position of N.R.M.A. personnel who do not convert to general service is not so simple. It had been my hope that once our vital need had been made clear - as it has been - and once opportunities had been given for considerate explanation - as they have been, that their number would have been very materially reduced.

The first business is to ensure that all who are physically fit and likely to become efficient soldiers are brought into units in balanced composition to act as a reserve to meet possible future requirements for combat operations. The arrangements for this require few changes in the existing organization and these can be effected quickly.

The elimination of units, formations, headquarters and local establishments which, in an earlier phase of the war, were required for strictly home defence, and the transfer of the personnel thus freed to other duties

D 48424

in keeping with our present need; the freeing of personnel in appropriate medical categories from home establishments, from extraneous employment, or their recall from leave are other matters to be attended to. This is being done as rapidly as individual cases can be reviewed and replacements provided wherever this is necessary in the public interest for the prosecution of the war.

For example, some hundreds of men were detailed some weeks ago to assist in the construction of the new hospital at Sunnybrook. These could have been ordered back to their units but then this work, which is most urgent in the interests of our returned soldiers who have suffered wounds, would have been delayed. Therefore we have chosen to keep them on the job for the moment and replace all who are physically fit for combat duties by men in a lower category.

There are other tasks of national importance in the shell factories and in construction which are being dealt with in like manner.

The purpose is to concentrate in N.R.M.A. units for potential combat duties all men who are physically fit and deemed likely to make efficient combat soldiers. This is a first priority and it is being dealt with as such. The standard of training will be brought to the

D 48425

high level we insisted on in England.

There are a considerable number of men in the N.R.M.A. whose physical fitness is below the standard required for first line combatant duties but who are, in all other respects, capable of rendering useful service in the field, in base installations, on the line of communications and in the forward area behind the battle fronts.

In the British Army these men are grouped into the Corps of Pioneers to act as a reserve of labour for the engineers for the construction of roads and railways and aerodromes and field fortifications and similar works; to man the base depots, to load the supplies of food and ammunition; to help in the repair establishments and generally to do unskilled labour wherever required to set free the combat troops from these ancillary tasks.

D48426

Canadian employment Companies are also being organized . The military side of this training is not extensive. It is from this Employment Corps that we propose to discharge any requirements for help on works of national importance to the prosecution of the war which we are required to undertake.

In this arrangement you will, I know, agree that two safeguards are very necessary. The first that the tasks requested are really of national importance; the second that by undertaking to do them with our Employment Companies we are not depriving anyone in Canada of gainful employment they otherwise would have.

I am in no position in the Defence Department to give the consideration which is required to the application of these important safeguards to tasks other than those which are carried out under the Defence Department for strictly military purposes, and so we are asking the Minister of Reconstruction to undertake the first responsibility, and the Minister of Labour the second. Until we have certificates from these Departments, the work

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will not be undertaken.

These certificates may be revoked at any time by the Ministers concerned to meet the changing requirements and conditions and to open opportunities for gainful employment to men outside the N.R.M.A. as they may become available.

Since we must hold a considerable number of men in the N.R.M.A. in order to ensure that men returning from overseas shall have first claim on remunerative employment, I intend to give the men who are retained in the Employment Coys. useful work to dowhich will be of benefit in their training and which will make a considerable contribution to our war effort. It is perhaps needless to repeat that only the pay and allowances provided for in military regulations will be allowed, and leave will not be on any more generous scale than is given our troops overseas.

There are a number of other categories or men in the N.R.M.A. who are neither suitable for combat units nor for the Employment Coys. I refer to those who have become physically unfit and these I propose should be considered individually and that those who are below the category for military duty should be discharged.

D 48428

There are others in the lower physical categories who, by reason of their technical or other qualifications should be placed in industry to aid in this great effort which is required. These we propose to place in a reserve, which can be released from military duties subject to recall.

I have dealt with the N.R.M.A. in some considerable detail because it presents a problem of great difficulty which cannot be resolved by any single measure

Now may I return to the great question which brings anxiety to all of us today. I mean the provision of the additional reinforcements required to insure the maintenance of our units and formations overseas ~~up to strength~~ and to give them the reserves which they will need to carry forward the great battles which lie ahead.

I have said that except for some 16,000 men we are able to meet all requirements from men who have come forward voluntarily. I have said that it is our purpose to maintain the Voluntary System to the limit. I have stated that 5,000 additional trained Infantry must be available early in December to safeguard the position at the end of January. That another 5,000 must be found in January, and some 6,000 in the succeeding months.

I have brought these facts before my Colleagues

in.....

D 48429

in the Cabinet. An order-in-Council has been passed extending the service of this number of men to the European theatres of operations,

This power will be used only to the extent necessary to make up the numbers of reinforcements required.

Mr.Speaker: In closing, I would just like to express my appreciation to my predecessor in office. He left me the most of his personal staff, without whose loyal aid I could not possibly have carried through the tasks and duties of these last three weeks. I am deeply obliged to him and to them for all that they have done to serve the public interest in this matter.

Mr. Speaker:

I have taken the situation as I found it. I have tried with all my strength to work forward from there. I hope I am in some measure making some contribution to the purpose we all must serve -- the effective support of our Army overseas in the great task they still must do to discharge our just part in bringing the war in Europe to a successful conclusion, and to safeguard the Peace which follows.

If we enter this new era united, we will be strong and we have all that is required to c arry the happiness and welfare of our people to heights as yet undreamed.

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77		Remarks re: Possibility of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	6 Dec. 1944	D 48430	
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D 48430

HOUSE OF COMMONS

QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO EXTENSION OF TERM OF PARLIAMENT AND DISSOLUTION

On the orders of the day:

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): I delayed asking the question of the Prime Minister which I desire to ask him now, until some time at or near the close of the session in which we are now engaged. It is this: I think the house and the people generally would like to have some declaration and clarification by the Prime Minister of the government's intentions regarding the possible extension of the parliamentary term which expires on April 17 next. Some mention has been made of this in another place; there have been many references to it in the press; and, while our position in opposition to any extension has been made very clear, I think the Prime Minister ought to indicate, now the session is drawing near to a close, what the government's intentions and policies are.

At the same time it would be well if he would clear the air of numerous speculations which have appeared, and which no doubt he has seen, as regards what will happen if there is no dissolution of parliament before its term expires. In other words, it would seem possible that when the term of parliament expires on April 17 the government might go on for quite a length of time without announcing the date of the election or issuing the writs. These are matters on which the Prime Minister may wish to make some statement to the house.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I believe the house and the country know very well what my position has been right along with regard to the extension of the term of parliament. I am against it. I have right along been against the extension of the terms of parliaments and legislatures. When the constitution fixes a term within which the people are to exercise their right to send their representatives to a new parliament I think the constitution in that particular should be respected. I wish again to assure the house and my hon. friend in particular that nothing has been further from my thoughts, at any time, than to have an extension of the term of the present parliament beyond that which is fixed by the constitution.

As to the other question, whether the government, should it be continuing in office up till the time of the expiration of the term, would then seek to take a long time before it would ask His Excellency to proclaim an election, may I say I have not so much as a thought of anything of the kind. My desire is that, without an appeal to the people if at all possible, the government should continue in office, discharging its duties as a government called upon to administer affairs in time of war, so long as the war continues, this to avoid the necessity of an election during war time. That, of course, implies that the government is going to be sustained in office as a result of the vote that will be taken at this particular time. I have never thought it advisable, if it could be prevented, that there should be a general election in Canada while men were fighting at the front, unless that became obviously necessary. On one occasion I spoke at some length on the kind of situations that might necessitate a dissolution while the war was still on. I was addressing members of my own party at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation on the 27th of September last year. If hon. members are at all interested in what was stated at that time I could repeat it, but I think what I then said is known to all present here.

So far as I can see at the moment, the endeavour will be, if the government is sustained, to carry on without an election while the war continues, so long as that appears probable, but not beyond the period fixed by the constitution.

As to how it is to be decided at what time the war has terminated, I notice that the Prime Minister of Great Britain has had occasion to speak on this matter on two or three occasions; and Mr. Churchill has said it may well be that this war will not terminate suddenly or in a way that will be wholly apparent to everyone; that there may be guerilla warfare for a period, and that it may be difficult therefor to fix any date at which it can be declared that the war is at an end. Decisive battles will be fought at some time—I think one is being fought at the present time; there may be others—but there will be decisive battles which I should hope will make it apparent that the allies have conclusively won the war. In determining what would be a reasonable time at which to make an appeal to the people, the question as to whether the decisive battles are over, is one that I personally would feel should be taken into account.

As to fixing a date months after a dissolution before the government would have writs issued for the general election, is to my mind wholly unthinkable. No one who has held the position I have held over these last five years could fail to wish to have an opportunity given the people to express their views once the chance comes.

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I have nothing to add, nothing to subtract from what I said in opening the present debate as to the meaning, significance and importance of the vote to be taken upon the resolution now before the House.

I desire to add only a word concerning broken pledges and faith in public men about which some things have been said, in the course of the present debate, which should not be permitted to pass unnoticed.

First a word as to pledges. It is true that before the present war, recalling the results of the introduction of conscription in the last war, and more particularly the methods employed to secure its introduction and its enforcement, I along with others of my party and many of all parties in Canada, took the position that, if Canada were to participate in another European war, I would not support but would oppose conscription for service overseas.

After the outbreak of war, in the general elections of 1940, I along with the leaders, and most of the members of all parties, with the possible exception of the Social Credit party, took the position that conscription for

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service overseas should not be resorted to. That was at a time when it was generally believed that the war would be primarily a European war. I wish to emphasize the point that when I gave the undertaking I did, it was given to the country as a whole, and not to any province or section of the country.

Time went by, and one country after another in Europe was invaded and overrun by the armed forces of Nazi Germany. Italy, on June 10th, 1940, and Japan on December 7th, 1941, joined the Nazi aggressors in an all-out effort to dominate the world. It became increasingly apparent that the pledges given not to resort to conscription for service overseas, might, at some time, prevent the government of our country from taking a step which might become necessary to maintain our fighting forces in the field, and which would be necessary to enable them to do their part in the preservation of our own freedom, bound up as it is with the freedom of all the allied nations.

In anticipation of such a possibility, a plebiscite was held on April 27, 1942. As a result of the plebiscite the Canadian people as a whole, to whom the pledges had been made, released the government and all parties in this

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House from all pledges respecting conscription, and gave to all complete freedom, from that time forward, to take, in this war, whatever course in their judgment was necessary and advisable in support of the cause for which our armies are fighting.

Bill 80 was subsequently introduced and the Mobilization Act amended in 1942 so as to permit the use of conscription, if necessary, for service overseas. The issue of conscription for overseas service was settled, once Bill 80 became law.

As head of the administration, I undertook, at that time, that the power conferred by Bill 80 would not be used unless it became necessary. I also undertook that it would be used if it became necessary and advisable. That pledge I gave to this House of Commons. It was no less a pledge to the people of Canada as a whole. Above all, it was a pledge to our army overseas that it would not lack support in its fight, in association with the forces of the allied nations, to preserve Christian civilization and human freedom.

That was two and a half years ago. Canada is fortunate indeed that the need has not arisen until this late date in the war. The need having arisen, I feel that to ensure against any possible lack of reinforcements today, I am keeping faith with this House of Commons, with the people of Canada, and with the fighting men in Canada's army overseas.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... London Times

Date ..... Feb. 26/45

Subject .....

D 48434

NEW CANADIAN WORLD RADIO

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

OTTAWA, FEB. 25

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation inaugurated an international service this afternoon when a new short-wave station at Sackville, New Brunswick, was opened with an address by Mr. Mackenzie King.

The Prime Minister said that the establishment of the new service was of historic significance. It was designed to serve both a national and an international purpose: it would carry the voice of Canada to her own sons and daughters in other lands and it would bring Canada into close contact with other countries. The international service would assist Canada to fulfil the greater role she expects to play by reason of the new place the country has won in world affairs.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

5166/45

Date FEB 26 1945

D 48435

Subject

CBC Inaugurates International Radio Service

MONTREAL, Feb. 25—(CP) — Canada today entered the "world radio arena," to use the words of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, with the official inaugural emission of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's new international service over its powerful, 50-kilowatt short-wave transmitters at Sackville, NB.

Canada officially went on the air to the world at 3 p.m., EDT, with the announcement from CHTA—the station's call letters, that, "this is Canada calling."

In an hour-long program that followed, and directed principally to Canadian forces overseas, greetings were extended in English by Mr. King and in French by Justice Minister St. Laurent. From London, there was a brief message by Chairman Howard B. Chase of the CBC board of governors. The program also was carried over the CBC trans-Canada network.

Station CHTA has been in experimental operation for two months feeding a new high-gain directional antenna of a type never before used on this continent. Reports from Europe agree, CBC spokesmen said, that signals from the new Canadian transmitters are the strongest being received from North America. Studios headquarters are located in Montreal.

Transmissions to the West Indies, Latin-America, New Zealand and Australia are expected to be in operation by the summer.

Nationality can serve humanity "only by the extension of the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation and of equality among men," Prime Minister Mackenzie King said.

"Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict in the relations between the nations of the world," the Prime Minister added. "Radio broadcasting is a powerful means of helping to extend these ideals throughout the world."

Justice Minister St. Laurent, speaking in French, said that "we all wish that this new marvel of modern science will make known among the nations to which it will broadcast Canadian voices, the burning desire of Canadians to contact them in closer relations."

Canadians, said the justice minister, want to know and understand residents of other nations better and wanted to collaborate more closely "in creating the true brotherhood of peoples which is so necessary to humanity's peace and welfare."

Mr. King said that "through its many-sided contributions in the fight for freedom, Canada has won a place of its own in the world." Speaking to Canada's armed forces "serving on and beyond the seas," he said, "you, above all others, have shown the world how men of differing backgrounds, origins and creeds can fight side by side, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, in defence of a common nationality."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL 5166

Date FEB 27 1945 D 48436

Subject

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Music lovers who as usual tuned in with keen anticipation on Sunday afternoon to listen to the New York Symphony Orchestra over CBC heard, instead—Mr. Mackenzie King! They were not amused; the "langwidge" of some of them did not become the day.

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Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date FEB 26 1945

Subject

5166/43

D 48437

'This Is Canada Calling,' Short-Wave Tells World

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Mutual Tolerance

Nationality can serve humanity "only by the extension of the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation and of equality among men," Prime Minister King said in a short address.

"Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world," the Prime Minister added. "Radio broadcasting is a powerful means of helping to extend these ideals throughout the world."

Justice Minister St. Laurent, speaking in French, said "we all wish that this new marvel of modern science will make known among the nations to which it will broadcast Canadian voices, the burning desire of Canadians to contact them in closer relations."

Better Understanding

Canadians, said the Justice Minister, want to know and understand residents of other nations better and wanted to collaborate more closely "in creating the true brotherhood of people which is so necessary to humanity's peace and welfare."

Mr. King said that "through its many sided contributions in the fight for freedom, Canada has won a place of its own in the world." Speaking to Canada's armed forces "serving on and beyond the seas," he said, "you, above all others, have shown the world how men of differing backgrounds, origins and creeds can fight side by side, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, in defense of a common nationality."

New Marching Song

There was something of interest from almost every part of Canada for listeners overseas. From Toronto, the CBC chorus and orchestra presented a new marching song, "On Our Way," particularly for the Canadian Army overseas. Winnipeg contributed "The Red River Barn Dance," there was some rural rythym from Charlottetown, music from the Pacific coast, French-Canadian folk-songs from Montreal and swing and jive from Toronto.

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Press Release.

Not to be released until after delivery
9.30 p.m. E.D.T. March 2/45

D 43438

Nation-wide Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada,
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, March 2nd, 1945.

We have all been greatly heartened in recent weeks by the news from the fighting fronts. We have been no less heartened by the unmistakable unity of purpose of the Allied Nations, so strikingly confirmed by the Crimea Conference. As Canadians we are prouder than ever of the splendid achievements of our fighting forces. At the moment, we feel particularly proud that the Canadian Army has been a spearhead of the mounting offensive from the West. It is an honour to Canada that units and formations of other allied armies are distinguishing themselves under Canadian command in Germany, just as the First Canadian Corps is distinguishing itself in Italy as part of the British Eighth Army.

To all of you who have husbands or sons, brothers or friends, in the Canadian forces in Germany or Italy, I wish to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders.

D 48439

The government's plans for the coming months

Recently there has been much speculation as to the government's plans for the coming months. I should like this evening to remove some of the uncertainties which I know have been in the public mind. I should like you to know some of the reasons which have made it difficult for me to make definite announcements at an earlier date. I want particularly to have you made aware of some of the considerations of which the government has had to take account, and upon which its plan of action is based.

I am perfectly sure that the people of Canada do not wish a general election before the European war is over. What they wish for, above all else, is a speedy end to the war itself. Until German resistance is crushed, what they most desire, I believe, is concentration upon the winning of the war. Until Germany surrenders we shall have to count on continuous heavy fighting. It is our first duty to give the fullest possible support to our fighting men. All other considerations should take second place. Once the decisive battles have been fought, a general election should be held as soon as possible. An election campaign will afford ample opportunity for the freest and fullest discussion of all public issues.

D 48440

We have felt that with all arms of the fighting services facing a terrible ordeal of battle, they should, if at all possible, and for as long a time as possible, command a united front at home. We have had every reason to believe that in this view we were reflecting the will of the people of Canada as a whole.

I have stated, over and over again, both in the House of Commons and outside Parliament, that I felt it was in the light of what Canada owed to her fighting men that any question as to the time of a general election should be viewed. I still hope an election may not be necessary before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who survive the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war.

The present government was returned to office in 1940 as a war administration. Its aim from that moment up to this hour has been the achievement of the utmost effort to win the war. Canada's war effort speaks for itself.

D 8441

It speaks for itself in every part of the world. But while we have considered, first and foremost, the demands of the war, we have also endeavoured to look beyond the war into the future, and to make preparations to meet post-war problems. I am sure you will agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the critical needs of the war than a nation-wide political campaign. The truth of this statement was abundantly illustrated during the recent by-election campaign in Grey North. But once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace.

Time of election depends on progress of war

It has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war in Europe is over. This has been a matter of constant concern. For five years, however, we have been able to carry on without a general election. We have now reached a time in the war itself where we have strong reasons for hoping that a general election will not be necessary while our men are fighting at the front.

The progress of the war in Europe is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date for a general election. Were it possible to predict the end of the war, the fixing of the date of the general election would occasion no difficulty whatever. It is uncertainty in the case of the one which begets uncertainty in the case of the other. As is well known, there were times in the past year when many military experts expressed the view that the war would be over before the year was out. Later, it was widely believed that the end would come in the first two months of the present year. The German offensive in December upset the basis of that calculation. Since Von Rundstedt's forces were driven back, and the allied offensive renewed, steady progress has been made in the West. Plans for offensives against Germany from all directions were further developed and fully co-ordinated at the Crimea Conference.

The war in Germany in its final stage

The encirclement of Germany is complete. The decisive battles are now being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a question of years.

On the 18th of last month, Field Marshal Montgomery told the men under his command that the operations

D 48443

of the Allies on all fronts had brought the German war to its final stage. He said: "We have now come to the last and final round, and we want and will go in for the knockout blow." The Russian armies have swept across the Eastern borders of Germany and are at the gates of Berlin. American, British and Canadian forces are attacking Cologne and other strongholds of the Rhineland. From the skies, by day as well as by night, the German capital is being showered with bombs and incendiaries. All Germany's industrial centres are meeting a like fate. General Eisenhower's latest word is that the campaign now in progress will end only when Allied armies from the East and from the West meet "in the centre of Germany." Here surely are the strongest of reasons why no distraction should prevent the utmost effort of Canada to hasten the victory in this final stage of the war. That is why a general election should not be held at present. Consideration for the members of our own armed forces, who from now on will be in the thick of the conflict, and for their relatives at home, is in itself sufficient to justify such a decision.

D 48444

Victory Loan

Another consideration which enters into the fixing of a date for the general election is the date at which another Victory Loan campaign must be held. The Victory Loans are an all-important part of Canada's war effort. Just because the war is now in its final stage, it is more necessary than ever that this year's loan should meet with unprecedented success.

It has become customary to hold a Victory Loan campaign in the spring of each year. A change in the date of the campaign, either by its postponement or its advancement, might have an unfavourable effect upon the loan. The Victory Loan campaign for the present year is scheduled to begin on April 23rd and to conclude on May 12th. To have a general election campaign and a Victory Loan campaign going on at the same time would create endless confusion. It would certainly prove prejudicial to the loan.

The taking of the overseas vote requires a period of some eight weeks between the issue of the writs for a general election and the day of polling. Nomination of candidates takes place four weeks before polling day. If there is not to be serious overlapping in the two campaigns, either the General election should be over before the

D 48445

Victory Loan or the election should not take place for a reasonable time after the close of the Victory Loan campaign. So far as the Victory Loan is concerned, it would be a distinct advantage to have members of all political parties join in making it the greatest possible success. There can be no doubt that this end would be best achieved by having the Victory Loan precede the general election.

The San Francisco Conference

The Conference on a World Security Organization to be held at San Francisco is another factor which demands consideration in determining the date to be fixed for a general election. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Canada being represented at this important conference of the United Nations. If Canada is to be represented, the date of the general election will have to be considered in relation to the proceedings of the Conference. The San Francisco Conference opens its proceedings on April 25th.

The questions likely to arise at the Conference and the personnel of Canada's representation are matters to which the government is at present giving consideration. The fact that the Victory Loan campaign begins on April 23rd and the San Francisco Conference on April 25th, and that both will continue on into the month of May, makes it clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June.

48446

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It is impossible to fix a definite date now, because it is impossible to predict the course of the war. One thing however is certain: each month and each day brings us nearer to the end of the war. It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco Conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs.

The question of a further session

I now come to the question as to whether Parliament should meet again before a general election. The present Parliament has all but run its course. The last session closed on January 31st. If, before that date, the decisive battles in Europe had been fought and the order had been given to "cease fire", a dissolution of Parliament would have followed immediately. The date for a general election would have been set at that time.

D 48447

The duration of Parliament, as fixed by the Constitution, is five years. The usual practise is to hold one session in each year. Regular sessions of this Parliament have been held in each of the calendar years since 1940. The present Parliament has therefore had its full five sessions. The 1945 regular session will not be the last session of a Parliament that has all but covered its allotted span. It should be, and will be, like the 1940 session, the first session of a Parliament newly elected by the people.

Brief session planned for 1945.

On December 7th last, the House of Commons voted to aid the government in maintaining a vigorous war effort. The vote made it apparent that there was no need for an immediate general election. The government felt that, if at all possible, and for as long as possible, Parliament should be kept in being while the war in Europe continued. We also desired to make as much progress as we could with public business. Accordingly, we adopted a procedure which

we believed would enable some progress to be made in the consideration of war appropriations and ordinary government estimates for the fiscal year 1945-46. It was never contemplated, however, that a brief session for this purpose would, in any sense of the word, be a substitute for the 1945 regular session.

Given a readiness by the different parties to co-operate, the government felt that the time available for a session would be ample for a consideration of war measures. The presence in the House of Commons of the Minister of National Defence was regarded by the government as essential to an informed discussion of war appropriations. The by-election in Grey North was brought on solely for the purpose of making this possible. The government assumed that such a course of procedure would be welcomed by members of all political parties.

In view of the result of the by-election, the government had grave doubts as to whether any useful purpose could be served by having Parliament reassemble. We gave serious consideration to an immediate dissolution, but concluded it was our duty to hold firm to our resolve to avoid a general election, if at all possible, while the

D 48449

the new fiscal year through a general election. It will be for the newly elected Parliament to vote the appropriations necessary for the full fiscal year up to March 31st, 1946.

So much for the financial needs of which, throughout, the government has had to take account.

Since the Crimea Conference, an additional reason has arisen for a brief session of the present Parliament. Next to the winning of the war, the winning of the peace is the supreme end to be achieved. Peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. I have frequently expressed the view that the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace.

The purpose of the forthcoming Conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world. I have already mentioned the necessity of Canada being represented at the Conference. It is vital that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs. It is therefore desirable that the Canadian delegation should go to San Francisco with an assurance of the widest possible measure of support from

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... Montreal Standard

Date ..... March 3/45

Subject .....

D 48450

Premier King Clears Political Atmosphere

By GERALD H. WARING
(Standard Staff Correspondent)

Ottawa, March 3 — Some of the political uncertainties that have beset Canada in the last two months have evaporated today, dissipated by Prime Minister Mackenzie King's address to the nation last night, and a new spirit, almost of relief, seemed to pervade the air.

The twin questions of "will there be another session of the present parliament?" and "will there be an immediate election?" had been answered — the first yes, the second no.

These were questions which had been agitating the politically-conscious segment of the public mind since the first of the year. The long-awaited answers by Mr. King, frankly telling the people of the Government's plans for Parliament for at least the next four months, relieved a political tenseness which had increased steadily with the passage of weeks of governmental silence.

Parliament, said Mr. King, will convene March 19 — two weeks from next Monday—to vote money with which to finance the operations of government from the start of the new fiscal year, April 1, through the general election.

To Ask Support

The legislative body also will be asked to voice an assurance "of the widest possible measure of support" for the delegates who will represent Canada at the forthcoming international conference at San Francisco on a post war security organization.

Mr. King did not say who those delegates would be, and it was thought he might withhold that information until he addressed Parliament on the subject. Observers here considered it almost a foregone conclusion, however, that Mr. King would head the delegation to the United Nations meeting in his capacity of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Prime Minister is no stranger to the use of Governor-General's warrants to obtain money for governmental purposes when circumstances have made it impractical for him to have supply voted by Parliament. He used such warrants immediately after the elections of 1926 and 1940, to cover the periods until Parliament met and in the latter case the warrants were used to cover both war and non-war expenditures.

Mr. King could resort to warrants to finance his Government's operations from April 1 until a new Parliamen' is elected, meets and votes supply, but he said last night that "such a course the Government was most anxious to avoid."

His previous use of warrants and his determination not to use them now left observers here wondering whether his desire to obtain parliamentary approval and support of Canada's San Francisco delegation might not be the prime reason for calling the dying Parliament into its sixth session.

Vital Conference

The Prime Minister is known to believe that the April 25 conference, called to set up what will be tantamount to an international government, is of far greater importance than most people realize. He would like to have Parliament wholeheartedly behind him, regardless of party, when he goes to San Francisco.

"It is vital," said the Prime Minister, "that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs."

About the election, Mr. King said "the progress of the war in Europe is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date. Once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace.

"There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed," the Prime Minister said. "It may be a matter of weeks or months, It is no longer a question of years."

Mr. King did much to abate uncertainty regarding the election date when he spoke of the inadvisability of permitting a nation-wide political campaign to coincide with this spring's eighth Victory Loan drive and the San Francisco conference.

"The fact that the Victory Loan campaign begins on April 23 and the San Francisco conference on April 25, and that both will continue on into the month of May, makes it clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June."

For the last three weeks observers here have predicted a June election as probable, and this week an apparently reliable report said the government had all but definitely decided on Monday, June 18, as polling day should German resistance collapse before mid-April.

Mr. King was cautious, however, about predicting any date for the war in Europe to end. "It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope," he said, planting in his listeners' minds the suspicion that his hope was his expectation, "that before the close of the San Francisco conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

Overseas Vote

The Prime Minister said that "the taking of the overseas vote requires a period of some eight weeks between the issue of the writs for a general election and the day of polling. Nomination of candidates takes place four weeks before polling day."

The Victory Loan campaign closes May 12. Should writs then be issued immediately, an eight weeks' interval until polling day might mean an election on the second Monday in July, the ninth day of the month.

But Mr. King did not promise that writs would not be issued before the end of the Victory Loan campaign. He merely said that "the election should not take place for a reasonable time after the close of the Victory Loan campaign", thus leaving the door open for a possible June election.

8he Prime Minister made another important statement as he spoke to the nation from the studies of radio station CBO on the seventh floor of the Chateau Laurier.

"I wish to give the most positive assurance," he said, "that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

While Mr. King was speaking on the seventh floor, Progressive Conservative leader John Bracken was

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 48451

addressing party leaders from all sections of Canada in the Chateau Ballroom on the first floor.

Bracken demanded that a royal commission be appointed "to report on the whole matter of reinforcements, desertions and discipline since General McNaughton became Minister of National Defence."

"I challenge him (McNaughton) to show that a single reinforcement demand sent from Canadian military headquarters at London to the Department of National Defence, since he became minister, has been met to the extent requested," the Progressive Conservative leader said.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date FEB 21 1945

Subject

5166/45

D 40152

King Expected to Tell This Week Parliamentary or Election Plans

(Gazette Resident Correspondent)

Ottawa, February 20.—The calling of the San Francisco conference of the United Nations has upset parliamentary and electoral plans here but before the present week is ended it is expected the Prime Minister will be able to tell the country whether or not there is to be another session and how long he intends to delay the balloting.

Because of the confused situation an increasing number of persons, not entirely confined to the Liberal party, are urging the extension of the life of the 19th Parliament so that it may be possible to have a non-political or, at least, a bipartisan representation from Canada to the Pacific coast gathering.

Australia, Canada's great sister dominion, has set the pace by designating Defence Minister Fords to represent Prime Minister Curtin, whose condition of health will not permit him to attend, and also the leader of the opposition in the national Legislature. This means Australia will have the two main political parties represented at the peace parley.

But without an extension of the life of the present Parliament this country could not have such a bipartisan delegation for the 19th Parliament by the effluxion of time will have expired shortly before the meeting at San Francisco opens, so that it would hardly be possible to choose delegates from a defunct Canadian Legislature.

Mr. King up to date has resolutely opposed any extension of the life of Parliament and has repeatedly said he would not stand in the way of the people exercising their constitutional right of choosing a new parliament every five years.

It is probable that the reason for most of the Prime Minister's opposition to lengthening the present Parliament is that it would require a constitutional amendment, that such a change must come from the British Parliament in response to a joint address from the Canadian Commons and Senate, and that the almost unanimous request that would be required by Westminster might not be available, as the Prime Minister suspects the opposition here would not consent to such a move.

There has not yet been the slightest indication from the East Block what steps may be expected. Most Canadians have been led to believe there will be another short session of this Parliament which was prorogued to February 28, only a week away. It is stated that such a session would be confined almost entirely to voting a fraction of the amount required in the new fiscal year with which to carry on the war effort and also to maintain the nation's domestic business, or civil government.

Then there is a growing feeling in governmental circles that the longer the general election is deferred the better chance the present ministry has of being saved from extinction. But even on this question of delaying the election Mr. King has declared that there would be no needless delay in fixing a date for the election.

Whether or not it will be delayed until after the San Francisco conference is ended is another decision to be made. If there is to be a short session, however, members who have to come here from the two coasts must have not much less than a week's notice, and if the government decides to stick to February 28 as the opening date an announcement should come in a day or two.

Whatever course is chosen it now seems inevitable that there will be a considerable cabinet shuffle before an appeal to the electorate. Three ministers probably will retire — Mines and Resources Minister T. A. Crerar, Secretary of State Norman McLarty and Naval Minister Angus Macdonald — and there are persistent rumors that two or three of the French-speaking ministers from Quebec are looking for some refuge from the troublous election sea.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date FEB 21 1945

Subject

5166/45

D 48152

King Expected to Tell This Week Parliamentary or Election Plans

(Gazette Resident Correspondent)

Ottawa, February 20.—The calling of the San Francisco conference of the United Nations has upset parliamentary and electoral plans here but before the present week is ended it is expected the Prime Minister will be able to tell the country whether or not there is to be another session and how long he intends to delay the balloting.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48453

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

FEB 28 1945

5166/45

King Speech May Lift Fog On Election

Will Make Some 'Definite Announcements' In Address This Week

Some of the uncertainties which have been hanging over the Canadian political situation for weeks may be cleared away this week when Prime Minister King goes on the air with an important radio speech.

The major uncertainties are:

1. The date of the general election.

2. The holding or not holding of a session of Parliament before the election.

3. Relationship of political developments to the forthcoming Victory Loan and Canadian representation at the United Nations world security conference at San Francisco.

Announcement that Mr. King would speak came from his office last night after a Cabinet meeting at which, presumably, political questions were discussed by the Ministers.

A spokesman said Mr. King would speak "in response to some queries that have been directed at the Government lately". He added that Mr. King would have some definite announcements, but did not say to which points these announcements would reply.

Time or date of the broadcast has not yet been set.

The prevailing political uncertainty became pronounced following the defeat of Defence Minister McNaughton in the Grey North byelection February 5.

Prior to the byelection Mr. King said Gen. McNaughton's presence in the Commons was necessary to the holding of another session of the present Parliament which he then considered desirable. He also said the date of the general election would be announced before Parliament expires at the end of its five-year term April 17.

Following the byelection, Mr. King said the Cabinet would give consideration to whether, in view of the attitude of opposition parties, a further session of the present Parliament would serve a useful purpose.

Presumably that consideration has now been given and one of Mr. King's announcements will probably be on that point.

There has been an expectation that the election date would be fixed for June, possibly June 11, since electoral officials consider a lapse of about 80 days between the issue of writs for an election and voting day is necessary in view of complicated arrangements for recording votes of service personnel overseas. This date would avoid conflict between the intense period of an election campaign and the late-April Victory Loan and San Francisco Conference.

Other matters of interest to the public upon which Mr. King might conceivably touch are:

The state of the war in Europe; plans for greater Canadian participation in the Pacific war; the Government's attitude towards conclusions reached by the "Big Three" at the Yalta conference; the reinforcement question; results of the application of conscription for overseas service since its imposition last November.

Reinforcements and conscription were dominant issues in the Grey North by-election. The opposition parties in the campaign urged the government to go the whole way and make all home defence conscripted troops available immediately for overseas service.

The present week will bring to an end the political lull which has followed the by-election. Besides Mr. King's address there will be a speech from Progressive Conservative Leader Bracken at the annual meeting of the Dominion Progressive Conservative Association in Ottawa.

In the Ontario Legislature there are possibilities of developments which might have a bearing on Federal politics. Premier Drew and his Progressive Conservative Government face a challenge from opposition parties which, combined outnumber its followers.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

D 48453

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48454

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Feb 28/45

Subject

Premier King To Go on Air

OTTAWA, Feb. 28—(Star Special by Staff Correspondent)—In a broadcast which may be tomorrow evening, if he can get ready in time, Premier King is to clarify the political situation by discussing the question of a session of Parliament and the general election.

The attitude which all along has been indicated here was to await developments and see what happens in the war, allowing the question of a meeting of parliament and the time of the election to be largely if not wholly governed by conditions at the front.

So far as can be ascertained, the present prospects point to another short session of Parliament unless—the unless will apply to possible circumstances in the war within the next week or two.

If, in that period, Germany should collapse, the suggestion is that an election would be brought on as soon as possible.

In his speech on Tuesday in the British House, Premier Churchill alluded to the Allies as being "ready" for the German "collapse" One construction placed on this is that it is thought imminent.

Should this prove to be the case, there is no doubt that the general election would be brought on in the quickest order, without a session.

The alternative would seem to be a session of Parliament. It would inevitably be short considering that its time will be up on April 17 anyway. Then, at the latest, dissolution will occur

It could be much earlier.

Date Unlikely

The information today is that the Prime Minister is expected generally to outline all the possibilities but perhaps without any specific date being given for the session, if there is to be one. Even more uncertain would be the date of the election.

In the natural order of things, Mr. King is expected to deal with the United Nations conference at San Francisco and his plans about attending it. The other Dominion Prime Ministers will attend, with Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee representing the British Government. The probabilities are that Mr. King will be there personally, but the domestic contingencies will influence his course.

The idea of a pre-conference exchange of views by the Empire representatives, looking to a common policy, is believed to have emanated from Premier Curtin of Australia, but this is the only statement about it. If held, it could be in San Francisco incidental to the conference proper.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Feb 28/45

Subject

MR. KING MAY PROVIDE CLUE TO ELECTION IN BROADCAST

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, Feb. 28—The federal political outlook will be considerably clarified when Premier King speaks on a national radio hook-up some night this week. It is possible the prime minister may deliver his radio address tomorrow night. If not he will go on the air as soon after that as arrangements can be made.

It is not expected that Mr. King will make a specific announcement regarding dissolution of parliament and the date of the forthcoming general election. But he will give a full outline of the considerations which will govern the decision when it is made and answer some of the speculation which has prevailed since the Grey North by-election.

Announcement that the prime minister will speak on the air was made following a long session of the cabinet yesterday. It is understood that no definite day was set yesterday for an election. The time of voting still hinges to a large extent on progress of the war in Europe. It looks now as though there is little likelihood of an appeal to the people until June and that parliament may not be dissolved until close to April 17 when its legal term expires. It is impossible to hold an election before April 25, on which date the United Nations conference opens at San Francisco. This parley is likely to continue during most of May and it is improbable that an election will be held before it concludes.

If the election goes over until June it is probable, though not certain, that a brief session of parliament will be held. The business before it would be mainly voting of money for war expenditures. Parliament at present stands prorogued until March 31, but that date can be advanced or postponed by order-in-council.

Premier King has repeatedly stated that, in the national interest, he did not want to call a federal vote until Germany is defeated. It is expected here that this will be achieved by the end of May, thus further clearing the way for a June election. It is also probable that in his radio address the Canadian prime minister will discuss the Dominion's part in international affairs in the light of the forthcoming San Francisco conference. In view of the uncertainty that has prevailed in the federal political field, his pronouncements are looked forward to with intense interest.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48456 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE 5166/45

Date FEB 28 1945

Subject

KING WILL END POLITICAL LULL

Prime Minister on Radio This Week—Election Date Expected

Ottawa, February 27.—(CP)—Some of the uncertainties which have been hanging over the Canadian political situation for weeks may be cleared away this week when Prime Minister Mackenzie King goes on the air with an important radio speech to the nation.

The major uncertainties are:

1. The date of the general election.
2. The holding or not holding of a session of parliament before the election.
3. Relationship of political developments to the forthcoming Victory Loan and Canadian representation at the United Nations world security conference at San Francisco.

Announcement that Mr. King would speak came from his office tonight after a cabinet meeting at which, presumably, political questions were discussed by the ministers.

A spokesman said Mr. King would speak "in response to some queries that have been directed at the government lately." He added that Mr. King would have some definite announcements but did not say to which points these announcements would reply.

Time or date of the broadcast has not yet been set.

The prevailing political uncertainty became pronounced following the defeat of Defence Minister McNaughton in the Grey North by-election February 5.

Prior to the by-election Mr. King said Gen. McNaughton's presence in the Commons was necessary to the holding of another session of the present parliament which he then considered desirable. He also said the date of the general election would be announced before parliament expires at the end of its five-year term April 17.

Following the byelection Mr. King said the cabinet would give consideration to whether, in view of the attitude of opposition parties, a further session of the present parliament would serve a useful purpose.

Presumably that consideration has now been given and one of Mr. King's announcements will probably be on that point.

There has been an expectation that the election date would be fixed for June, possibly June 11, since electoral officials consider a lapse of about 80 days between the issue of writs for an election and voting day is necessary in view of complicated arrangements for recording votes of service personnel overseas. This date would avoid conflict between the intense period of an election campaign and the late-April Victory Loan and San San Francisco conference.

Other matters of interest to the public upon which Mr. King might conceivably touch are:

The state of the war in Europe; plans for greater Canadian participation in the Pacific war; the government's attitude towards conclusions reached by the Big Three at the Yalta conference; the reinforcement question; results of the application of conscription for overseas service since its imposition last November.

Reinforcements and conscription were dominant issues in the Grey North by-election. The opposition parties in the campaign urged the government to go the whole way and make all home defence conscripted troops available immediately for overseas service.

The present week will bring to an end the political lull which has followed the by-election. Besides Mr. King's address there will be a speech from Progressive Conservative Leader John Bracken at the annual meeting of the Dominion Progressive Conservative Association here.

In the Ontario legislature there are possibilities of developments which might have a bearing on federal politics. Premier George Drew and his Progressive Conservative government face a challenge from opposition parties which, combined, outnumber its followers.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 48457

Date FEB 28 1945

Subject

Mr. King Soon Giving Nation 'Definite' News

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48458

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 1 1945

Prime Minister's Report to the Nation

Prime Minister Mackenzie King does well to speak to the people of Canada in a national broadcast at this time. Before long presumably the Dominion electorate will have an opportunity to pronounce upon the prime minister's record of stewardship in five years of great effort to mobilize the nation for war. In the election campaign it is traditional under party politics to throw aside the restraining influences of impartiality. The machinery of political democracy is believed to work best by dividing the people into rival party camps: prejudices are played upon; party banners, slogans and catchwords are employed to influence the verdict. It is most desirable that there should be a more judicial report to the nation before the partisan clamor is started.

* * *

The responsibilities of the government have never been greater. The responsibilities of the people of Canada to the men on active service overseas are equally grave. No one can foretell the limit of demands on Canadian resourcefulness and fortitude. The government is informed, however, on the magnitude of the task as it is being shouldered at present by the Canadian troops on the Rhine front and in Italy. The responsibility is upon the government to make the very best possible provision for the men in the firing line —to see that they continue to receive trained reinforcements, weapons, munitions and supplies. A heavy strain is liable to be imposed upon the Canadian army in the present weeks of climax, no less than the strain during the weeks of rapid advance from Normanady through France to Belgium. There has to be no hiatus, no lag in the flow of support from Canada to the Canadian fighting forces.

* * *

It has been disconcerting to see the government without ministers at this time of supreme effort. The prime minister has never pretended to any claim of military prescience. He has rather followed the policy of relying on responsible ministers to get the desired results. Since Messrs. Ralston and Power resigned, the cabinet has been without experienced guidance by ministers elected to be responsible to parliament for the army and air force.

Every day there must be great anxiety in thousands of Canadian homes as the increasing violence of the assault on Germany is reported. The first concern of the people of Canada must surely be that no effort is spared by the government at Ottawa to support the men whose lives are dedicated daily to the service of the people of this nation. The Canadian men everywhere, on the ships at sea, on land and in the air, are equal to the best. They are entitled to Canada's best. They have set a magnificent record for Canada.

* * *

The prime minister could properly speak to the nation giving an account of the government's stewardship during the war years. There is concern, too, in Canada over the approaching outbreak of peace. There should be more adequate preparedness for a civilized way of life when war debt finance is discontinued than for Canada's declaration of war in 1939.

As surely as the economics of scarcity had to be set to one side to start the wheels of war industry, it will be essential to reject restrictive deflationary advice to keep the wheels of industry running after the war. Steps in the direction of deflation or credit restriction, so-called drastic economy or retrenchment, would be as calculated to precipitate unemployment and trade depression after this war as they were after the last war. Canada has to go forward along an expanding path of total use to avoid needless privation and economic breakdown.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King must surely remember the consequences of deflation in Canada after 1930. The government cannot afford to be intimidated again by the economics of scarcity.

The responsibilities of the government to the men on active service are heavy at this moment. The government has to see that immediate effective aid continues to go forward. At the same time, the government's responsibilities extend beyond this immediate period of climax to prepare against years of anti-climax when the men come home.

No one can accuse the prime minister of having made an extravagant use of public facilities to keep before the public. He is entitled to speak. No Canadian can speak with greater authority on Canada's part in the war and on the path to be followed by Canada when the war is won.

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date March 1/45

Subject

M. King à la radio

Le premier ministre du Canada a annoncé qu'il parlerait, durant une demi-heure, à la radio, vendredi soir, au peuple canadien. C'est la première fois que M. King s'adressera directement au peuple canadien depuis l'élection complémentaire de Grey-nord, dans laquelle son ministre de la Défense nationale a été défait. A cette occasion, le premier ministre avait écrit trois lettres aux électeurs de cette circonscription canadienne. Mais il n'avait pas parlé à la radio. La dernière fois que M. King avait utilisé le micro pour parler au peuple canadien, ce fut au cours de la crise nationale, créée en novembre dernier par le problème de la conscription militaire pour service outre-mer.

Du bureau du premier ministre, lorsqu'on a annoncé cette nouvelle, on a laissé entendre que M. King répondra aux nombreuses demandes de renseignements parvenues, depuis quelque temps, à son bureau.

Nous touchons du doigt à l'un des inconvénients de n'avoir pas de session à cette époque-ci de l'année. D'ordinaire, au début d'une année, le parlement canadien est en session. Les députés posent les questions sur lesquelles le public désire être renseigné. S'il le juge à propos, le gouvernement y répond sur le champ. Mais, cette année, à cause de la confusion de la politique, le gouvernement n'a pas cru bon jusqu'à présent de tenir de session. Dans les circonstances, le premier ministre n'a que la radio et la presse pour se mettre en communication directe avec le public canadien.

Le jour et l'heure de cette causerie nous paraissent avoir été mal choisis. Le bureau du premier ministre avait d'abord annoncé le discours du premier ministre sans indiquer de date précise. On avait fait alors savoir que M. King s'adresserait, cette semaine, à la radio, au peuple canadien. Nous nous attendions que ce serait jeudi soir. Mais, mercredi, on a déclaré que le premier ministre ne parlerait que vendredi soir. Les journaux de samedi, comme ils sont imprimés dans l'avant-midi, devront faire diligence, pour publier le discours de M. King, si ce discours mérite d'être publié presque inextenso. Au point de vue publicitaire, M. King a donc mal choisi le jour et l'heure de l'émission de sa causerie à la radio. En outre, le choix de vendredi soir empêchera la plupart des journaux de la commenter avant lundi. Il se peut que ce soit là la raison qui ait poussé le premier ministre à parler vendredi soir, s'il doit aborder de questions brûlantes et qu'il veuille laisser le peuple réfléchir, en fin de semaine, sur ce qu'il a dit, avant de lire les attaques qui, dans ce cas, la presse opposée à lui aurait déclenchée dès le lendemain, s'il avait parlé, par exemple, jeudi soir.

Dans l'intervalle, les observateurs politiques spéculent sur les points auxquels le discours de M. King touchera. Les deux principales questions que le public se pose depuis quelque temps sont les suivantes: Y aura-t-il une session fédérale avant la dissolution du parlement et quand les élections générales auront-elles lieu? Il se peut que le premier ministre, après avoir longuement médité depuis l'élection de Grey-nord, ait enfin pris une décision définitive à ce sujet, et qu'il satisfasse la curiosité publique sur ces deux points. Le fait que le premier ministre ait décidé de s'adresser au peuple canadien à la radio semble indiquer que ses tergiversations ont pris fin.

Camille L'HEUREUX

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48460

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 1 1945

Subject

Mr. King, Radio, and Parliament.

Prime Minister KING has let it be known that he intends going on the radio some night this week to tell the Canadian people what is in his mind regarding (1) whether there should be another session of the present Parliament and (2) whether we should have a general election before the collapse of Germany and, if so, when.

We have a suspicion, grounded on fairly solid information, that Mr. KING has been forced into this course by pressure placed upon him within his own cabinet—by the sort of pressure which, in November, forced him to yield to public opinion and change his mind overnight with respect to reinforcements. There are men in Mr. KING'S cabinet with small liking for those political blackouts which the Prime Minister seems so fond of, who do not like the idea of running the country in blinkers.

On the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, or a flickering candle better than darkness, Mr. KING'S going on the radio must be welcomed. At the same time, it seems right to point out that this business of speaking on the radio is not the traditional British way by which a Prime Minister reports to the people. When Mr. CHURCHILL has a report for the British people he makes it in Parliament; makes it in a forum where his decisions and policies are subject to debate and cross-examination, and where he must re-examine his own ideas in the light of the ideas of others. That is what is happening in the British Parliament at the present time.

Nor is it an answer to say that Mr. CHURCHILL reported to Parliament this week only because Parliament is in session. Canada's Parliament should be in session. It was summoned to meet on February 28, and when it was ready to meet, to hear the many things that Mr. KING'S Government has a duty to tell it, its meeting was postponed until the end of March. We have heard nothing about it since.

There are many and vital reasons why Parliament should be meeting. We are nearing the end of the fiscal year, with billions to be voted for next year. We are on the eve of a momentous United Nations gathering in San Francisco, in which Canada is concerned vitally. Are these matters—with others almost equally important—merely things for Mr. KING to discuss on the radio, with no one to ask questions, or to answer back?

We seem, in this country, to have departed a long way from the principles of parliamentary government. Ironically, we have departed from them under a Prime Minister who, all his life, has posed as a champion of Parliament.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48461

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date March 1/45

Subject

Will Mr. King Tell?

PRIME Minister King is to take to the air, tomorrow night, to address the Canadian people. It is promised that he will tell them some things. There is plenty to tell, if the Prime Minister will only open up and take the nation into his confidence. There are many questions Canadians would like to have answered.

Will Mr. King explain how it is that he, who pretends to be the great champion of the rights and liberties of Parliament, has been flouting Parliament now for several weeks, neither calling it into session, as he might have done, nor dissolving it and seeking a new mandate?

Will he tell us what he proposes to do about Parliament? Will he tells us if there is to be a winter session? Will he tell when he proposes to bring on the general election?

Will Mr. King give us some information as to what he proposes to do at the San Francisco conference? What, in a broad way, are to be his policies there? Whom does he intend to take with him to represent Canada? How can he, with an expired mandate, presume to represent Canada at all? What is his attitude toward the proposal of Prime Minister Curtin of Australia that the British Empire representatives should meet first?

Will Mr. King enlighten the Canadian people on the reinforcement question? Three months ago, Colonel Ralston stated that it was serious. Is it better now? How much better is it? What steps have been taken to remedy it? Are the men overseas satisfied that they are receiving adequate support?

Lastly, will Mr. King explain the mystery about General McNaughton? Why did he bring him back from overseas? How did he persuade the general to reverse his position on conscription so completely once he had him in the cabinet? Or was it the general who reversed Mr. King? And how does the Prime Minister justify his retention as minister of defense of a man in whom neither the Canadian people nor the Canadian Army have the confidence they should have in the minister charged with supervision of Canada's war effort?

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48462

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 1 1945

Subject

Prime Minister Speaks To Nation Tomorrow Night

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address this week, in which he is expected to announce government decisions and the reasons for them, will be made at 9 p.m., EDT, Friday, and will last approximately a half-hour, it was announced last night. The address will be broadcast over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Since the speech is not being made on the time allotted to the Liberal party for political speeches it is not expected he will enter into political arguments or controversy.

However, the address is awaited with intense interest by politicians of all parties because they are hopeful one of the announcements will be the government's decision on a session of Parliament and another may be the date of the general election.

While Mr. King is speaking over the national network, John Bracken, Progressive Conservative national leader, will be addressing key men of his party gathered in Ottawa from across Canada. The Bracken speech will not be broadcast but as it will be delivered at the last pre-election meeting of the Dominion Progressive Conservative Association it is expected to be a considered utterance of some importance to the party.

Originally Mr. King had planned to speak tonight but the CBC was unable to arrange time for him on the entire network at such short notice and the date was changed to tomorrow night.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48463

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 2 1945

Subject

King's Speech Tonight May Tell Who Goes to 'Frisco for Canada

By F. C. MEARS.
(Gazette Resident Correspondent.)

Ottawa, March 1. — President Roosevelt's assurance to Congress today that both Republicans and Democrats would be American spokesmen at the San Francisco Conference; Australia's action in naming both Government and Opposition delegates, and the selection of Anthony Eden and Clement Atlee as the British representatives of a national or bi-partisan government, have brought to a head the move for a similar delegation from Canada.

A bipartisan delegation from this Dominion, however, would require an extension of the life of the present nineteenth Parliament, otherwise spokesmen for the other groups, including the Progressive Conservative and C.C.F., would not actually be representing Parliament, for it will have ceased to function at least a week before the San Francisco parley opens. Because of this, there are many here urging that Parliament's life be extended so that Canada would not be practically the only Anglo-Saxon nation without a bi-partisan delegation.

There seems to be little hope, though, of persuading the Prime Minister to abandon his objections to extending the life of Parliament, and it is expected that in his radio address tomorrow night at nine o'clock he will indicate the composition of the Canadian delegation which will be confined entirely to representatives of the present government, even though Parliament will have disappeared and with it the administration's mandate.

While officials are closelipped on the probable contents of Prime Minister's radio message to the people, it is believed Prime Minister King will also shed light on the urgent problem of another short session before Parliament's life expires on April 1. But this session would, if government plans carry, be restricted to the sole task of voting interim supply to carry on the war effort and maintain civil government up to the end of June.

It was announced in London today that the British Commonwealth meeting, preparatory to the San Francisco parley, would be held in London and not in Canada. Canada is expected to be represented by Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, and by officials of the Department of External Affairs, including Dr. Norman Robertson and Hume Wrong. This conference of Commonwealth Governments will not make ministerial representation necessary.

Now that President Roosevelt has stated he would be at San Francisco to welcome the United Nations delegations, it is probable that Prime Minister King will go there for a short time. What plans are being made for Canadian representation are expected to be disclosed by the Prime Minister in his radio address.

This radio broadcast is not, however, likely to deal with the much-discussed prospects for a general election and when that will be held. Final decision on this, it is understood, has not yet been reached by the government.

Position Seen Unsure

London, March 1.(CP. Cable)—The Times warned today that the present atmosphere of political uncertainty in Canada could lead to a weakening of the Dominion's position at the forthcoming world security conference in San Francisco.

Commenting that further prorogation of Parliament accords with Prime Minister Mackenzie King's desire to keep the issue of conscription out of politics, The Times said: "An election on this issue could hardly fail to follow racial lines of division and by weakening the Dominion's unity impair its authority in the forthcoming international discussions...

"For the moment, however, postponement of dissolution has intensified the political uncertainty."

Reviewing the transition of Canadian politics since 1940, the editorial said:

"Since then the C.C.F. has scored some notable victories in provincial elections and the belief is general that the Dominion is moving towards a three-party system.

"Hope that an election would at least clear the air was an argument in favor of early dissolution. It would be a serious blow to Canadian pride if the Government's authority in international councils were weakened by a precarious position at home."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48404

Name of Publication La Presse

Date March 2/45

Subject

M. KING S'ADRESSE AU PEUPLE CANADIEN

C'est avec impatience que le peuple canadien attend le discours que le premier ministre de notre Dominion, le très honorable Mackenzie King, doit prononcer à la radio aujourd'hui même et qui, à ce qu'on attend, doit expliquer quelles sont les intentions du gouvernement au sujet de la politique intérieure et extérieure. Et les circonstances sont telles que nos populations ont encore plus hâte que d'habitude de savoir à quoi s'en tenir.

Il faut prévoir, étant donnée l'importance que M. King attache aux relations du Canada avec les pays étrangers, qu'une large partie de ses remarques tendra à définir les buts de la conférence internationale qui se tiendra à San Francisco pour discuter de la paix vers la fin d'avril prochain. M. King est censé assister personnellement à ces assisès et il voudra très probablement profiter de l'occasion que lui offre son discours pour rappeler jusqu'où et dans quel sens le Canada est prêt à collaborer au maintien de la paix.

Aux problèmes du dehors se joignent pour le premier ministre fédéral ceux du dedans et qui, non moins que les autres, causent de graves soucis. Les observateurs paraissent d'avis que M. King s'occupera avant tout, dans ses décisions, de respecter les principes et la coutume parlementaires qui n'ont cessé de la guider principalement au cours des années de guerre. Mais il veillera en même temps à ce que le travail essentiel des armées sur les champs de bataille ne soit entravé d'aucune façon par la politique.

Peut-être une courte session pour disposer des crédits indispensables à l'effort de guerre et aux besoins immédiats de l'administration jusqu'à ce que l'électorat canadien se soit prononcé, voilà ce qui semble presser davantage et l'on a raison de croire que M. King l'annoncera pour une date assez prochaine. Le chef du gouvernement s'est toujours montré soucieux de régler ses actes publics d'après la lettre et même l'esprit de la constitution; il tiendra certes à rester fidèle à cette pratique jusqu'à la fin du parlement.

M. King contentera-t-il le désir des personnes qui désirent apprendre dès maintenant le jour exact où auront lieu les élections fédérales? On l'ignore, mais cette question ne revêt qu'une importance secondaire du moment qu'Ottawa se trouve à avoir pourvu aux besoins urgents du pays, pour ce qui regarde la conduite de la guerre et le fonctionnement de l'administration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D48465 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 3 1945

Subject

TEXT OF MACKENZIE KING'S RADIO SPEECH

Ottawa, March 2. — (CP) — (Advanced) — The text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio speech follows:

We have all been greatly heartened in recent weeks by the news from the fighting fronts. We have been no less heartened by the unmistakable unity of purpose of the Allied nations, so strikingly confirmed by the Crimean Conference. As Canadians we are prouder than ever of the splendid achievements of our fighting forces. At the moment, we feel particularly proud that the Canadian Army has been a spearhead of the mounting offensive from the west. It is an honor to Canada that units and formations of other Allied armies are distinguishing themselves under Canadian command in Germany, just as the 1st Canadian Corps is distinguishing itself in Italy as part of the British 8th Army.

To all of you who have husbands or sons, brothers or friends, in the Canadian forces in Germany or Italy, I wish to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders.

Recently there has been much speculation as to the government's plans for the coming months.

I should like this evening to remove some of the uncertainties which I know have been in the public mind. I should like you to know some of the reasons which have made it difficult for me to make definite announcements at an earlier date. I want particularly to have you made aware of some of the considerations of which the government has had to take into account, and upon which its plan of action is based.

I am perfectly sure that the people of Canada do not wish a general election before the European war is over. What they wish for, above all else, is a speedy end to the war itself.

Until German resistance is crushed, what they most desire, I believe, is concentration upon the winning of the war. Until Germany surrenders we shall have to count on continuous heavy fighting. It is our first duty to give the fullest possible support to our fighting men. All other considerations should take second place.

Once the decisive battles have been fought, a general election should be held as soon as possible. An election campaign will afford ample opportunity for the freest and fullest discussion of all public issues.

It is obviously in the national interest that a general election should come at a time most favorable to a dispassionate consideration of the policies of our different political parties.

So far as members of the armed forces are concerned, there is everything to be said in favor of having the elections held after the end of the war, or as near its close as possible. The present government has consistently taken the position that it was desirable, if possible, to avoid another wartime general election.

We have recognized that controversy, on a nation-wide scale at home, and in every unit among the forces overseas, would be inseparable from a general election. Throughout the years of war we have sought to keep down party strife. We have sought to avoid giving even the excuse for unnecessary controversy.

We have felt that with all arms of the fighting services facing a terrible ordeal of battle they should, if at all possible, and for as long a time as possible, command a united front at home. We have had every reason to believe that in this view we are reflecting the will of the people of Canada as a whole.

I have staed over and over again, both in the House of Commons and outside Parliament, that I felt it was in the light of what Canada owed to her fighting men that any question as to the time of a general election should be viewed.

HOPES FOR PEACE

I still hope an election may not be necessary before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who survive the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war.

The present government was returned to office in 1940 as a war administration. Its aim from that moment up to this hour has been the achievement of the utmost effort to win the war. Canada's war effort speaks for itself.

It speaks for itself in every part of the world. But while we have considered, first and foremost, the demands of the war, we have also endeavored to look beyond the war into the future and to make preparations to meet post-war problems.

"I am sure you will agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the critical needs of the war than a nation-wide political campaign. The truth of this statement was abundantly illustrated during the recent by-election campaign in Grey North. But once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace.

It has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war in Europe is over. This has been a matter of constant concern. For five years, however, we have been able to carry on without a general election.

We have now reached a time in the war itself where we have strong reasons for hoping that a general election will not be necessary while our men are fighting at the front. . .

The progress of the war in Europe is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date for a general election. Were it possible to predict the end of the war, the fixing of the date of a general election would occasion no difficulty whatever. It is uncertainty in the case of the one which begets uncertainty in the case of the other.

As is well known, there were times in the past year when many military experts expressed the view that the war would be over before the year was out. Later, it was widely believed that the end would come in the first two months of the present year.

The German offensive in December upset the basis of that calculation. Since Von Rundstedt's forces were driven back and the Allied offensive renewed, steady progress has been made in the West. Plans for offensives against Germany from all directions were further developed and fully coordinated at the Crimea Conference.

The encirclement of Germany is complete. The decisive battles are now being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a question of years. . . .

On the 18th of last month Field Marshal Montgomery told the men under his command that the operations of the Allies on all fronts had brought the German war to its final stage. He said: "We have now come to the last and final round, and we want and will go in for the knockout blow."

The Russian armies have swept across the eastern borders of Germany and are at the gates of Berlin. American, British and Canadian forces are attacking Cologne and other strongholds of the Rhineland. From the skies, by day as wel las by night, the German capital is being showered with bombs and incendiaries.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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D 48466

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east and from the west meet "in the centre of Germany."

Here surely are the strongest of reasons why no distraction should prevent the utmost effort of Canada to hasten the victory in this final stage of the war. That is why a general election should not be held at present. Consideration for the members of our armed forces who from now on will be in the thick of the conflict, and for their relatives at home, is in itself sufficient to justify such a decision.

Another consideration which enters into the fixing of a date for the general election is the date at which another Victory Loan campaign must be held. The Victory Loans are an all-important part of Canada's war effort. Just because the war is now in its final stage, it is more necessary than ever that this year's loan should meet with unprecedented success.

VICTORY LOAN PROBLEM

It has become customary to hold a Victory Loan campaign in the spring of each year. A change in the date of the campaign, either by its postponement or its advancement, might have an unfavorable effect upon the loan. The Victory Loan campaign for the present year is scheduled to begin on April 23 and to conclude on May 12. To have a general election campaign and a Victory Loan campaign going on at the same time would create endless confusion. It would certainly prove prejudicial to the loan.

The taking of the overseas vote requires a period of some eight weeks between the issue of the writs for a general election and the day of polling. Nomination of candidates takes place four weeks before polling day. If there is not to be serious overlapping in the two campaigns, either the general election should be over before the Victory Loan or the election should not take place for a reasonable time after the close of the Victory Loan campaign.

So far as the Victory Loan is concerned, it would be a distinct advantage to have members of all political parties join in making it the greatest possible success. There can be no doubt that this end would be best achieved by having the Victory Loan precede the general election.

The conference on a world security organization to be held at San Francisco is another factor which demands consideration in determining the date to be fixed for a general election. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Canada being represented at this important conference of the United Nations. If Canada is to be represented, the date of the general election will have to be considered in relation to the proceedings of the conference. The San Francisco conference opens its proceedings on April 25.

The questions likely to arise at the conference and the personnel of Canada's representation are matters to which the government is at present giving consideration. The fact that the Victory Loan campaign begins on April 23 and the San Francisco conference on April 25, and that both will continue on into the month of May, makes it clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June.

WAR UNPREDICTABLE

It is impossible to fix a definite date now, because it is impossible to predict the course of the war. One thing however is certain: Each month and each day brings us nearer to the end of the war. It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs.

I now come to the question as to whether Parliament should meet again before a general election. The present Parliament has all but run its course. The last session closed on January 31. If, before that date, the decisive battles in Europe had been fought and the order had been given to "cease fire" a dissolution of Parliament would have followed immediately. The date for a general election would have been set at that time.

The duration of Parliament, as fixed by the constitution, is five years. The usual practice is to hold one session each year. Regular sessions of this Parliament have been held in each of the calendar years since 1940. The present Parliament has therefore had its full five sessions. The 1945 regular session will not be the last session of a Parliament that has all but covered its alloted span. It should be, and will be, like the 1940 session, the first session of a parliament newly elected by the people.

On December 7 last, the House of Commons voted to aid the government in maintaining a vigorous war effort. The vote made it apparent that there was no need for an immediate general election. The govrnment felt that, if at all possible, and for as long as possible, Parliament should be kept in being while the war in Europe continued. . . .

We also desired to make as much progress as we could with public business, accordingly, we adopted a procedure which we believed would enable some progress to be made in the consideration of war appropriations and ordinary government estimates for the fiscal year 1945-46. It was never contemplated, however, that a brief session for this purpose would, in any sense of the word, be a substitute for the 1945 regular season.

Given a readiness by the different parties to co-operate, the government felt that the time available for a session would be ample for a consideration of war measures. The presence in the House of Commons of the Minister of National Defence was regarded by the government as essential to an informed discussion of war appropriations. The by-election in Grey North was brought on solely for the purpose of making this possible. The government assumed that such a course of procedure would be welcomed by members of all political parties.

NEED INTERIM SUPPLY

In view of the result of the by-election, the government had grave doubts as to whether any useful purpose could be served by having Parliament reassemble. We gave serious consideration to an immediate dissolution, but concluded it was our duty to hold firm to our resolve to avoid a general election, if at all possible, while the war against Germany continued. There was always a remote chance that a sudden break might have ensured an end of the European war early enough to permit a general election before the Victory Loan. Until last week there was time enough for an election to take place before April 23.

We were perfectly certain that the people would not wish an election campaign to be fought out in the House of Common while our men overseas were engaged in the bitterest fighting.

The government however, never lost sight of the fact that, unless Parliament voted sufficient money to finance the war, and the ordinary expenses of government over the period of a general election, it would be necessary to use Governor-General's warrants for these purposes. Such a course the government was most anxious to avoid.

A measure of interim supply is required to bridge over the period between the end of the present fiscal year and the opening of a new Parliament after a general election. For the purpose of obtaining the necessary appropriations, the government, following sound constitutional practice, has decided to call Parliament into session at an early date. It is the intention of the government to ask for appropriations only for the period from the beginning of the new fiscal year through a general election.

It will be for the newly elected Parliament to vote the appropriations necessary for the full fiscal year up to March 31, 1946.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48407

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

So much for the financial needs of which, throughout, the government has had to take account.

Since the Crimea Conference, an additional reason has arisen for a brief session of the present Parliament.

Next to the winning of the war the winning of the peace is the supreme end to be achieved. Peace can only be made to last through cooperative action on the part of peace-loving nations. I have frequently expressed the view that the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace.

The purpose of the forthcoming conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world. I have already mentioned the necessity of Canada being represented at the conference. It is vital that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs. It is therefore desirable that the Canadian delegation should go to San Francisco with an assurance of the widest possible measure of support from Parliament. An expression of such support will be sought at the forthcoming session.

His Excellency the Governor General, on the advice of the government, has today issued a proclamation summoning Parliament to meet on Monday, March 19, for the dispatch of business.

The concluding days of a Parliament that has all but run its course are rarely constructive, and the debates are generally controversial and bitter. In view, however, of the special character of the forthcoming session, it is hoped that all parties will cooperate in the speedy discharge of essential business, leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament

We are at this very time passing through one of the most solemn moments in the history of the world.

For our security, for the future of our country, for the freedom of mankind, the sons of Canada are offering their lives. They are fighting and dying, as Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party affiliation.

To be worthy of them and of the cause for which they fight and for which so many have already given their lives, we at home should live together and work together, in these fateful months, with a minimum of controversy, dissension and division. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen are daily adding fresh lustre to the name of Canada. Surely it is for us at home to uphold and cherish the name and the fame of the country for which they are prepared to give their all.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48468

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 3 1945

Brief Session Of House To Open March 19

Prime Minister King Says There's "Strong Reasons" to Hope for Peace in Europe Before Election Held in Canada

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night announced a short session of parliament starting March 19, made clear that Canada will not have a general election until June at least and said there were "strong reasons" to hope for peace in Europe before an election is held.

"The most positive assurance" that the overseas army is receiving fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements was given by Mr. King who added that overseas reinforcement pools were more than amply filled to meet needs.

Germany Encircled.

In a 4,000-word address delivered over a CBC network, Mr. King discussed reasons for the government's decision to call Parliament and expressed the hope the war would be over in Europe before the election.

"The encirclement of Germany is complete," he said. "The decisive battles now are being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a question of years."

Parliament at the forthcoming session, he said, will be asked to do two things: Vote money appropriations for the period from the beginning of the new fiscal year, April 1, through a general election and give "an expression of support" to the Canadian delegation at the forthcoming security conference at San Francisco April 25 on an international organization to maintain peace.

Solemn Moment.

Mr. King expressed the hope that, in view of the special character of the session, all parties would "cooperate in the speedy discharge of essential business, leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament." He said debates at the end of a Parliament were often controversial and bitter, but the present was one of the most solemn moments in world history.

"For our security, for the future of our country, for the freedom of mankind, the sons of Canada are offering their lives," he said.

"They are fighting and dying as Canadians without distinction of race or creed or party affiliation.

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Following is the text of the address delivered by Premier King last night in a radio broadcast to the nation:

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Plans for Coming Months.

Recently there has been much speculation as to the government's plans for the coming months. I should like this evening to remove some of the uncertainties which I know have been in the public mind. I should like you to know some of the reasons which have made it difficult for me to make definite announcements at an earlier date. I want particularly to have you made aware of some of the considerations of which the government has had to take account, and upon which its plan of action is based.

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Plans for Coming Months..

Recently there has been much speculation as to the government's plans for the coming months. I should like this evening to remove some of the uncertainties which I know have been in the public mind. I should like you to know some of the reasons which have made it difficult for me to make definite announcements at an earlier date. I want particularly to have you made aware of some of the considerations of which the government has had to take account, and upon which its plan of action is based.

I am perfectly sure that the people of Canada do not wish a general election before the European war is over. What they wish for, above all else, is a speedy end to the war itself. Until German resistance is crushed, what they most desire, I believe, is concentration upon the winning of the war. Until Germany surrenders we shall have to count on continuous heavy fighting.

It is our first duty to give the fullest possible support to our fighting men. All other considerations should take second place. Once the decisive battles have been fought, a general election

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should be held as soon as possible. An election campaign will afford ample opportunity for the freest and fullest discussion of all public issues.

It is obviously in the national interest that a general election should come at a time most favorable to a dispassionate consideration of the policies of the different political parties. So far as members of the armed forces are concerned, there is everything to be said in favor of having the elections held after the end of the war, or as near its close as possible.

Efforts to Avoid Election.

The present government has consistently taken the position that it was desirable, if possible, to avoid another wartime general election. We have recognized that controversy, on a nation-wide scale at home, and in every unit among the forces overseas, would be inseparable from a general election. Throughout the years of war, we have sought to keep down party strife. We have sought to avoid giving even the excuse for unnecessary controversy. We have felt that with all arms of the fighting services facing a terrible ordeal of battle, they should, if at all possible, and for as long a time as possible, command a united front at home. We have had every reason to believe that in this view we were reflecting the will of the people of Canada as a whole.

I have stated, over and over again, both in the House of Commons and outside Parliament, that I felt it was in the light of what Canada owed to her fighting men that any question as to the time of a general election should be viewed. I still hope an election may not be necessary before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who survive the ordeal of battle in the different theaters of war.

Canada's War Effort.

The present government was returned to office in 1940 as a war administration. Its aim from that moment up to this hour has been the achievement of the utmost effort to win the war. Canada's war effort speaks for itself. It speaks for itself in every part of the world. But while we have considered, first and foremost, the demands of the war, we have also endeavored to look beyond the war into the future, and to make preparations to meet post-war problems.

I am sure you will agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the critical needs of the war than a nation-wide political campaign. The truth of this statement was abundantly illustrated during the recent by-election campaign in Grey North. But once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace.

Election Depends on War.

It has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war in Europe is over. This has been a matter of constant concern. For five years, however, we have been able to carry on without a general election. We have now reached a time in the war itself where we have strong reasons for hoping that a general election will not be necessary while our men are fighting at the front.

The progress of the war in Europe is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date for a general election. Were it possible to predict the end of the war, the fixing of the date of the general election would occasion no difficulty whatever. It is uncertainty in the case of the one which begets uncertainty in the case of the other. As is well known, there were times in the past year when many military experts expressed the view that the war would be over before the year was out.

Later, it was widely believed that the end would come in the first two months of the present year. The German offensive in December upset the basis of that calculation. Since von Rundstedt's forces were driven back, and the Allied offensive renewed, steady progress has been made in the West. Plans for offensives against Germany from all directions were further developed and fully co-ordinated at the Crimea Conference.

Now in Final Stages.

The encirclement of Germany is complete. The decisive battles are now being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a quetsion of years.

On the 18th of last month, Field Marshal Montgomery told the men under his command that the operations of the Allies on all fronts had brought the German war to its final stage. He said: "We have now come to the last and final round, and we want and will go in for the knockout blow."

The Russian armies have swept across the Eastern borders of Germany and are at the gates of Berlin. American, British and Canadian forces are attacking Cologne and other strongholds of the Rhineland. From the skies, by day as well as by night, the German capital is being showered with bombs and incendiaries. All Germany's industrial centers are meeting a like fate.

General Eisenhower's latest word is that the campaign now in progress will end only when Allied armies from the East and from the West meet "in the center of Germany."

Here surely are the strongest of reasons why no distraction should prevent the utmost effort of Canada to hasten the victory in this final stage of the war. That is why a general election should not be held at present. Consideration for the members of our own armed forces, who from now on will be in the thick of the conflict, and for their relatives at home, is in itself sufficient to justify such a decision.

Coming Victory Loan.

Another consideration which enters into the fixing of a date for the general election is the date at which another Victory Loan campaign must be held. The Victory Loans are an all-important part of Canada's war effort. Just because the war is now in its final stage, it is more necessary than ever that this year's loan should meet with unprecedented success.

It has become customary to hold a Victory Loan campaign in the spring of each year. A change in the date of the campaign, either by its postponement or its advancement, might have an unfortunate effect upon the loan.

The Victory Loan campaign for the present year is scheduled to begin on April 23rd and to conclude on May 12th. To have a general election campaign and a Victory Loan campaign going on at the same time would create endless confusion. It would certainly prove prejudicial to the loan.

The taking of the overseas vote requires a period of some eight week between the issue of the writs for a general election and the day of polling. Nomination of candidates takes place four weeks before polling day. If there is not to be serious overlapping in the

two campaigns, either the general election should be over before the Victory Loan or the election should not take place for a reasonable time after the close of the Victory Loan campaign. So far as the Victory Loan is concerned it would be a distinct advantage to have members of all political parties join in making it the greatest possible success. There can be no doubt that this end would be best achieved by having the Victory Loan precede the general election.

San Francisco Conference.

The Conference on a World Security Organization to be held at San Francisco is another factor which demands consideration in determining the date to be fixed for a general election. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Canada being represented at this important conference of the United Nations. If Canada is to be represented, the date of the general election will have to be considered in relation to the proceedings of the conference. The San Francisco Conference opens its proceedings on April 25th.

The questions likely to arise at the conference and the personnel of Canada's representation are matters to which the government is at present giving consideration. The fact that the Victory Loan Campaign begins on April 23rd and the San Francisco Conference on April 25th, and that both will continue on into the month of May, makes it clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June.

Cannot Fix Definite Date.

It is impossible to fix a definite date now, because it is impossible to predict the course of the war. One thing however is certain: each month and each day brings us nearer to the end of the war. It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco Conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs.

Question of Further Session.

I now come to the question as to whether Parliament should meet again before a general election. The present Parliament has all but run its course. The last session closed on January 31st. If, before that date, the decisive battles in Europe had been fought and the order had been given to "cease fire," a dissolution of Parliament would have followed immediately. The date for a general election would have been set at that time.

The duration of Parliament, as fixed by the Constitution, is five years. The usual practice is to hold one session in each year. Regular sessions of this Parliament have been held in each of the calendar years since 1940. The present Parliament has therefore had its full five sessions. The 1945 regular session will not be the last session of a Parliament that has all but covered its allotted span. It should be, and will be, like the 1940 session, the first session of a Parliament newly elected by the people.

Brief Session for 1945.

On December 7th last, the House of Commons voted to aid the government in maintaining a vigorous war effort. The vote made it apparent that there was no need for an immediate general election. The government felt that, if at all possible, and for as long as possible, Parliament should be kept in being while the war in Europe continued. We also desired to make as much progress as we could with public business. Accordingly, we adopted a procedure which we believed would enable some progress to be made in the consideration of war appropriations and ordinary government estimates for the fiscal year 1945-46. It was never contemplated, however, that a brief session for this purpose would, in any sense of the word, be a substitute for the 1945 regular session.

Given a readiness by the different parties to co-operate, the government felt that the time available for a session would be ample for a consideration of war measures. The presence in the House of Commons of the Minister of National Defence was regarded by the government as essential to an informed discussion of war appropriations. The by-election in Grey North was brought on solely for the purpose of making this possible. The government assumed that such a course of procedure would be welcomed by members of all political parties.

Considered Dissolution.

In view of the result of the by-election, the government had grave doubts as to whether any useful purpose could be served by having Parliament reassemble. We gave serious consideration to an immediate dissolution, but concluded it was our duty to hold firm to our resolve to avoid a general election, if at all possible, while the war against Germany continued. There was always a remote chance that a sudden break might have ensured an end of the European war early enough to permit a general election before the Victory Loan. Until last week there was time enough for an election to take place before April 23rd.

We were perfectly certain that the people would not wish an election campaign to be fought out in the House of Commons while our men overseas were engaged in the bitterest of fighting. The government, however, never lost sight of the fact that, unless Parliament voted sufficient money to finance the war, and the ordinary expenses of government over the period of a general election, it would be necessary to use Governor General's warrants for these purposes. Such a course the government was most anxious to avoid.

To Meet on March 19.

A measure of interim supply is required to bridge over the period between the end of the present fiscal year and the opening of a new Parliament after a general election. For the purpose of obtaining the necessary appropriations, the government, following sound constitutional practice, has decided to call Parliament into session at an early date. It is the intention of the government to ask for appropriations only for the period from the beginning of the new fiscal year through a general election. It will be for the newly elected Parliament to vote the appropriations necessary for the full fiscal year up to March 31st, 1946.

So much for the financial needs of which, throughout, the government has had to take account.

Since the Crimea Conference, an additional reason has arisen for a brief session of the present Parliament. Next to the winning of the war, the winning of the peace is the supreme end to be achieved. Peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. I have frequently ex-

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pressed the view that the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace.

Support for Delegates.

The purpose of the forthcoming Conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world. I have already mentioned the necessity of Canada being represented at the Conference. It is vital that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs. It is therefore desirable that the Canadian delegation should go to San Francisco with an assurance of the widest possible measure of support from Parliament. An expression of such support will be sought at the forthcoming session.

His Excellency the Governor-General, on the advice of the government, has today issued a proclamation summoning Parliament to meet on Monday, March 19th, for the despatch of business.

The Need for Unity.

The concluding days of a Parliament that has all but run its course are rarely constructive, and the debates are generally controversial and bitter. In view, however, of the special character of the forthcoming session, it is hoped that all parties will co-operate in the speedy discharge of essential business, leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament.

We are, at this very time, passing through one of the most solemn moments in the history of the world.

For our security, for the future of our country, for the freedom of mankind, the sons of Canada are offering their lives. They are fighting and dying, as Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party affiliation. To be worthy of them and of the cause for which they fight, and for which so many have already given their lives, we at home should live together and work together, in these fateful months, with a minimum of controversy, dissension and division. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen are daily adding fresh lustre to the name of Canada. Surely it is for us at home to uphold and cherish the name and the fame of the country for which they are prepared to give their all.

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Office of
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Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 3 1945

5166/45

Subject

House Meets March 19 Pass War Bill

Prime Minister Hopes To Avoid Election Until Huns Beaten

Parliament will re-assemble for a short session on March 19, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced in a broadcast from Ottawa Friday night. Coincident with his announcement, the Governor General issued a proclamation summoning the two houses to meet on that date.

They will be asked to vote funds and appropriations needed to bridge the gap between the end of the current fiscal year and the opening of a new Parliament after the general Federal election.

In his radio address, the Prime Minister did not divulge the date of the forthcoming election, stating that "the progress of the war is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date for a general election".

He intimated that had there been a sudden break-through in Europe bringing about the end of the war with Germany, an election might have been held as early as April 23.

Calling of the brief session beginning March 19, the Prime Minister said, is to avoid recourse to Governor General's warrants in finding the necessary funds to conduct Canada's part of the war and provide for ordinary expenses of government.

At the outset of his address, Mr. King declared that ample reinforcements were going forward to Canada's fighting forces overseas.

He said: "To all of you who have husbands, or sons, brothers or friends in the Canadian forces in Germany and Italy, I wish to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

Mr. King intimated that the general election would be delayed until the last possible date, in order that it might not be held while there was fighting on the European front.

"I still hope", he said, "an election may not be necessary before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who survive the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war.

"I am perfectly sure that the people of Canada do not wish a general election before the European war is over. What they wish for is a speedy end to the war itself. . . . Once the decisive battles have been fought, a general election should be held as soon as possible. An election campaign will afford ample opportunity for the freest and fullest discussion of all public issues.

"Throughout the years of war, we have sought to keep down party strife", he continued. "We have sought to avoid giving even the excuse for unnecessary controversy."

Illustrating the way in which he feels attention from the war is diverted by an electoral campaign, Mr. King said:

"I am sure you will agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the critical needs of the war, than a nation-wide campaign.

"The truth of this statement was abundantly illustrated during the recent byelection in Grey North. But once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace."

Discussing current strategy on the Western Front, Mr. King said: "American, British and Canadian forces are attacking Cologne and other strongholds of the Rhineland. From the skies, by day as well as by night, the German capital is being showered with bombs and incendiaries.

"All Germany's industrial centres are meeting a like fate. General Eisenhower's latest word is that the campaign now in progress will end only when Allied armies from the east and west meet 'in the centre of Germany'.

"Here surely are the strongest reason why no distraction should prevent the utmost effort of Canada to hasten the victory in this final stage of the war. That is why a general election should not be held at present."

Another reason given by Mr. King for further postponement of the election date is the Victory Loan campaign which will begin in April 23 and continue until May 12.

"To have a general election campaign and a Victory Loan campaign going on at the same time would create endless confusion", he said. "It would certainly prove prejudicial to the loan.

"So far as the Victory Loan is concerned, it would be a distinct advantage to have members of all political parties join in making it the greatest possible success. There can be no doubt that this end would be best achieved by having the Victory Loan precede the general election."

The Prime Minister made it clear that the brief session which will be held this month will be held solely for the purpose of voting necessary funds for war and peace purposes.

"The 1945 regular session", he said, "will not be the last session of a Parliament that has all but covered its allotted span. It should be, and will be, like the 1940 session, the first session of a Parliament newly-elected by the people.

"It was never contemplated that a brief session for the purpose of consideration of war appropriations and ordinary government expenditures, would, in any sense of the word, be a substitute for the 1945 regular session."

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Mr. King said he would seek an expression of confidence by the House of Commons in support of the Canadian delegation which is selected for the San Francisco conference which opens April 25.

"There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Canada being represented at this important conference of the United Nations." The Prime Minister added that questions likely to arise at the conference and the personnel of Canada's representation at San Francisco, are matters to which the government is giving consideration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48474 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province 5166

Date March 3/45

King, Bracken Speeches Clear Canadian Political Pattern

By TORCHY ANDERSON.
From Daily Province Ottawa Bureau.
(Copyright, 1945, by Southam Co.)

OTTAWA, March 3.—The political pattern of the immediate future, in its physical aspects at least, was several degrees clearer this morning after last night's pronouncements by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservative party.

Words of the Prime Minister over a nation-wide radio hookup dissipated a little of the murky mystery of the past few weeks by making clear these facts:

The existing Parliament will meet on March 19 for a final session before it expires by statute on April 17.

From the statements of the Prime Minister, properly qualified by all his reservations, it appeared that Canada may not expect a general election until mid-July, or later.

Undisclosed was the character of the delegation that Mr. King will lead to the United Nations conference in San Francisco, beginning April 25. Whether he will lead a straight Liberal government delegation or include one or more of the opposition group leaders is for him to say later.

While the Prime Minister was adressing the nation from the top floor radio station in Chateau Laurier, John Bracken was throwing him a challenge before a large dinner gathering of delegates to the annual meeting of the Progressive Conservative Association in the gilded ballroom on the second floor.

CHALLENGES KING.

Mr. Bracken challenged the government to appoint a royal commission to investigate the conditions surrounding "reinforcements, deserters and discipline since Gen. McNaughton became minister of national defense."

The Progressive Conservative leader spent some time in answering the charge by McNaughton that he (Bracken) had uttered a "diabolical untruth" in the North Grey by-election campaign about draftee deinforcements throwing their rifles overboard from Britain-bound transports.

Whether Mr. King's earnest bid for a nice quiet short session of this Parliament, which can not continue after April 17, will be met by opposition groups remained anybody's guess.

SEES LIVELY DOINGS.

Certainly the temper of the Progressive Conservative party, so evidently displayed here during the past two days, seems to point to lively doings when Parliament assembles in a little more than a fortnight.

Ostensibly the job before Parliament will be the passage of interim supply votes that will enable the carrying on of the war between the end of the fiscal year, March 31, and the time a new Parliament can be assembled after the general election.

There is a tendency among the Progressive Conservatives to look on the Grey North by-election as the end of any truce, real or pretended, that may have existed up to that time.

OPPOSITION LIMITED.

The official opposition, of course, will be limited in its attack on the government. They can not block war estimates past a reasonable point, and their time will be limited by the fact Parliament is approaching the end of its statutory life.

Garfield Case, the not unduly modest victor of the Grey North by-election, will march into the House to join the ranks of his party and give them an even 40 members facing the depleted but still powerful government majority.

The vanquished McNaughton will have no rights on the floor of the House and, unless given the courtesy of a hearing, as he was last fall, he will have to observe from the gallery.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

The army estimates for the several months that will be covered by appropriations to be offered Parliament bulk as the big portion of the war bill.

McNaughton is the responsible minister and the importance of his presence was emphasized by Prime Minister King many times during the Grey North by-election.

Mr. King has laid down that he does not want to issue writs for a general election until after the next Victory Loan is over. That finishes on May 12. He hoped for an interval before issuing the writs for a general election.

TAKES TWO MONTHS.

Suppose the writs were issued by May 15, it will take at least two months before the vote can be held. That brings us to mid-July. Mr. King was careful to say that the election could not be held before June.

If the election is held in the latter part of July at least six weeks will elapse before it is possible to summon the new Parliament. Therefore, if events follow the outline indicated by the Prime Minister, it might be close to September before a new Parliament can get down to business.

CONSCRIPTION ISSUE.

Out of the speech made last night come two definite indications:

Mr. Bracken appears to be willing to fight the election on the main issue of the government's record on reinforcements —the conscription issue.

Mr. King is hoping against hope that the "boys will be home"—at least from Europe—before the voting. In other words it appeared that one leader was gambling on keeping the conscription issue alive and the other hoping it would be forgotten.

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ernment. Meantime the Progressive Conservative battle cry is that Mr. King has forfeited the confidence of the country beyond a shadow of a doubt.

SEEKS SUPPORT.

Mr. King announced that before he goes to San Francisco to participate in the conference that will build a new world security organization he will ask for an expression of support in this mission.

It will not be difficult for Mr. King to frame an "expression of confidence" in terms that would be on the high plane of Canadian participation in a move for permanent peace. You can't vote against a pious hope.

Before the Grey North by-election Mr. King said that he needed General McNaughton in the House in order to have a short session of this Parliament. Afterwards he said that there would be no object in having a session.

YIELDED TO PRESSURE.

It is evident that pressure, either within his own cabinet or from outside—probably the pressure came from both within and withut—has forced him to call a session.

To this extent he has opened his guard against an opposition loaded with questions and recriminations. He has opened the way to Quebec members to stage another revolt within their own ranks.

Speech will be free. Only time will limit the session that may be the most acrimonious since the start of the war.

Political nerves are election-taut and tempers grow shorter as the life of Parliament diminishes.

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Office of
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Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 3 1945

DEEDS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS.

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King in his radio address yesterday evening appealed to the Canadian people to abandon their strife and divisions and to give him their united support.

This support was asked for on two grounds. In the first place, the Government, he says, deserves united support from the people because it has consistently sought to avoid controversy—"even the excuse" for controversy.

In the second place, the Government wishes the cooperation of the people in its strong desire not to hold a wartime election. And a wartime election is undesirable because Grey North has illustrated how elections can divert attention from the critical needs of the war. More than this, the sons of Canada "are fighting and dying as Canadians without distinction," and Canadians ought to follow their example by obliterating wartime distinctions at home.

The excellence of the grounds of his appeal is admirable. There is obviously nothing better than that a people should be united in the support of its wartime government, and that this government should carry the people through the war with such basic satisfaction that there would be no wish to express discontent in the usual democratic procedure of an election.

But in considering the Prime Minister's speech, the true question is not its apparent excellence but its inner consistency; not its eloquence, but its genuineness. And when the speech is examined, neither its consistency nor its genuineness remains as its most remarkable feature.

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The Prime Minister says that his Government deserves united support because it has consistently sought to avoid strife and controversy. It would seem that we have here an impressive divergence from the facts. For the essential wartime policy that his Government adopted and to which it has adhered—the policy defining the unequal terms on which men should share the sacrifices and perils of war—has been at the very root of the bitter strife and the deep divisions that have come to characterize wartime Canada. Yet the Prime Minister now asks for united support on the ground that he has sought always to promote unity and wishes to continue his work of reconciliation.

Then, there is the second ground of the Prime Minister's appeal—his desire to avoid a wartime election. This desire might in itself be commendable. Indeed, there would be no serious desire and no urgent occasion for a general wartime election if the people of this country were as obviously satisfied with their wartime Government, as are the people of Great Britain.

Such, however, is not the case. The Canadian Government is not constructed on non-partisan lines, for this is a development that the Prime Minister has steadfastly resisted. The very fact that Mr. King found it necessary to make yesterday's appeal reflects the dissatisfaction which his party government has provoked. No less strikingly does it reflect the extent to which it has lost touch with the present state of feeling among the Canadian people.

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Certainly, in selecting Grey North as an illustration he showed a doubtful taste. For he cites Grey North as an example of how attention may be diverted from the critical needs of war. It happens, however, that the Prime Minister himself caused the Grey North by-election, by his determination to change defence ministers in mid-stream. And he was determined to change defence ministers in mid-stream because he was determined to have as his defence minister a man who would adhere as closely as possible to that very policy of unequal military service which he had adopted and which has so disturbed and divided the country.

But more doubtful still was his manner of referring to the fighting men as the example that should inspire this country. For, says the Prime Minister, the sons of Canada "are fighting and dying without distinction." The Prime Minister's statement is magnificently true of those sons of Canada who have actually gone into the fighting lines; but it remains painfully untrue of the Canadian Army as a whole. The Canadian Army rests unevenly upon invidious distinctions of service. Of this the men fighting overseas, no less than the people at home, are acutely aware.

Yet Mr. King points to the men who have borne (many of them for several years) a disproportionate share of the real fighting, and he asks the people at home—their wives and parents, their brothers and friends—to come unitedly to his support. In effect he is asking that they should hide and repress their sense of resentment and unfairness until the war is over, and the issue of who should bear the burden of front-line service will have been solved, not by action at home, but by victory abroad.

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It may be, of course, that the Prime Minister really does believe that he has consistently avoided "even the excuse" for controversy. It may be, too, that he really desires to avoid a wartime election, not for any fear of a test at wartime polls, but for the sake of an undistracted war effort.

It may be so. But this seems to be a case in which the Prime Minister's deeds speak louder than the Prime Minister's words.

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 3 1945

DEEDS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS.

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King in his radio address yesterday evening appealed to the Canadian people to abandon their strife and divisions and to give him their united support.

This support was asked for on two grounds. In the first place, the Government, he says, deserves united support from the people because it has consistently sought to avoid controversy—"even the excuse" for controversy.

In the second place, the Government wishes the cooperation of the people in its strong desire not to hold a wartime election. And a wartime election is undesirable because Grey North has illustrated how elections can divert attention from the critical needs of the war. More than this, the sons of Canada "are fighting and dying as Canadians without distinction," and Canadians ought to follow their example by obliterating wartime distinctions at home.

The excellence of the grounds of his appeal is admirable. There is obviously nothing better than that a people should be united in the support of its wartime government, and that this government should carry the people through the war with such basic satisfaction that there would be no wish to express discontent in the usual democratic procedure of an election.

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Then, there is the second ground of the Prime Minister's appeal—his desire to avoid a wartime election. This desire might in itself be commendable. Indeed, there would be no serious desire and no urgent occasion for a general wartime election if the people of this country were as obviously satisfied with their wartime Government, as are the people of Great Britain.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48477

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 3 1945

Subject

Prime Minister's Statement

Prime Minister Mackenzie King has spoken and what he said last night was much like what was expected. There will be no election until the war is over in Europe. There will be a brief session of Parliament, which will begin on March 19, for the despatch of "essential business."

There is no question that Mr. King's belief that an election should not be held while the war is at its highest pitch is a reasonable one. What happened in Grey North suggests what would happen, magnified tenfold, in a general election. But Mr. King's expectation is that the war will be over within a matter of a very few months, if not weeks. He said:

> I still hope an election will not be necessary before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who survive the ordeal of battle.

These optimistic hopes are encouraging, and everybody will hope that they are realized. But it may easily happen that Germany will still be fighting for some time to come. In which case, Mr. King's dilemma will be unsolved.

Another session will be called two weeks from next Monday. In this matter, too, he is founding his hopes on optimistic expectations. It is the intention of the government, he said, to ask for appropriations only from the beginning of the new fiscal year through a general election. It hopes that all parties will co-operate in the speedy discharge of essential business, "leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament."

Whether it will all work out as simply as that remains to be seen. Mr. King will be accused of arranging matters to his own political advantage. The Progressive Conservative opposition knows its best chances of victory lie in an immediate appeal while issues raised in Grey North are still hot. And that opposition members will want some information apart from that connected with interim supply is certain.

But the fact remains that it would be better for the higher national interests to avoid an election fought on disruptive issues and in an atmosphere of bitterness if that can be done.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication Vancouver Province D 48478

Date March 3/45

Lath and Plaster Stuff

MR. Mackenzie King's radio speech to the Canadian people, last night, was an argument for deferring a general election until the war with Germany is over, and a thin and flimsy argument it was—lath and plaster stuff, with no foundation and no substance.

Mr. King bases his argument that the election should not be held now on two assumptions. both of them quite false.

He assumes that the Canadian people do not want a contest in Canada while the contest overseas is in progress. He has no grounds for that assumption. Indeed, the evidence is all on the other side.

If the result in Grey North can be taken as an indication of Canadian feeling —and it is the best indication afforded in recent months—the Canadian people would like nothing better than an opportunity to tell the government they have no confidence in its handling of the manpower issue.

The Prime Minister suggests, too, that an election at this time, giving rise to argument, controversy and division, would divert attention from the grave events in Europe and so do damage to the war effort. There was an election in the United States less than four months ago. It gave rise to acute and bitter controversy. It divided the country laterally and vertically—and the war was carried on by the Americans in the Pacific and in Europe with all the vigor it was possible to put into it. The election had no effect whatever on the war. Why should a Canadian election be any different?

The truth of the matter is that the Prime Minister, for reasons having to do primarily with the fortunes of his party, decided that it would be inopportune to appeal to the country while the country was thinking deeply and resentfully about the conscription mess. He would rather put the contest off in the hope that it would be possible to make the issue post-war reconstruction and not conscription.

Having reached this decision, Mr. King proceeded to rationalize it. So with the purpose of pulling the wool over the eyes of the electorate, he concocted his arguments and gave them currency.

On the question of calling Parliament the Prime Minister has apparently changed his mind. Both before the Grey North election and after he intimated that he did not think there would be any point in holding a session unless General McNaughton, whose estimates would constitute the chief work of the session, could have a seat in the Commons.

Well, General McNaughton has no seat and Parliament will meet in a fortnight. Either Mr. King was bluffing or he has shifted his ground considerably in a month. Political exigencies are powerful things.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48479 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date March 3/45

Subject

Mr. King Issues a Memo

In measured phrase and stolid tone, Mr. King last night broadcast a case good enough to justify a short session of Parliament, starting March 19, and indicated that no general election could be held until June at the earliest.

It was a primer lesson in political logistics. No other course is available if he is to have an uninterrupted Victory Loan and time off to attend the San Francisco peace conference, the first to start April 23, the second to open two days later. Our prime minister is rightly loyal to the doctrine of avoiding a wartime election.

Obviously, Mr. King intends to obtain a mandate from this dying Parliament to attend the San Francisco conference. There is no sign from Ottawa that Canada's delegation there will be anything more than a selected group from the present administration, though the Parliament which nominates it will have expired a week before the San Francisco opening. In this design, there is something lacking.

Several reputable newspapers have suggested that, under the circumstances, the Conservative and CCF leaders should be included in our delegation to the Golden Gate because it is always within the range of possibility—even if the probabilities do not run that way—that either Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell could be the next prime minister of Canada.

We think Mr. King would greatly increase his own stature in the public esteem and provide an incident that would rebound to the credit and benefit of the Liberal party at the polls, if he would lift the San Francisco meeting above the level of party politics. Such a gesture would do far more to achieve an united front in Canada than the doubtful appeal he made for less acrimonious discussions of the March 19 session.

There was little news and certainly no inspiration in Mr. King's broadcast. Perhaps we are too used to the matchless oratory of Churchill and Roosevelt, who hold us spellbound. Mr. King could, with great propriety, reserve his national radio addresses for greater occasions. What he said could have been compressed into a dozen lines in The Sun for the benefit of all concerned.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48480

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Victoria Times

Date March 3/45

Subject

THE RIGHT DECISION

ALTHOUGH MR. MACKENZIE KING was not able to announce even the approximate date of the general election, he made it abundantly clear in his radio statement last night that the battle of the ballots would have to wait until after the conclusion of the next Victory Loan campaign and the United Nations meeting in San Francisco.

On this basis of reckoning alone, therefore, the Canadian people will not go to the polls to endorse or retire the present government at Ottawa until June, at the earliest. Events in Europe, should they unfold less propitiously than at present seems likely, will determine how soon voting will take place after that time. In the interim, the 19th Parliament will resume its unfinished and last session on March 19 in order that supply, sufficient to meet war costs over an election period, may be obtained without resort to Governor-General's warrants.

Critics of the Prime Minister, and particularly those who have not made up their minds as to whether another wartime election would suit their political motives or not, naturally will find something to grumble about in the reasons he gave for withholding his final decision. We nevertheless venture to suggest that the great majority of the Canadian people were relieved by Mr. King's announcement. Grey North gave them a fair sample of the type of campaign that would have marked an early appeal. And every person with an intelligent appreciation of the fact that the next federal government will be called upon to steer Canada through the unpredictable social and economic rapids following the cessation of hostilities is desirous that the choice of a new Parliament shall be made in an atmosphere that will lend itself to dispassionate consideration of the numerous imponderables.

While Mr. King adroitly avoided the assumption of a too optimistic view of the new pressures now being exerted on Hitler's "inner fortress," it was apparent that his reference to the earliest date an election could be held—taking into account, of course, the two delaying factors mentioned—contained the implication that he would be able to avoid a nation-wide political controversy while Canadians are exposed to the fury of the enemy in Europe. This for long has been his hope—and the hope of the Canadian people.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 48481

Date MAR 3 1945

Subject

Clear Indication No Extension Of Parliament Life

By The Canadian Press.

The next full session of Parliament will be that of the Parliament elected at the forthcoming general election, Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night in a radio address.

Political observers interpreted this statement as a clear indication that no effort will be made to extend the life of the present Parliament which expires April 17.

Mr. King said the session of Parliament called for March 19 will deal primarily with the provision of interim supply, covering the period between the end of the present fiscal year and the election of a new Parliament, and support to the Canadian delegation at the San Francisco security conference opening April 25.

"The present Parliament has had its full five sessions," Mr. King said. "The 1945 regular session will not be the last session of Parliament that has all but covered its allotted span. It should be, and will be like the 1940 session, the first session of a new Parliament elected by the people."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48482

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date March 3/45

Subject

King Speech Creates Stir In U.S.

By R. T. BOWMAN.

(Resident correspondent of The Vancouver Daily Province and Associated Southam Newspapers)

WASHINGTON, March 3—If Premier Mackenzie King's speech gets widespread publicity in the United States, it may cause considerable resentment.

Irresponsible interests are likely to see that it does get this publicity. The Prime Minister's constant suggestion that the war will be over and the troops be able to return home when Germany is beaten will not be welcomed here.

American troops in Europe are to be transferred to the Pacific.

Apart from security arrangements, post-war planning has been taboo in the U.S. since the German break-through last December. Every effort is being made to convince Americans that there can be no letdown in the war effort unti Japan has been beaten.

An army spokesman who said 250,000 men would be demobilized every month after V-E-Day has been severely reprimanded by War Secretary Stimson. Congress is busy with legislation to make every American man between the ages of 18 and 45 serve in the armed forces or work in war industries. Austerity measures of all kinds are being introduced weekly to find supplies to feed the long lifelines in the Pacific.

With these things in mind, it seemed incredible to Canadians here that the Prime Minister should have made no mention of the war in the Pacific, or indicated that Canada planned to play her part in it.

Some Americans are fully conscious of the fact that Canada has a Pacific Coast, and that it is nearer Japan than is the American coast.

Despite the magnificent showing of Canadian forces overseas, the bulk of the news about Canada in the U.S. has been about anti-conscription riots. Last Sunday the Drummondville fracas was front-page news, while the progress of the 1st Canadian Army drew two lines on an inside page.

So it is small wonder that the Americans have little or disparaging opinion about Canada's war efforts. The inference that Canada is bringing troops home as soon as possible after V-Day is likely to add fuel to this fire unless it can be corrected quickly.

MUCH MOPPING UP.

The war situation in the Pacific is that while American forces have been pushing towards Japan at an unprecedented pace, more than 100,000 Jap troops have been by-passed and must be cleaned out. So far the job is being done by the Australians and New Zealanders.

Knowing that Canadian troops prefer to fight under their own command, it was confidently expected here they would be assigned cleanup jobs in the Pacific after V-Day.

An idea of the jobs to be done can be had from the following figures:

By-passed Jap troops to date number; 60,000 in New Guinea; 40,000 in New Britain; 10,000 in New Ireland; 25,000 in the Solomons; 20,000 in Palau; perhaps 35,000 in Truk; 15,000 in the Marshalls, and 5000 in Wake. Other campaigns are in the making farther north in climate more suited to Canadian forces, both on land and sea.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48483

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date March 3/45

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Responsibility, Maturity, Wisdom

Government of a country like Canada is at all times an arduous and complex undertaking. The difficulties and responsibilities have been increased immeasurably by the war. It is fortunate that in such circumstances Canada has had a government, and a prime minister, who have shown themselves capable of the task and imbued with a sense of devotion to duty.

The intricacy of the problems and the spirit of serious responsibility in which they are being approached and handled were exemplified again in Mr. Mackenzie King's address to the nation last night. It revealed that maturity, that wisdom, that lack of any taint of the doctrinaire or the dilettante, that all-round statesmanship which characterizes Canada's prime minister. He analyzed the questions arising from the fact that the constitutional life of the present parliament is about finished, necessitating a general election before long. In this analysis were included the problems of fitting into a workable time-table the dates of the pending Eighth Victory Loan, the necessity of voting interim supply to carry on the war and the civil government, the San Francisco conference and the probable period at which the European war may be finished.

But before Mr. King went into those questions he said something which will hearten the families of our men overseas. "I wish," he declared, "to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

As for the other questions, Mr. King said that the dates of the Victory Loan would be April 23 to May 12. Until last week there was time enough for a general election to take place before April 23 but that time has now passed. Moreover, the San Francisco conference, to take the next step towards a world organization, following Dumbarton Oaks and the Crimea conference, opens on April 25. Both the Victory Loan and the conference will extend well into the month of May and therefore, Mr. King says, it is clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before June at the earliest.

Parliament has been summoned for March 19 to vote sufficient supply only to carry over until a newly elected parliament meets and also to give formal expression and support to "a clear, strong and united voice" by Canada in world affairs when our representatives take their seats with the members of all the other United Nations in the city by the Golden Gate.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48484

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 3 1945

Subject

Chief Points in Mr. King's Speech

Following are highlights of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio broadcast:

Parliament has been summoned to meet March 19.

* * *

No date has yet been set for a general election.

* * *

The earliest possible election date is June.

* * *

If possible an election while European fighting continues will be avoided.

* * *

Parliament will be asked only to supply finances until a new Parliament is elected.

* * *

There were strong reasons to hope for peace in Europe before an election is held.

* * *

The Canadian army overseas is receiving fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48485

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Times

Date March 3/45

Subject

ELECTION PROSPECTS IN CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

OTTAWA, MARCH 2

Broadcasting to the Canadian people tonight Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, announced that a brief session of the present Parliament will open on March 19, and that the date of the General Election would depend on the progress of the war in Europe.

Mr. Mackenzie King said he wished to give the most positive assurance that the oversea army was receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions, and reinforcements; the oversea reinforcement pools were more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders. He was sure the Canadian people did not wish to see a General Election before the European war was over, but once the decisive battles had been fought a General Election should be held as soon as possible and should come at the time most favourable to a dispassionate consideration of the policies of the different political parties.

The world security conference at San Francisco had also to be considered in determining the election date, Mr. Mackenzie King went on. It was vital that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong, united voice in world affairs. It was therefore desirable that the Canadian delegation should go to San Francisco with an assurance of the widest possible measure of support from Parliament. An expression of such support would be sought in the coming session.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48486

Name of Publication Calgary Herald

Date March 3/45.

Subject

An Early Session and a Late Election

Parliament will be called into session on March 19 to vote money appropriations for the first quarter of the next fiscal year, and a general election is out of the question until some time in June.

This was the main information conveyed to the Canadian people in a four-thousand word broadcast by Prime Minister Mackenzie King last evening. He emphasized strongly his opposition to a general election while the war in Europe is still in progress, but gave not the slightest hint that if it is not over by June he would ask for an extension of the present parliamentary term.

Wellington never prayed more fervently for the arrival of night or Blucher than Mr. King is praying for the early collapse of Germany. In that event the conscription and reinforcement issues would lose some of their potency as subjects for discussion on the hustings. He deplores the possibility that there should be campaign turmoil while Canada's fighting men are still actively engaged overseas, and for obvious reasons. He chooses to shut his eyes to the fact that a heated three months' presidential campaign was fought across the border last autumn without any appreciable effect on the nation's war effort at home or fighting zeal overseas.

The prime minister admitted that after General McNaughton's defeat in Grey North the government had given serious consideration to an immediate dissolution. The result of that consideration everyone now knows. The government thought better of it and decided to play for time.

The Victory Loan campaign late in April and the San Francisco conference of Allied nations which opens on April 25 provide the prime minister with further justification for delaying an appeal to the people. He quoted as a second reason for holding a session before expiry of the present term that the Canadian delegation should go to the California city with the full support of the House. He did not reveal whether he favors a delegation comprised of representatives of the government and opposition parties.

Apparently fearing that the issues fought out in Grey North may be resurrected in the Commons, he pleads for a short and business-like session, leaving controversial matters to be aired in the federal campaign. Whether that plea will be heeded remains to be seen but in the meantime the government leader wants keenly an all-party co-operation in voting interim supply and in other essential business.

Dealing with the war situation, he declared that the reinforcement pools overseas are "amply filled" and full support is being given to the Canadian forces. He made no reference to conscription, wholesale desertion or the causes of the reverse in the Ontario by-election. Probably he will be asked to do so when the House is in session.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48487

5166/45

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date March 3/45

Subject

FUEL FOR CANADA'S CRITICS

King Ignores Jap War; U.S. May Resent That

By R. T. BOWMAN [From The Tribune's Washington Bureau]

WASHINGTON, March 3.—If Mr. Mackenzie King's speech Friday gets widespread publicity in the United States, it may cause considerable resentment. Irresponsible interests are likely to see that it does get this publicity.

The prime minister's constant suggestion that the war will be over and the troops be able to return home when Germany is beaten will not be welcomed here. American troops in Europe are to be transferred to the Pacific.

Apart from security arrangements, post-war planning has been taboo in the U.S. since the German breakthrough last December. Every effort is being made to convince Americans that there can be no let-down in the war effort until Japan has been beaten.

It seemed incredible to Canadians here that the prime minister should have made no mention of the war in the Pacific, or indicated that Canada planned to play her part in it.

Some Americans are fully conscious of the fact that Canada has a Pacific coast, and that it is nearer to Japan than is the American coast.

Despite the magnificent showing of Canadian forces overseas, the bulk of the news about Canada in the U.S. has been about anti-conscription riots. Last Sunday the Drummondville fracas was front-page news, while the progress of the 1st Canadian Army drew two lines on an inside page.

So it is small wonder that Americans have little or disparaging opinion about Canada's war effort. The inference that Canada is bringing troops home as soon as possible after V-E day is likely to add fuel to this fire unless it can be corrected quickly.

The war situation in the Pacific is that while American forces have been pushing toward Japan at an unprecedented pace, more than 100,000 Jap troops have been bypassed, and must be cleaned out. So far the job is being done by the Australians and the New Zealanders.

Knowing that Canadian troops prefer to fight under their own command, it was confidently expected here they would be assigned clean-up jobs in the Pacific after V-E day.

Campaigns are in the making in climate more suited to Canadian forces, both on land and sea.

The problem of finishing off these isolated fanatical Japs is so great that the suggestion is now being made openly that gas should be used. The Washington Times-Herald had a leading editorial advocating this recently, and headed it "You Can Cook 'Em Quicker With Gas." The argument is that judicious use of mustard gas or lewisite or both loobed into Jap caves, tunnels and pillboxes can materially reduce the casualties of clean-up troops.

The U.S. is not a party to any agreement not to use gas against a European or Oriental power.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D48488 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal

Date March 3/45

Another Session and No General Election Before June

For twenty minutes last evening Mr. King emerged from the fog in which he has wrapped himself for a month past. At the start of his broadcast he said that he wanted to remove some uncertainties that had been in the public mind. When he let day after day go by without doing so, a newspaper that had been a strong supporter of his in the past, the Vancouver *Sun*, declared that Canadians were "fed up with his retreat into the political wilderness", and that he should tell them when they could expect a general election, as well as whether or not there was to be another session of parliament, for he was "supposed to be leading a democratic dominion". He could hardly maintain silence much longer after being talked to in this way by an old friend, who had expressed so emphatically the rising resentment and impatience of the whole country.

* * *

In announcing at last what he has in view, the prime minister threw no definite light on when a general election is to be expected. He divulged that it would not be held before June at least, but also that the government "gave serious consideration to an immediate dissolution" after General McNaughton's defeat in North Grey on February 5. That would unquestionably have been the proper course to adopt. It was urged strongly by many, including this newspaper, and there was good reason to assume from what Mr. King had said during the byelection that, if the seat was not won by the minister of national defence, an appeal to the country would follow promptly. If it had, the campaign would now be almost half over and a new house would have been chosen by about the middle of April.

In every way this was preferable to holding back, as has been done. The political air needed clearing badly and, with the election behind us, there would have been greater concentration on Canada's part in the final stages of the war. The Victory Loan campaign could have been proceeded with on April 23 and the dominion could have taken its part in the San Francisco international conference which opens on April 25, without the interference for which the election must be responsible in each case.

Last evening Mr. King sought to make it appear that they would not be affected; but that is impossible. Parliament will be dissolved by the effluxion of time on April 17, if not sooner by the ordinary means, and, just as soon as this happens, electioneering will start in earnest and largely absorb the attention until polling day of all concerned in public affairs.

* * *

Mr. King revealed that another session of the present parliament is to open on March 19. In deciding to hold it he was undoubtedly influenced chiefly, if not wholly, by the fact that otherwise he would have to secure the huge funds for the carrying on of the war through the issuing of governor-general's warrants and that he would face a loud and altogether justifiable outcry, if he did so. Accordingly he is to have the members assemble again but he proposes that they confine themselves to voting appropriations and to giving "an expression of support" to the delegation that is to go to San Francisco.

For the prime minister to undertake to say just what business parliament is to take up is an affront to it that must be strongly resented. There is bound to be insistence on its being allowed to deal with any matters of vital present concern to the country. If Mr. King thinks that he can prevent the members from discussing the government's military service policy and from demanding full information in regard to the working out of the limited measure of conscription, that was suddenly authorized during and because of the political crisis last autumn, he is in for a rude awakening.

The session, now that it has been put off until March 19, can last only four weeks and a day at most, for the legal parliamentary term will have expired at the end of that time. There would, however, have been two months and more in which to hold the sittings, if they had been opened at the beginning of February on the day after the prorogation of the old session, in accordance with what had come to be the practice. By keeping the members away from Ottawa for over a month and half beyond the date when they would get down to business under ordinary circumstances, Mr. King has shown the utmost disrespect for parliament after having proclaimed, as has no other Canadian public man, that he was its servant and would be guided by it at all times.

* * *

The prime minister is in a poor position to defend himself against a charge which

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48489

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject ..... he must expect to be made and for which he has provided a strong basis. This is that he has delayed the session and then sought to curtail the work of the members simply because he was afraid to face the vigorous and just criticism to which he and his government would be subjected otherwise and because he feared, after his experience last autumn, that he would have much more difficulty than then in holding the majority of his followers in line.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48490 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star 5166/45

Date March 3/45

Subject

Victory First

Canada's main job is to beat the Germans. When that has been done, the people can get on with the business of politics and the holding of a Dominion general election. Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King enunciated that doctrine last evening. The people now can go about the business of winning the war.

Many had thought Mr. King might declare the date of an election when he addressed the people of Canada last night. There had been an idea that because an election is due this year, it would be held this spring.

While there are many who would welcome an election because of the possibilities of getting into office, there are many people throughout the Dominion who believe that now is a good time to lay aside political quarrels and all get together in the more important task of assuring victory soon.

On one vexed point Mr. King was specific. He assured everyone that enough reinforcements are being sent overseas to meet all the demands of the military authorities. That question has been asked from the platforms and on the streets. Mr. King gave the answer and from his assertion, the people can take it that the flow of reserves to the fighting lines is being maintained.

There was little new in the Prime Minister's message. Those who had wanted an election announcement were disappointed. It is doubtful if the majority of the people care particularly when the election is held, so long as the war effort proceeds without interruption. The people with members of their families overseas are more concerned about getting the war finished and their kinfolk home than they are in finding out who will sit in the next Parliament at Ottawa.

There is so much to do and the efforts of all Canadians are needed to assure victory. Once that has been achieved, Mr. King intends to call an election. Then, the people can go to the polls and pass judgment. In the meantime, the challenge is to all to get busy to beat back the common foe.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48491 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date March 3/45

Subject

Spotlight on Parliament Hill

By Star Staff Correspondent

OTTAWA — The particularly new thing in the announcements by Prime Minister King last night was that Parliament is to meet for a short session on March 19th. It can't last longer than four weeks because its term will be up on April 17th.

What, on this line, has been reported, is now definitely confirmed. What, also, has been intimated before about the general election—that the time of it will depend upon war conditions—is similarly confirmed by the Prime Minister. At one time, thought was given to an earlier dissolution, but now, taking cognizance of events to come,—the Victory Loan and the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, both starting in April—the election cannot be "before" June. It might be that month, but it could be considerably later.

Mr. King makes it very clear, however, that there are high hopes that, by that time, the war, with Germany, may be settled. He points out that it has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war is over, but now, however, the encirclement of Germany is complete and the outcome of the battle is known. What is not known is whether it will be a matter of weeks or months.

Emphasis is laid on the avoidance of the distraction of an election not being allowed to interfere with the concentration of the war.

* * *

AS to the session of Parliament—the last session of the present House — one interesting point which was cleared up is that it is not to be a substitute for the regular 1945 session. That will be held only after the election.

The supply which is to be sought of Parliament this year will be only of an interim character, sufficient for a period from the beginning of a new fiscal year through a general election. The newly elected Parliament will vote the money for the rest of the year.

The Prime Minister stressed the importance of the conference at San Francisco, and gave notice that he will seek "the widest possible measure of support from Parliament so that Canada should be "able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs." Mr. King did not elaborate as to the composition of the delegation which will represent Canada. The final note of his broadcast was an appeal for the co-operation of all parties in the business to come before the short session, "leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament."

The King speech had the effect of clearing up some of the uncertainties, but not about the time of the election.

The Prime Minister's broadcast was confined to these clarifying announcements and the reasons behind them.

* * *

AN entirely different speech in its tone and texture was made by the leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, John Bracken, when addressing, at the same time, a meeting of the national organization of that party. Mr. Bracken was highly critical of the man power policy of the Government and of General McNaughton in particular.

The essential essence of Mr. Bracken's speech was its criticism of the call up; his claim repeated over and over that it is unfair; his attack on General McNaughton and his challenge for the appointment of a Royal Commission of three Supreme Court judges, preferably with military experience, "to inquire into and report upon the whole matter of reinforcements, desertions and discipline since General McNaughton became Minister of Defence."

The Progressive-Conservative leader told of his visit to the battle front and what he has seen and heard from the men over there. He pictured them as laboring under a sense of injustice arising from "a huge government protected army that trains and trains but is not allowed to help them fight."

No small part of Mr. Bracken's speech was devoted to the Grey North campaign and the repeating, textually, of the charges he made there and by which he stood. He spoke of the result as a "stinging rebuke to the government's unfair call up, its double standard army system and its wishy washy reinforcement plan." He charged Mr. King with "flouting parliament and defying public opinion." He called on him to change the policy and call for the resignation of the defence minister. After reiterating his charges in Grey North and assailing General McNaughton, Mr. Bracken diverted to the Hong Kong expedition, charging that men were sent there without the completion of basic training.

Then, the leader turned his verbal artillery on the C.C.F., recalling that, at the start of the war they had opposed the sending of a force to fight Nazism. That the C.C.F. party now stands for any measure of conscription overseas, Mr. Bracken claimed to be due to "the angry voice of the nation demanding help for the lads overseas".

Mr. Bracken's central thought, judging by its reiteration was that the government policy is "to let a minimum burden of human sacrifice rest upon one section of the people and a maximum burden upon the others." He held there could be no unity in the country without equality of responsibility and of sacrifice for all.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48492

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 3 1945

Subject

'NAZIS ENCIRCLED'

Premier Praises Canadian Forces on West Front

'HONOR TO CANADA'

Says He Cannot Promise Bi-partisan Delegation to 'Frisco Talks

By F. C. MEARS.
(Gazette Resident Correspondent.)

Ottawa, March 2.—Parliament will meet on March 19 for the purpose of appropriating money to carry the war program and civil government over the period from April 1 to after the general election or when a new government can be formed, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced in his half-hour radio speech this evening.

A general election is likely to be held either on June 11 or June 18, according to other indications in the Prime Minister's address, although he repeatedly stated it was impossible at the present time to fix a date. It must, however, be after the Victory Loan campaign which ends on May 12, and as he says two months must be given after the writs are issued to make possible the polling of the armed forces overseas and as he previously declared he would call an election before April 17, it is believed polling day will fall in the middle of June.

But throughout his address the Prime Minister stressed the importance of delaying the election campaign until the end of organized Nazi resistance in Europe, and he also pointed with pride, even rejoicing, at the successes of Allied arms. "We have now reached a time in the war itself," he said, "where we have strong reasons for hoping that a general election will not be necessary while our men are fighting at the front."

"The encirclement of Germany is complete," declared Prime Minister King. "The decisive battles are now being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a question of years."

An echo of North Grey and of the military manpower fight both in Parliament and in the Cabinet was heard in the opening sentences of the Prime Minister's speech when to the relatives of Canadian forces on the West front and in Italy he gave "the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

Prime Minister King also paid a high tribute to the gallantry of the Canadian armed forces in Europe. "It is an honor to Canada," he said, "that units and formations of other Allied armies are distinguishing themselves under Canadian command in Germany, just as the first Canadian Corps is distinguishing itself in Italy as part of the British Eighth Army."

"As Canadians," he said, "we are prouder than ever of the splendid achievements of our fighting forces. At the moment we feel particularly proud that the Canadian Army has been a spearhead of the mounting offensive from the west."

Rapid developments in Europe, the San Francisco peace conference, and the Eighth Victory Loan campaign all created difficulties in the way of making a choice of a date for the short session and also for the general election, Prime Minister King explained.

The single reference to the North Grey byelection, in which the Defence Minister, Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, was defeated, came near the middle of the Prime Minister's address when he was stressing the need of delaying a general election until after or nearly after the fighting in Europe had ended.

"I am sure," said the Prime Minister, "you will all agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the critical needs of the war than a nation-wide political campaign. The truth of this statement was abudantly illustrated during the recent byelection campaign in North Grey. But once the war in Europe is won we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace."

Turning to the question of naming a date for the general election Prime Minister King referred to the Victory Loan campaign and to the San Francisco Conference and he said that both would continue into the month of May. This made it clear, he pointed out, "that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June." He thought it was not going too far to hope that before the end of the San Francisco conferenne organized resistance in Germany would have been crushed.

But Prime Minister King apparently contemplated the possibility of a general election to be held before the end of April, for, he said, there was "always a remote chance that a sudden break might have ensured an end of the European was early enough to permit a general election before the Victor oLan. Until last week there was time enough for an election to take place before April 23."

Another reason for calling the short special session, he said, was to obtain from Parliament an expression of unity in the nation's support of the world security proposals to be dealt with at San Francisco. He wouldn't go so far as to promise a bi-partisan delegation such as is being sent by the United States, by Australia, and, in effect, by the United Kingdom, but he evidently believes the unanimous resolution of Parliament would be sufficient.

Prime Minister King made a strong plea for the various parties to make the coming session short and harmonious. "It is hoped," he said, "that all parties will cooperate in the speedy discharge of essential business, leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE D 48492

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48493

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date March 3/45

Subject

Manpower Policy Rapped

Bracken Calls for Judicial Inquiry — Mr. King Says Commons to Meet March 19

By CICERONE

OTTAWA, March 3—The week in Ottawa was climaxed last night by two different kinds of addresses. Prime Minister King made important announcements in a broadcast. At the same time, Progressive Conservative Leader John Bracken, speaking downstairs while Mr. King was upstairs, made an effective onslaught on the government man power policy and its administration since Defense Minister McNaughton took over. Mr. Bracken demanded a judicial commission of inquiry, which he is unlikely to get.

Mr. King has finally come around to the view that Parliament should be brought here for a short session. This is a reversal of what at one time was planned. Mr. King confirms the report that dissolution then was seriously thought of.

Now the House is to meet March 19. It will be dissolved by April 17. The election won't be before June. It could be considerably later—even in mid-summer.

As to the short session, what has been reported on this subject is now definitely confirmed. What, also, has been intimated before about the general election—that the time of it will depend upon war conditions—is similarly confirmed by the Prime Minister. At one time thought was given to an earlier dissolution, but now, taking cognizance of events to come—the Victory Loan and the United Nations conference in San Francisco, both starting in April—the election cannot be before June. It might be that month, very possibly will be, but it could be later.

HOPES OF VICTORY

Mr. King makes it very clear, however, that there are high hopes that by that time the war with Germany may be settled. He points out that it has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war was over, but now the encirclement of Germany is complete and the outcome of the battle is known. What is not known is whether it will be a matter of weeks or months.

As to the session of Parliament—the last session of the present House—one interesting point which was cleared up is that it is not to be a substitute for the regular 1945 session. That will be held only after the election. The supply which is to be sought of Parliament this year will be only of an interim character, sufficient for a period from the beginning of a new fiscal year through a general election. The newly elected Parliament will vote the money for the rest of the year.

The Prime Minister stressed the importance of the conference at San Francisco and gave notice that he would seek "the widest possible measure of support from Parliament" so that Canada would be "able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs." Mr. King did not elaborate as to the composition of the delegation which will represent Canada. The final note of his broadcast was an appeal for the co-operation of all parties in the business to come before the short session "leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament."

ASKS INQUIRY

The essence of Mr. Bracken's speech was its caustic criticism of the call-up; his contention, repeated over and over, that it is unfair; his attack on Minister McNaughton and his challenge for the appointment of a royal commission of three supreme court judges, preferably with military experience, "to inquire into and report upon the whole matter of reinforcements, desertions and discipline since General McNaughton became Minister of Defense."

The Progressive Conservative leader told of his visit to the battlefront and what he had seen and heard from the men over there. He pictured them as laboring under a sense of injustice arising from "a huge government-protected army that trains and trains but is not allowed to help them fight."

No small part of Mr. Bracken's speech was devoted to the Grey North campaign and the repeating textually of the charges he made there and by which he stood. He spoke of the result as a "stinging rebuke to the government's unfair call-up, its double standard army system and its wishy-washy reinforcement plan." He charged Mr. King with "flouting Parliament and defying public opinion," and called on the Premier to change the policy and demand the resignation of the Defense Minister. After reiterating his charges in Grey North and assailing General McNaughton, Mr. Bracken turned to the Hong Kong expedition, charging that men were sent there without the completion of basic training.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48494

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication St.John Telegraph-Journal

Date March 5/45

Subject

Mr. King Is Right

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING, in a radio broadcast to the nation, announced that there would be no general election before June. By that time he hopes Germany will have fallen. Meanwhile he feels we should not have our attention diverted from the all-important business of winning the war by a political battle on the home front. This is sound commonsense.

As Mr. King says, the struggle in Europe has entered its final stage, and from now until resistance collapses heavy fighting is enevitable. At this particular moment in history most people will agree that there are many reasons why the country should not be plunged into the turmoil of an election. Our servicemen, for one thing, are far too busy in enemy territory to be tapped on the shoulders and asked how they are going to vote. They don't want to be, and they shouldn't be, bothered with party propaganda from this side of the ocean.

Then there is the fact that the international security conference opens in San Francisco April 25 and will carry on into May . Canada is to be represented at this conference, on which world hopes for lasting peace so largely hinge. Canadians are anxious that at this historic meeting their country will make important contributions to global security. The men we send to San Francisco should not be preoccupied by an election campaign, nor should the political hue and cry of such a campaign obscure our nation's stand on international policies.

Again, the next Victory Loan starts April 28, to continue until May 12. It's essential that we put this loan over the top, even as we have put over every past loan. A general election, called now, would render this difficult if not impossible.

Those are some of the reasons against an election. Mr. King has explained them clearly, and he has coupled his explanation with an assurance that, once the shooting stops in Europe, he will go to the electorate without delay.

This newspaper has consistently maintained that the disadvantages of a wartime election would greatly outweigh any conceivable advantages, and has pointed out that Britain has managed to do very well without one through the whole period of conflict. We think Mr. King's decision not to call an election this spring is a wise decision. We further think that most Canadians will agree that the prime minister is following the right course in this question, and that, in the crucial and closing days of the war, we should lay politics aside and concentrate not on defeating political opponents but on defeating Germany.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48495 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date MAR 5 1945

Sub

Mr. King's Latest Turn

Parliament is to reassemble after all, meeting March 19 for a short session of, at most, 26 working days. In the urgency of Prime Minister King's radio statement there is a genuine need for this session. It will be asked to vote interim expenditures and to provide a mandate for the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Security Conference. Because it will be a short session, he stressed the need for all parties "to co-operate in the speedy discharge of essential business" which, presumably, means blanket approval of the Government's will.

Notwithstanding the explanations in which it was wrapped, talk of urgency and of co-operation come strangely from Mr. King. Barely a month ago he took the stand that unless the voters of Grey North obeyed his will and elected Defense Minister McNaughton no "useful purpose could be served" by holding another session. He was so dogmatic about this he refused to assemble Parliament immediately after the by-election (Feb. 5) because a date could not be fixed "until it (was) certain that the Minister of National Defense will have a seat in the House of Commons."

The simple fact is that the Prime Minister has now reached the point in his partisan manoeuvring where almost anything he might say in justification of his course is a contradiction of himself. This was obvious in virtually every sentence he uttered Friday night. The reason a session must be held is to provide funds for war and civil expenditures until the election can be held. The election is being postponed, Mr. King said, because the war is not over in Europe, and he desires to meet the will of the people, avoid a wartime election, and maintain a united effort.

However correct the Prime Minister's interpretation of the nation's will, he scarcely can feel at home with it now. The only serious division this country has known in the war was created by his defiance of the people. In justification of delaying an election he cited the distractions of party strife in the Grey North by-election. The election was forced on that constituency by Mr. King after he had changed Defense Ministers in defiance of the need of the army overseas for reinforcements and the people's wish that reinforcements be provided at any cost.

Not only was the by-election forced on Grey North, but the Prime Minister threatened an immediate general election "at what may well prove to be the most critical of all stages of the war" in an effort to coerce the people into acceptance of Defense Minister McNaughton and approval of his policy of partial compulsion. Grey North having rejected the Minister, whose presence in the Commons Mr. King insisted was essential to another session, and the policy he represented, it is difficult to believe the national will is the sole reason for delaying an election.

Admittedly there ought not to be an election campaign during the Victory Loan drive, or the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. But, as Mr. King now admits, and once threatened, it could have been held in advance of these events. It is here that a question of political tactics mars the picture. Had he gone to the country, Mr. King would have had to face the people on the single issue of manpower and reinforcements "at the most critical time of the war." By waiting for Germany's collapse, Mr. King can hope to intrude other issues to dilute public resentment.

We share with the Prime Minister the view that an election ought not to be held in wartime, and for the reasons he mentioned. It would be a grand thing if the nation and all political parties could march behind the Government the rest of the way, confident of the genuineness of the Prime Minister's purpose. But unfortunately it is impossible to consider Mr. King's words, long since stale from repetition, apart from his actions. There can be no doubt he would have carried out the threats of Grey North regardless of all other considerations had he been confident of winning a general election.

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However correct the Prime Minister's interpretation of the nation's will, he scarcely can feel at home with it now. The only serious division this country has known in the war was created by his defiance of the people. In justification of delaying an election he cited the distractions of party strife in the Grey North by-election. The election was forced on that constituency by Mr. King after he had changed Defense Ministers in defiance of the need of the army overseas for reinforcements and the people's wish that reinforcements be provided at any cost.

Not only was the by-election forced on Grey North, but the Prime Minister threatened an immediate general election "at what may well prove to be the most critical of all stages of the war" in an effort to coerce the people into acceptance of Defense Minister McNaughton and approval of his policy of partial compulsion. Grey North having rejected the Minister, whose presence in the Commons Mr. King insisted was essential to another session, and the policy he represented, it is difficult to believe the national will is the sole reason for delaying an election.

Admittedly there ought not to be an election campaign during the Victory Loan drive, or the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. But, as Mr. King now admits, and once threatened, it could have been held in advance of these events. It is here that a question of political tactics mars the picture. Had he gone to the country, Mr. King would have had to face the people on the single issue of manpower and reinforcements "at the most critical time of the war." By waiting for Germany's collapse, Mr. King can hope to intrude other issues to dilute public resentment.

We share with the Prime Minister the view that an election ought not to be held in wartime, and for the reasons he mentioned. It would be a grand thing if the nation and all political parties could march behind the Government the rest of the way, confident of the genuineness of the Prime Minister's purpose. But unfortunately it is impossible to consider Mr. King's words, long since stale from repetition, apart from his actions. There can be no doubt he would have carried out the threats of Grey North regardless of all other considerations had he been confident of winning a general election.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48436

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date March 5/45

Subject

Mr. King took 30 minutes on the air to say: "We are going to hang on, boys."

Just about the only thing Mr. King did not advance as a reason for not holding an early election was the Boy Scout Week.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48497

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Poenix

Date March 5/45

Subject

No Wartime Election

Prime Minister King made it as clear as he could in his address last week that there would be no Canadian wartime election. There is only one possibility that will force a wartime contest and that is an unexpected prolongation of the war beyond the time that an election will become necessary because of the automatic dissolution of the present Parliament when its term runs out. That is not to say that Mr. King expects the war to be over by mid-April when Parliament's term is ended. But there was a very strong hint in what he said that he did expect the war to be done by the time the election is held probably in the latter part of June.

Of course, if the war is not over then, there will be no alternative to holding a wartime election. That is, no practical alternative because there is no evidence to show that any substantial section of the Canadian people wants to see the life of the present Parliament extended. Hence, an election must be held some time this summer.

In the meantime, this Parliament will be called together to vote interim supply to keep the machinery of Government moving until a new Parliament is assembled and to provide the necessary funds for the conduct of the war in the early part of the new fiscal year. It will also debate the position Canada will take at the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations. Parliament will have about a month in which to consider these essential matters. It should be able to get through them in this time unless its attention wanders to other matters.

The Prime Minister's announcements clear up several points on which there was considerable uncertainty and are, therefore, most welcome. There will be general agreement that a wartime election should be avoided if at all possible not only because of the repercussions which an acrimonious campaign might have on the conduct of the war but also because it is important that the next Parliament of Canada should be selected on the basis of its postwar tasks rather than on matters directly related to the war itself.

No one can pretend that the conduct of the war will not be a factor in the next election. A Government is always in a position of having to defend its past actions as well as justify the course it proposes to pursue following an election. But with the war over, there will be a better opportunity for the electors to focus their attention on the grave problems that the country must meet in the postwar period than would be the case in the midst of war, even though everyone knows that the final phase has now been reached.

It is very much to the good that Canada's stand at the San Francisco conference is to be considered at the next session of Parliament. Some concern has been felt at the prospect of Canada being represented at the San Francisco meeting by a Government whose mandate from the people has run out and which might not be resumed. There have been many suggestions that an all-party delegation be selected, somewhat on the pattern followed by the United States so that the largest possible measure of agreement might be achieved and so that Canada could speak with a firm voice in the international deliberations.

As the situation now stands, it appears that the delegation will be largely a Government one. However, it will submit its policy to the representatives of the people in advance. These policies will undergo the test of open debate and will, therefore, be subject to revision or adaptation before being taken into the international meeting.

It is to be hoped that there is no broad difference of opinion about the line Canada must follow in the international conference. It will be unfortunate if a matter of this gravity in international as well as national affairs should become the subject of party or sectional dispute. Surely all Canadians have learned that peace is indivisible and that the only hope of the world lies in a strong and determined international organization.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48498

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 5 1945

5166/45

Forty Coaches With One Passenger.

JOHN MORLEY used to say of the speeches of JOSEPH COWEN, a wordy member from Newcastle, that they were like a train of 40 coaches with one passenger. We thought of that on Friday night when we noted that Mr. MACKENZIE KING had used 3,000 words and a half hour on the radio to give the single fact that Parliament will meet on March 19. As an exercise in verbosity this—even for Mr. KING—was a standout.

Yet the verbosity of Mr. KING'S speeches are not their only strange quality. Equally curious in them is a certain characteristic of unreality, a disregard of facts which can be explained only by the conclusion that Mr. KING, seeking to delude others, succeeds in deluding himself.

Take Mr. KING on a wartime election. Mr. KING, in the most impassioned tones, says a wartime election must be avoided if possible. Well, if he really means that, one simple course is before him—he can have Parliament's life extended. Otherwise, talk about the awful thing of a wartime election doesn't mean anything—is just sound.

Mr. KING, of course, says he doesn't like extending the life of Parliament; doesn't like the principle. Here again, however, there is an odd confusion—is extending Parliament any worse than dispensing with it? Mr. KING, delaying his election, is chucking Parliament altogether.

Then there is Mr. KING'S effort to make the people of Canada believe that throughout this war he has tried to give them non-party government.

"Throughout the years of the war, we have sought to keep down party strife. We have sought to avoid giving even the excuse for unnecessary controversy. We have felt that with all arms of the fighting services facing a terrible ordeal of battle, they should, if at all possible, and for as long a time as possible, command a united front at home."

To us, the extraordinary thing is that Mr. KING should imagine that any one should be taken in by this. Here is a Prime Minister who has tried to keep the waging of this war as a private party enterprise. Canadians of all political faiths and creeds have fought and given their sons and paid taxes and contributed to loans and other war drives, but Mr. KING has insisted throughout that only Liberals can have a say in the war's direction. A Progressive Conservative may go to the front, or organize a Victory Loan drive, or put up all the money he can lay his hands on for taxes; he must not be a member of the Cabinet, and he must not be appointed to the Senate, and he mustn't be appointed to the Bench. Such things are only for Liberals—part of the patronage which from the beginning of this war to the present hour Mr. MACKENZIE KING, as a dispenser of patronage, has controlled for his friends and partisans precisely as he controlled it for his friends and partisans in days of peace.

We are not complaining of the patronage itself. What seems to us absurd, and not very honest, is that Mr. KING, probably the only straight partisan leader in any of the English-speaking democracies in this war, should be talking about avoiding party strife. Party strife is implicit in everything he has done in this war.

And Mr. KING, in this partisan course, shows no sign of relenting. Britain, the United States and Australia are sending bipartisan delegations to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. Canada, under Mr. KING, apparently is preparing to send a straight party delegation. Mr. KING talks about peace only being possible "through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations". It doesn't occur to him that there is also such a thing as "co-operative action" within nations—that the first may not be possible without the last.

All in all, Mr. KING'S performance on Friday night could hardly have made for confidence. It did not have the right ring to it.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48498

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 5 1945

5166/43

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

D 48499

Date March 5/45

Subject

Le carnet du grincheux

Le **Cancanada** devrait bien faire expliquer par la **Stella** de la **Journée Astrale** les indécisions et tergiversations électorales de son maître fédéral, M. Mackenzie King.

* * *

On est toujours à se demander si les discours de M. Mackenzie King relèvent de l'abstraction ou de la surréalité.

* * *

La tenue d'élections générales, selon M. King, nuirait à la conduite de la guerre, nuirait aussi à l'emprunt de la victoire. Ne nuirait-elle pas quelque peu aux ambitions du parti libéral et belliciste que dirige M. King ?

* * *

M. King est un prud'homme et s'inspire de Lapalice : **Une chose est certaine,** dit-il ; **chaque mois et chaque jour nous rapprochent davantage de la fin du conflit.**

* * *

Quelques extraits du discours antiélectoral de M. King :

— "Le peuple canadien ne désire pas la tenue d'élections générales avant la fin du conflit européen."

— "Lorsque les batailles décisives auront été livrées, des élections générales devront avoir lieu le plus tôt possible."

— "Le gouvernement actuel n'a pas dévié du principe qu'il est souhaitable d'éviter, si possible, la tenue d'autres élections générales en temps de guerre."

—"Je conserve encore l'espoir que les élections puissent n'être pas nécessaires avant l'époque où nous pourrons songer à accueillir au pays les membres de la vaillante phalange des fils et des filles du Canada, qui auront survécu à l'épreuve de la bataille sur les différents théâtres de la guerre."

— "Rien ne saurait davantage détourner notre attention des besoins urgents de la guerre que le déclenchement d'une campagne électorale dans le pays."

— "Il n'a jamais été possible de dire si les élections générales pourront être retardées jusqu'à la fin de la guerre en Europe."

— "Des élections générales ne seront pas nécessaires pendant que nos hommes combattent au front."

— "La marche de la guerre est l'élément dominant qui influera sur le choix de la date où auront lieu les élections générales."

— "Il ne devrait pas y avoir d'élections générales présentement."

— "La date des élections générales dépendra de la durée des délibérations de la conférence" (de San Francisco).

—"On ne saurait tenir des élections générales avant le mois de juin."

— "Nous en sommes finalement venus à la conclusion qu'il était de notre devoir de nous en tenir fermement à notre résolution d'éviter des élections générales, pour peu que ce fût possible, tant que durerait la guerre contre l'Allemagne."

* * *

Le premier ministre libéral n'a-t-il pas cessé d'être anticonscriptionniste pour devenir antiélectoral ?

Le Grincheux

5-III-45

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date March 5/45

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Le Grincheux

5-III-45

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48500

Name of Publication Le Devoir

5166

Date March 5/45

En attendant l'élection générale

Le discours et les intentions de M. King — La riposte de M. Bracken et des conservateurs — Il ne faut pas laisser dévier le débat

Le premier ministre William Lyon Mackenzie King a prononcé vendredi soir au microphone l'un des discours les plus clairs de sa carrière. Les électeurs canadiens savent enfin qu'il y aura une brève session le 19 mars, que le mandat du XIXe Parlement ne sera pas prolongé. C'était reposant, après toutes les déclarations à double sens auxquelles il nous avait habitués, surtout depuis la crise politique de l'automne dernier, d'entendre le premier ministre expliquer avec une belle plausibilité les raisons de ses récentes décisions... et de ses hésitations.

M. King a précisé que la session du 19 mars n'aura pas d'autre but que de faire voter des crédits provisoires qui permettront au gouvernement d'assurer l'administration du pays en attendant une élection générale. "Les derniers jours d'un Parlement sur le déclin, dit-il, ne sont guère propices aux oeuvres constructives et les débats tournent habituellément aux mots acerbes et à la controverse. Cependant, vu le caractère spécial de la prochaine session, il est à espérer que tous les partis politiques collaboreront à l'expédition des affaires essentielles, abandonnant à l'électeur et au nouveau Parlement le soin de régler les autres questions".

La réponse de l'opposition officielle à cette invitation ne s'est pas fait attendre. Dès vendredi soir, les progressistes-conservateurs ont proclamé leur intention d'engager les hostilités sans attendre l'annonce de l'élection générale: leur chef, M. John Bracken, a sommé le gouvernement de nommer une commission royale composée de trois juges de la Cour suprême pour faire enquête sur l'administration du général McNaughton comme ministre de la Défense nationale, sur les renforts, sur les désertions et sur la discipline dans l'armée. Le discours qu'il a prononcé devant le congrès de son parti à Ottawa porte tout entier sur la politique de guerre du gouvernement et plus particulièrement sur sa politique de mobilisation. Si la session qui s'ouvrira le 19 mars doit être brève, elle ne sera sûrement pas paisible. Revigorés par leur victoire de Grey-Nord, les conservateurs voudront rallumer le débat sur la conscription. On peut même se demander s'ils n'iront pas jusqu'à faire de l'obstruction pour tenter d'empêcher le vote des crédits et précipiter l'élection générale.

M. King n'a pas fait connaître dans son discours de vendredi soir la date de cette élection générale tant attendue. La seule précision qu'il nous a donnée, c'est que l'élection ne pourra avoir lieu avant le mois de juin en raison de la campagne de souscription de l'emprunt et de la conférence internationale de San-Francisco. Le premier ministre a par contre insisté une fois de plus sur son vif désir d'éviter une élection en temps de guerre; il a exprimé l'espoir que les événements d'Europe permettront de remettre l'élection après la victoire.

En tenant une brève session entre le 19 mars et le 17 avril, M. King se réserve une grande liberté d'action pour ce qui est de choisir la date à laquelle il devra rendre ses comptes au peuple canadien après cinq ans d'administration. La constitution qui exige la tenue d'une session tous les douze mois lui accorde presque une année entiere de jeu après la dissolution du Parlement le 17 avril. Le vote d'un quart ou d'un tiers provisoire lui permettrait d'attendre plusieurs mois la fin de la guerre sans avoir à recourir trop longtemps pour administrer le pays aux mandats du gouverneur général qui peuvent donner prise à des accusations d'absolutisme toujours dangereuses en régime démocratique.

L'insistance même qu'il met à retarder l'élection générale après la guerre révèle chez M. King l'intention d'enterrer les questions militaires épineuses comme la conscription et les enquêtes sur les fournitures aux armées qui peuvent découvrir des scandales pour porter l'attention sur une politique de paix qui utiliserait l'appât des mesures de sécurité sociale. *Let bygones be bygones*, pourrait dire M. King en songeant aux mesures de mobilisation qui ont divisé non seulement l'électorat canadien, mais le parti libéral lui-même. Il voudrait profiter de l'euphorie qui suivra la victoire pour enfourcher le cheval de bataille de la "reconstruction" et tenter d'obtenir un nouveau mandat en faisant miroiter devant les yeux des électeurs les allocations familiales qui doivent entrer en vigueur au mois de juillet et les autres méthodes de sécurité sociale à l'étude.

Les adversaires du premier ministre ne l'entendront pas de cette oreille. Ils ne voudront pas permettre à M. King d'échapper à la responsabilité des actes posés par son gouvernemeent au cours de la guerre: ils ne voudront pas lui laisser choisir à son gré le terrain de la prochaine bataille électorale. M. John Bracken et les progressistes-conservateurs ont clairement annoncé leur intention d'obtenir un verdict électoral sur la politique de mobilisation du gouvernemenet. Encouragés par le succès qu'ils ont obtenu dans Grey-Nord en attaquant la politique de mobilisation du gouvernement, ils ont apparemment décidé de faire porter tout le débat sur la conscription. Ils crieront de plus en plus fort à l'inégalité de sacrifice, ils ne cesseront de dénoncer le gouvernement dont la politique pusillanime et intéressée, selon M. Bracken, a multiplié les injustices et semé la division.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D48501

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Pour des raisons diamétralement opposées, les nationalistes ne doivent pas non plus permettre à M. King de faire dévier le débat à la veille de l'élection générale. Ce n'est pas sur les allocations familiales et la sécurité sociale que doit se livrer la prochaine bataille électorale, mais sur la participation, la conscription et la politique de guerre. Les électeurs, québécois ou autres, devront juger le gouvernement King sur les actes qu'il a posés et non sur les promesses qu'il pourra faire. Il ne s'agira pas tant de légitimes représailles contre les hommes qui ont renié tous engagements, contre le chef qui a répudié le *gentlemen's agreement* que nos représentants ont accepté sans garanties suffisantes au début de la guerre, que d'une réaction salutaire pour prévenir de nouvelles aventures impérialistes en rapprochant le jour où le Canada sera indépendant.

5-III-45 **Pierre VIGEANT**

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48502

Name of Publication ..... Charlottetown Patriot

Date ..... March 6/45

Subject .....

MR. KING'S GREAT SPEECH

The radio address of Prime Minister King to the people of Canada on Friday night last was the equal of any of the inspiring messages given by the leaders of the United Nations from time to time. It inspired hope, it allayed fear, it increased the pride of our people in the glorious achievements of our Canadian soldiers and it gave heart to all to expect greater victories in the future, that the fate of Germany was sealed, and that the final punch could reasonably be expected in the next few months.

Mr. King gave the strongest of reasons for the holding of a short session of Parliament to vote supplies for the fiscal year 1945-46 or for so much thereof as may be necessary to carry over until after the election, which will not take place before the first weeks of July. The session would also be expected to give a vote of confidence to the delegation which will represent Canada at the San Francisco Conference which meets on April 25th. Perhaps a short extension of six months in the life of the present Parliament may be asked for.

The positive assurance given by Mr. King in regard to the reinforcement issue will probably be considered as the most important of any of his pronouncements. Here it is verbatim as delivered,—"I wish to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders." Surely that statement will be accepted with the utmost trust and confidence and notwithstanding that at the very time it was being given over the radio on the top floor of the Chateau Laurier, Mr. Bracken, the Conservative leader, was reiterating to his party friends at a banquet on the main floor all his charges made in the North Grey by-election — no support for our fighting men overseas, no adequate trained reinforcements and so forth, and Mr. Bracken recklessly throws out his challenges and requests a Royal Commission. How ridiculous! The facts speak for themselves. The Canadians are in the thick of the fighting. They are achieving victories and you can't achieve victories with inadequate or ill-trained troops. Mr. King has confidence in our troops. He believes all will be well and he gives a cheering word to their families at home.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Western Producer D 48503

Date March 8/45

Subject

MR. KING SPEAKS

SINCE the Grey North by-election there has been some anxiety and a great deal of curiosity about the government's plans for the immediate future. The prevailing uncertainty was having a disturbing effect on the public and incidentally must have been highly confusing and inconvenient for members of parliament who could make no plans for a day ahead. The announcement therefore that Mr. Mackenzie King would address the nation over the radio was welcomed.

One thing the prime minister did when he spoke was to put an end to speculation about another session of the present parliament. He announced that a proclamation had in fact already been issued summoning parliament to meet on Monday, March 19. That decision will be received with general approval.

For the rest the speech was in the all too familiar King tradition. That is to say it was full of high-sounding sentiments bearing on the present serious times and on the magnificent achievements of Canadians at home and abroad. But, again as usual, these were merely thrown in to provide a cloak for the partisan political ends which are always uppermost in the mind of the prime minister—a cloak which has by now worn so thin that it fails to conceal anything. Most of the matters raised may be allowed to await airing in the house of commons where we may confidently expect they will give rise to lively debate. One or two points, however, may be touched on at this time.

As he did last fall, Mr. King now appears to believe that we are "on the very verge of victory" in Europe. But having been bitten once, he is not so sure of himself. He seems therefore to be laying the preliminary foundations for something he has repeatedly stated he would not seek—an extension of the life of parliament. The necessities of the San Francisco conference added to the uncertain duration of the European war would be put forward as the excuses. The real reason for postponing the election, whether or not an extension is contemplated, is that Mr. King believes the prospects of his party will be better after the German defeat because then, as he thinks, the manpower mess will have become a dead issue.

The prime minister, as has been his wont in recent years, rejoiced in the heroic achievement of the Canadian forces in the field and in the splendid work on the home front. We all have good cause to rejoice with him. When Mr. King blandly seeks to leave the inference that he as the leader of the nation has contributed to the building of Canada's magnificent war effort, however, we must take issue with him. It is no pleasure to us—no pleasure at all—to do this. On the contrary it is and must be humiliating to any Canadian to have to question the bona fides or the capacity of his country's leader. But if we are to learn from the past and take care not to betray our future, the truth must be kept ever in mind. And the sad truth is that not one iota of credit is due Mr. King for what Canada has accomplished. Every step that has been taken to increase the war effort has had to be forced on an unwilling prime minister. Hon. P. J. A. Cardin made this perfectly clear when on his retirement from the cabinet he said in the house of commons:

> "Every step that has been taken up to the present in the prosecution of the war has been taken as the result of the threat of a motion or amendment being moved by the opposition and because of the fear that such a motion or such an amendment, if proposed, would destroy to a certain extent the strength of our party in the house of commons. That is the position. I do not need to be afraid to speak my mind."

The reinforcement crisis of last fall provided the classic example of the paragon of inaction being dragooned into action. The mounting anger of the country had to be reinforced by the threat of resignation from a number of his leading cabinet ministers before he could be moved. It was only the fear of losing power which finally drove him to act. The truth is very simple and very plain: Canada's great war effort has not been built by virtue of Mr. King's leadership but in spite of it and sometimes in face of his active opposition.

Mr. King took occasion to assure his anxious listeners that "our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders." That would be encouraging if we could accept it at its face value. Unfortunately we cannot. We remember the last occasion on which Mr. King spoke over the radio on this same question of reinforcements. We remember too, Mr. Ralston's devastating rejoinder in the house of commons in the course of which he exposed the complete untrustworthiness not to say duplicity of Mr. King's whole case. The ex-minister of defence demolished the prime minister's house of cards with unanswerable logic and data. Remembering these things one can hardly be expected to accept Mr. King's say-so today.

Sooner or later a general election will be held in Canada. When that time comes it is to be hoped that Canadians will remember the record; it will not be our fault if they do not.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Simcoe Reformer D 48504 5166

Date March 8/45

Subject

Here and There

And now 'Mitch' Hepburn declares that he is sorry for having said those mean things about Mr. King. No doubt the Prime Minister can use a certain amount of good will from such an unexpected quarter, but to the public it is just another gem in the Hepburnian crown of inconsistency.

Mr. King has had only two sensible alternatives since the Grey North verdict. One was to resign his office, the other to call an immediate general election. He has done neither. Instead he is entering upon a course that can only lead to chaos and to a complete breakdown of public confidence in the country's leadership.

Mr. King who has always preached that Parliament is sacrosanct and all-powerful, now proposes to carry on without Parliament after April 17th, the date of dissolution. He will establish a dictatorship and will rule by order-in-council. After all, this will not represent any great change from the type of rule in vogue at Ottawa in recent years. But it does make patriotic Canadians wonder what they are fighting and working for.

During the Grey North bye-election campaign, Mr. King told the electors of that riding that the presence of the Minister of National Defence, General McNaughton, was absolutely essential in the House of Commons if another session of that body were to be called. The General was defeated and has no seat in the House, but Mr. King is summoning Parliament just the same.

In his half-hour radio address Friday night, Mr. King made not a single reference to the prime issue before the country, namely, the Government's military policy. He did say that the overseas reinforcement pools were up to strength, thus blandly intimating that Canadians henceforth need have no worry about army affairs. Mr. King is decidedly naive if he considers that the electors are ready to dismiss from memory all the unsavoury happenings of the past six months.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D48505

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... Vancouver Province

Date ..... March 13/45

Subject .....

When the Prime Minister Speaks

By H. H. STEVENS.

THE Prime Minister's recent radio broadcast was a work of supererogation—the whole world knows that German defeat is inevitable.

His statement that "reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled" came as a distinct surprise to the people of Canada. It may give comfort to supporters of the government who had been wavering, but it can do little more.

Closer examination of his language disclosed very definite discrepancies. The question arises, what "pools"? Are these the "pools" that have been created "after" the breakdown last fall and winter, following Mr. Ralston's retirement?

If there are "ample" reinforcements going forward, why has the government refrained from giving the figures? And why the concealment of all the facts surrounding Mr. Ralston's retirement and General McNaughton's appointment?

* * *

The Prime Minister's explanation of the reversal of his position of a month ago regarding a general election is extremely difficult to understand. His statement, that the government had "decided to hold firm to its resolve to avoid an election while fighting continued" is strange reasoning for a leader in a democratic country, which is supposed to be governed under constitutional law.

There is only one honorable way to extend the life of a Parliament and its government—that is, by free vote of that Parliament extending its own life; and that is done only in times of emergency.

During the first Great War the Canadian Parliament extended its life to "six" years. In Great Britain in this war its Parliament has extended its life to over 10 years. Even in these cases considerable criticism was directed at the government for doing so. Mr. King proposes to do it by a radio speech.

* * *

He referred to "a united front at home" as an essential prerequisite to an election, and indicated that no election would be held until the men had returned from overseas. Obviously there is something awry in Mr. King's reasoning here. If the war in Europe ended tomorrow it is unlikely that all our men could be returned before the end of this year, and the "June" election date would be a mockery.

That is not all. Are we to understand from this line of reasoning by the Prime Minister, that with the initial collapse of Germany, Canada is out of the war for keeps? What of "mopping up" operations?

What of the war in the Pacific? Are we contemplating peace with Japan when the European struggle is ended?

These are but a few of the questions that are provoked by the speech of Canada's Prime Minister. There is no disposition to question the right of the government to exercise unusual and ultra-governmental powers for the prosecution of the war, but to extend such arbitrary powers to the extreme of varying or over-riding the constitutional rights of the electorate, is something close to totalitarian despotism.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48506

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date March 3/45

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THE PREMIER'S SPEECH: A POSITIVE ASSURANCE

PRIME MINISTER KING'S reasons for postponing a general election until at least the month of June, as offered in his radio broadcast last night, are cogent, based as they were on wartime national interest. With his assertion that nothing must distract the population from the utmost effort during these critical days of the war, only an unthinking few will disagree. To throw the country into a general election in the decisive war days, at a time when the nations are preparing for the San Francisco world security conference, and, of equal national importance, when Canada's greatest Victory Loan is in preparation, might militate not only against domestic peace but detract from full Canadian participation in those measures designed to ensure the larger peace.

Of equal importance with Mr. King's discussion of the electoral situation was his categorical assurance that the Canadian Army reinforcement situation is satisfactory. On this issue he said:

> "To all of you who have sons, brothers or friends in the Canadian forces in Germany or Italy, I wish to give the most positive assurance that our Army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

Such an assurance cannot be given lightly to the relatives of men in the Service, or to the men themselves, and Mr. King did not give it lightly. It should serve to silence much of the loose, uninformed criticism that has served only to heighten the anxiety of those interested in the welfare of the men fighting our battles overseas.

The problem of determining when a Canadian general election should be held is one fraught with great difficulty. Had the European fighting ended, as we were led to expect, late last year or early in the new year, the existing difficulties would not have been encountered. The European war's end would have coincided, or nearly coincided, with the end of this Parliament's life. Parliament could have been dissolved and the country embarked on a general election free from the gnawing anxiety accompanying wartime elections, with their necessary distraction of public attention from the war effort.

That condition has not been vouchsafed us. In the circumstances, Mr. King's decision to call Parliament into short session, vote the necessary supply and delay the general election until the Victory Loan and the San Francisco conference are over—until, in short, a time when public attention can be diverted from the war without detracting from the Dominion's participation—is a wise one which the country will applaud.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48507

Name of Publication Kingston Whig-Standard

Date March 3/45

The Prime Minister Reports to the Nation

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his radio broadcast to the nation last night, ended the uncertainty regarding a session of Parliament and a general election which has prevailed since the by-election in Grey North. The Prime Minister's address was a frank, dignified and fair presentation of the situation confronting the Government, and of the measures the Government intends taking to meet it. In addition, the address offered certain reassurances which will be most welcome to the Canadian people.

* * *

There will be no immediate general election, nor will one be called while the Canadian forces overseas are in the thick of the final drive against Germany. However, as soon as possible—certainly before the year ends—a general election will be held. In the meantime, a short session of Parliament will be called for two purposes—to vote interim supply until a general election can be called, and to pass upon the delegates to the San Francisco conference. These are the measures the Government intends taking to meet the present situation and we feel sure they will prove generally acceptable, in view of the reasons advanced by the Prime Minister for taking them.

* * *

Canada, in common with all other nations, is facing one of the most solemn moments in the history of the world. To face it successfully, it is imperative that no avoidable distraction be allowed to interfere with the national war effort. This is the main reason for not calling an immediate general election; tied closely to it is the fact that such an election would interfere with the next Victory Loan campaign. A second reason, and a most important one, is the desirability of having the support of Parliament for the delegates who will represent Canada at the San Francisco conference.

* * *

As we intimated above, we feel sure these reasons for not calling a general election immediately will be generally accepted. This newspaper, following the Grey North by-election, was of the opinion that a general election should be held at the earliest possible moment. We still think so, but that moment, through force of circumstance, has advanced farther into the future. When we expressed that opinion, the Canadian forces were not engaged in a great offensive, nor had the San Francisco conference been announced. Either factor, taken alone, would be sufficient to influence radically all opinion regarding a general election.

* * *

Despite the keen interest manifested with regard to election and session possibilities, we venture the prediction that a portion of the Prime Minister's speech touching upon another matter altogether will command greater attention than anything else he had to say. The Prime Minister said he was happy to report that Canadian service men overseas were now assured of adequate reinforcements and supplies of all description for anything they might encounter. His happiness will be shared by all Canadians. There is nothing closer to their hearts, no national need they seek more earnestly to fulfil, than that of Canadian fighting men. To know that these men will lack for nothing is to be able to face whatever else occurs with comparative equanimity.

* * *

Although dealing in large measure with subjects of paramount political interest, the Prime Minister's address could not be termed partisan in the generally accepted sense of that word. He spoke primarily as leader of the Government of a nation at war; he reported to the people of that nation their Government's intentions, and the reasons which led to their formulation. He pointed out that the present Government had been elected in 1940 as a war administration; it had accepted that mandate literally, eschewing the normal practice of politics to comply with the abnormal requirements of war. The Government's main business had been to build up and maintain an extraordinary national war effort to prosecute the war. How well it has succeeded may be judged by Canada's war record—a record which speaks for itself and which has aroused warm admiration throughout the world.

* * *

Canada's first objective, as the Prime Minister pointed out, is still its contribution toward winning the war. Until victory, all else must remain secondary. There is every reason, therefore, to accept his report to the nation. Nothing was asked that we have not already given—only that we continue to give a while longer. We must live and work together at home to support Canadian fighting men overseas, that they may add to their magnificent record. It is a plea which should meet with ready response throughout the Dominion.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48508

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date March 3, 1945

Subject

Responsibility, Maturity, Wisdom

Government of a country like Canada is at all times an arduous and complex undertaking. The difficulties and responsibilities have been increased immeasurably by the war. It is fortunate that in such circumstances Canada has had a government, and a prime minister, who have shown themselves capable of the task and imbued with a sense of devotion to duty.

The intricacy of the problems and the spirit of serious responsibility in which they are being approached and handled were exemplified again in Mr. Mackenzie King's address to the nation last night. It revealed that maturity, that wisdom, that lack of any taint of the doctrinaire or the dilettante, that all-round statesmanship which characterizes Canada's prime minister. He analyzed the questions arising from the fact that the constitutional life of the present parliament is about finished, necessitating a general election before long. In this analysis were included the problems of fitting into a workable time-table the dates of the pending Eighth Victory Loan, the necessity of voting interim supply to carry on the war and the civil government, the San Francisco conference and the probable period at which the European war may be finished.

But before Mr. King went into those questions he said something which will hearten the families of our men overseas. "I wish," he declared, "to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders."

As for the other questions, Mr. King said that the dates of the Victory Loan would be April 23 to May 12. Until last week there was time enough for a general election to take place before April 23 but that time has now passed. Moreover, the San Francisco conference, to take the next step towards a world organization, following Dumbarton Oaks and the Crimea conference, opens on April 25. Both the Victory Loan and the conference will extend well into the month of May and therefore, Mr. King says, it is clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before June at the earliest.

Parliament has been summoned for March 19 to vote sufficient supply only to carry over until a newly elected parliament meets and also to give formal expression and support to "a clear, strong and united voice" by Canada in world affairs when our representatives take their seats with the members of all the other United Nations in the city by the Golden Gate.

And Now For the Contrast

At the same time last night as Mackenzie King was giving his reasoned exposition to the whole Canadian people of the policies and time-schedule of the government to meet the complexities of this fateful spring, John Bracken was speaking at a political gathering in Ottawa, the annual meeting of the Dominion Progressive Conservative Association. And what an incredibly partisan speech it was! How small, how utterly petty! Compared with the prime minister's survey of Canada's worthy and proud part in world affairs, both military and diplomatic, helping bring the war to a successful and speedy conclusion and lay foundations for a lasting peace, Mr. Bracken's speech was like a querulous single instrument, out of tune, competing with a full orchestra playing a symphony which inspires and ennobles a people.

Mr. Bracken continued his vilification of General McNaughton and, misled by lack of judgment, brought up again his unpardonable report of Canadian soldiers throwing rifles and ammunition overboard on their way to Europe, a charge advanced originally without any evidence and denied by the minister of defence, a charge which has already provided ammunition for Goebbels' propaganda.

Seldom indeed has the Canadian public been given an opportunity to compare two of its national leaders simultaneously and to witness such a contrast between responsibility and irresponsibility.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48509

Name of Publication Toronto Globe-Mail

Date March 5/45

Subject

Mr. King's Latest Turn

Parliament is to reassemble after all, meeting March 19 for a short session of, at most, 26 working days. In the urgency of Prime Minister King's radio statement there is a genuine need for this session. It will be asked to vote interim expenditures and to provide a mandate for the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Security Conference. Because it will be a short session, he stressed the need for all parties "to co-operate in the speedy discharge of essential business" which, presumably, means blanket approval of the Government's will.

Notwithstanding the explanations in which it was wrapped, talk of urgency and of co-operation come strangely from Mr. King. Barely a month ago he took the stand that unless the voters of Grey North obeyed his will and elected Defense Minister McNaughton no "useful purpose could be served" by holding another session. He was so dogmatic about this he refused to assemble Parliament immediately after the by-election (Feb. 5) because a date could not be fixed "until it (was) certain that the Minister of National Defense will have a seat in the House of Commons."

The simple fact is that the Prime Minister has now reached the point in his partisan manoeuvring where almost anything he might say in justification of his course is a contradiction of himself. This was obvious in virtually every sentence he uttered Friday night. The reason a session must be held is to provide funds for war and civil expenditures until the election can be held. The election is being postponed, Mr. King said, because the war is not over in Europe, and he desires to meet the will of the people, avoid a wartime election, and maintain a united effort.

However correct the Prime Minister's interpretation of the nation's will, he scarcely can feel at home with it now. The only serious division this country has known in the war was created by his defiance of the people. In justification of delaying an election he cited the distractions of party strife in the Grey North by-election. The election was forced on that constituency by Mr. King after he had changed Defense Ministers in defiance of the need of the army overseas for reinforcements and the people's wish that reinforcements be provided at any cost.

Not only was the by-election forced on Grey North, but the Prime Minister threatened an immediate general election "at what may well prove to be the most critical of all stages of the war" in an effort to coerce the people into acceptance of Defense Minister McNaughton and approval of his policy of partial compulsion. Grey North having rejected the Minister, whose presence in the Commons Mr. King insisted was essential to another session, and the policy he represented, it is difficult to believe the national will is the sole reason for delaying an election.

Admittedly there ought not to be an election campaign during the Victory Loan drive, or the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. But, as Mr. King now admits, and once threatened, it could have been held in advance of these events. It is here that a question of political tactics mars the picture. Had he gone to the country, Mr. King would have had to face the people on the single issue of manpower and reinforcements "at the most critical time of the war." By waiting for Germany's collapse, Mr. King can hope to intrude other issues to dilute public resentment.

We share with the Prime Minister the view that an election ought not to be held in wartime, and for the reasons he mentioned. It would be a grand thing if the nation and all political parties could march behind the Government the rest of the way, confident of the genuineness of the Prime Minister's purpose. But unfortunately it is impossible to consider Mr. King's words, long since stale from repetition, apart from his actions. There can be no doubt he would have carried out the threats of Grey North regardless of all other considerations had he been confident of winning a general election.

D 48510

As read & Cabinet last reviewed before final copy

Not to be released until after
delivery 9.30 p.m. E.D.T. March 2/45

"General Elections & The War"
The Government's Plans for the Coming Months

Nation-wide Broadcast by The Prime Minister of Canada,
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, March 2nd, 1945

We have all been greatly heartened in recent weeks by the news from the fighting fronts. We have been no less heartened by the unmistakable unity of purpose of the Allied Nations, so strikingly confirmed by the Crimea Conference. As Canadians we are prouder than ever of the splendid achievements of our fighting forces. At the moment, we feel particularly proud that the Canadian Army has been the spearhead of the mounting offensive from the West. It is an honour to Canada that units and formations of other allied armies are distinguishing themselves under Canadian command in Germany, just as the First Canadian Corps is distinguishing itself in Italy as part of the British Eighth Army.

To all of you who have husbands or sons, brothers or friends, in the Canadian forces in Germany or Italy, I wish to give the most positive assurance that our army is receiving the fullest support in arms, munitions and reinforcements. The reinforcement pools overseas are more than amply filled to meet the needs anticipated by the field commanders.

D 48511

The government's plans for the coming months

Recently there has been much speculation as to the government's plans for the coming months. I should like this evening to remove some of the uncertainties which I know have been in the public mind. I should like you to know some of the reasons which have made it difficult for me to make definite announcements at an earlier date. I want particularly to have you made aware of some of the considerations of which the government has had to take account, and upon which its plan of action is based.

I am perfectly sure that the people of Canada do not wish a general election before the European war is over. What they wish for, above all else, is a speedy end to the war itself. Until German resistance is crushed, what they most desire, I believe, is concentration upon the winning of the war, ~~and as little as possible of political controversy meanwhile~~. Until Germany surrenders we shall have to count on ~~almost~~ continuous heavy fighting. It is our first duty to give the fullest possible support to our fighting men. All other considerations should take second place. Once the decisive battles have been fought, a general election should be held as soon as possible. An election campaign will afford ample opportunity for the freest and fullest discussion of all public issues.

D 48512

It is obviously in the national interest that a general election should come at a time most favourable to a dispassionate consideration of the policies of the different political parties. So far as members of the armed forces are concerned, there is everything to be said in favour of having the elections held after the end of the war, or as near its close as possible.

forces overseas, would be inseparable from a general election. For this reason, we have felt we should make every effort to postpone an election so long as there was a possibility of the war ending, or of the decisive battles being fought before the expiration of the parliamentary term. We have felt that with all arms of the fighting services facing a terrible ordeal of battle, they should, if at all possible, and for as long a time as possible, command a united front at home. We have had every reason to believe that in this view we were reflecting the will of the people of Canada as a whole.

I have stated, over and over again, both in the House of Commons and outside Parliament, that I felt it was in the light of what Canada owed to her fighting men that any question as to the time of a general election should be viewed. I ~~have hoped~~ first hope an election ~~might~~ may not be necessary before the hour at which we ~~might~~ may look forward to welcoming home those of the great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who ~~have~~ survive the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war.

The present government was returned to office in 1940 as a war administration. Its aim from that moment up to this hour has been the achievement of the utmost effort to win the war. Canada's war effort speaks for itself.

D 48514

It speaks for itself in every part of the world. But while we have considered first and foremost the demands of the war, we have also endeavoured to look beyond it into the future, and to make preparations to meet post-war problems. I am sure you will agree that nothing would do more to divert attention from the winning of the war than a nation-wide political campaign. The truth of this statement was abundantly illustrated by the recent by-election campaign in Grey North. But once the war in Europe is won, we feel there should be a general election, as soon as possible, to determine what government will direct Canada's effort to win the peace.

Time of election depends on progress of war

The progress of the war in Europe is the governing consideration in deciding upon the date for a general election. It has never been possible to say whether a general election could be delayed until the war in Europe is over. This has been a matter of constant concern. For five years, however, we have been able to carry on without a general election. We have now reached a time in the war itself where we have strong reasons for hoping that a general election will not be necessary while our men are fighting at the front.

Were it possible to predict the end of the war, the fixing of the date of the general election would occasion no difficulty whatever. It is uncertainty in the case of the one which begets uncertainty in the case of the other. As is well known, there were times in the past year when many military experts expressed the view that the war would be over before the year was out. Later, it was widely believed that the end would come in the first two months of the present year. The German offensive in December upset the basis of that calculation. Since Von Rundstedt's forces were driven back, and the allied offensive renewed, steady progress has been made in the West. Plans for offensives against Germany from all directions were further developed and fully co-ordinated at the Crimea Conference.

The war in Germany in its final stage

The encirclement of Germany is [redacted] complete. The decisive battles are now being fought on German soil. There can no longer be any doubt that the fate of Germany is sealed. It may be a matter of weeks or months. It is no longer a question of years.

On the 18th of last month, Field Marshal Montgomery ~~said~~ told the men under his command that the operations of the Allies

D 48516

of the Allies on all fronts ~~have now~~ had brought the German war to its final stage. ~~"~~ he said; "We have now come to the last and final round, and we want and will go in for the knockout blow." The Russian armies have swept across the Eastern borders of Germany and are at the gates of Berlin. ~~British~~ American, British and Canadian ~~and American~~ forces are attacking Cologne and other strongholds of the Rhineland. From the skies, by day as well as by night, the German capital is being showered with bombs and incendiaries. All Germany's industrial centres are meeting a like fate. General Eisenhower's latest word is that the campaign now in progress will end only when Allied armies from the East and from the West meet "in the centre of Germany". Here surely are the strongest of reasons why no ~~distinction~~ distraction should prevent the utmost effort of Canada to hasten the victory in this final stage of the war. That is why a general election should ~~be postponed if possible up to the last moment permitted by the Constitution.~~ not be held now but at present. Consideration for the members of our own armed forces, who from now on will be in the thick of the conflict, and for their relatives at home, ~~ought to make such a course imperative.~~ is in itself sufficient to justify such a decision.

D 48517

Victory Loan

Another consideration which enters into the fixing of a date for the general election is the date at which another Victory Loan campaign must be held. The Victory Loans are an all-important part of Canada's war effort. Just because the war is now in its final stage, it is more necessary than ever that this year's loan should meet with unprecedented success.

It has become customary to hold a Victory Loan campaign in the spring of each year. A change in the date of the campaign, either by its postponement or its advancement, might have an unfavourable effect upon the loan. The Victory Loan campaign for the present year is scheduled to begin on April 23rd and to conclude on May 12th. To have a general election campaign and a Victory Loan campaign going on at the same time would create endless confusion. It would certainly prove prejudicial to the loan.

The taking of the overseas vote requires a period of some eight weeks between the issue of the writs for a general election and the day of polling. Nomination of candidates takes place four weeks before polling day. If there is not to be serious overlapping in the two campaigns, either the general election should be over before the

Victory Loan [redacted],

D 48518

Victory Loan ~~gets under way~~, or the ~~Victory Loan campaign~~ election should not take place for a reasonable time after the close of the Victory Loan campaign ~~should be over at least before the day of nominations~~.

So far as the Victory Loan is concerned, it would be a distinct advantage to have members of all political parties join in making it the greatest possible success. There can be no doubt that this end would be best achieved by having the Victory Loan ~~campaign~~ precede the general election ~~campaign~~.

The San Francisco Conference

The Conference on a World Security Organization to be held at San Francisco is another factor which demands consideration in determining the date to be fixed for a general election. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Canada being represented at this important conference of the United Nations. If Canada is to be represented, the date of the general election will have to be considered in relation to the proceedings of the Conference. The San Francisco Conference opens its proceedings on April 25th.

The questions likely to arise at the Conference and the personnel of Canada's representation are matters to which the government is at present giving consideration. The fact that the Victory Loan campaign begins on April 23rd and the San Francisco Conference on April 25th, and that both will continue on into the month of May, makes it clear that the day of polling at a general election could not be before the month of June.

It is impossible to fix a definite date now, because it is impossible to predict the course of the war. One thing however is certain: each month and each day brings us nearer to the end of the war. It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco Conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs.

The question of a further session

I now come to the question as to whether Parliament should meet again before a general election. The present Parliament has all but run its course. The last session closed on January 31st. If, before that date, the decisive battles in Europe had been fought and the order had been given to "cease fire", a dissolution of Parliament would have followed immediately. The date for a general election would have been ~~fixed~~ at that time.

D 48520

The duration of Parliament, as fixed by the Constitution, is five years. The usual practice is to hold one session in each year. ~~Sometimes a session will begin in one calendar year and close in the early part of the year immediately following. That was the case with the session of Parliament which opened on January 27th of last year and closed on January 31st of this year.~~ Regular sessions of this Parliament have been held in each of the calendar years since 1940. The present Parliament has therefore had its full five sessions. The 1945 regular session will not be the last session of a Parliament that has all but covered its allotted span. It should be, and will be, ~~as was~~ like the 1940 session, the first session of a Parliament newly elected by the people.

Brief session planned for 1945

On December 7th last, the House of Commons voted to aid the government in maintaining a vigorous war effort. The vote made it apparent that there was no need for an immediate general election. The government felt that, if at all possible, and for as long as possible, Parliament should be kept in being while the war in Europe continued. We also desired to make as much progress as we could with public business. Accordingly, we adopted a procedure which

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we believed would enable some progress to be made in the consideration of war appropriations and ordinary government estimates for the fiscal year 1945-46. It was never contemplated, however, that a brief session for this purpose would, in any sense of the word, be a substitute for the 1945 regular session.

Given readiness on the part of the different political parties to co-operate, the government felt that the time available for a session would be ample for the enactment of the necessary war measures. The presence, however, in the House of Commons of the Minister of National Defence was regarded by the government as essential to an informed discussion of war appropriations. The by-election in Grey North was brought on solely for the purpose of making this possible. The government assumed that such a course of procedure would be welcomed by members of all political parties.

In view of the result of the by-election, the government had grave doubts as to whether any useful purpose could be served by having Parliament reassemble. We gave serious consideration to an immediate dissolution, but concluded it was our duty to hold firm to our resolve to avoid a general election, if at all possible, while the

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war against Germany continued. ~~There was~~ until last week a remote chance that a sudden break might have ensured an end of the European war early ~~enough~~ to permit a general ~~election~~ before the Victory Loan. ~~There is~~ not now time enough for an election to take place before April 23rd.

We were perfectly certain that the people would not wish an election campaign to be fought out in the House of Commons while our men overseas were engaged in the bitterest fighting. The government, however, never lost sight of the fact that, unless Parliament voted sufficient money to finance the war, and the ordinary expenses of government over the period of a general election, it would be necessary to use Governor General's warrants for these purposes. Such a course the government was most anxious to avoid.

Parliament to meet on March 19th

A measure of interim supply is required to bridge over the period between the end of the present fiscal year and the opening of a new Parliament after a general election. For the purpose of obtaining the necessary appropriations, the government, following sound constitutional practice, has decided to call Parliament into session at an early date. It is the intention of the government to ask for appropriations only for the period from the beginning of

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the new fiscal year through a general election. It will be for the newly elected Parliament to vote the appropriations necessary for the full fiscal year up to March 31st, 1946.

So much for the financial needs of which, throughout, the government has had to take account.

Since the Crimea Conference, an additional reason has arisen for a brief session of the present Parliament. Next to the winning of the war, the winning of the peace is the supreme end to be achieved. Peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. I have frequently expressed the view that the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace.

The purpose of the forthcoming Conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world. I have already mentioned the necessity of Canada being represented at the Conference. It is vital that Canada should be able to speak with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs. It is therefore desirable that the Canadian delegation should go to San Francisco with an assurance of the widest possible measure of support from

D 48524

Parliament. An expression of such support will be sought at the forthcoming session.

His Excellency the Governor General, on the advice of the Government, has today issued a Proclamation summoning Parliament to meet on Monday, March 19th, for the despatch of business.

The concluding days of a Parliament that has all but run its course are rarely constructive, and the debates are generally controversial and bitter. In view, however, of the special character of the forthcoming session, it is hoped that all parties will co-operate in the speedy discharge of essential business, leaving other issues to be settled by the electorate and the new Parliament.

We are, at this very time, passing through one of the most solemn moments in the history of the world.

For our security, for the future of our country, for the freedom of mankind, the sons of Canada are offering their lives ~~in the most titanic struggle in all human experience~~. They are fighting and dying, as Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party affiliation. To be worthy of them and of the cause for which they fight, and for which so many have already given their lives, we at home should live together and work together in these fateful months with a minimum of controversy, dissension and division. Our ~~fighting men~~ soldiers, sailors and airmen are daily adding fresh lustre to the name of Canada. Surely it is for us at home to uphold and cherish the name and the fame of the country for which they are prepared to give their all.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Remarks re: Possibility of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	6 Dec. 1944	D 48430	
77		Conscription. Speeches in Parliament	7 Dec. 1944	D 48431 - D 48433	
77		Inauguration of CBC's International Service, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Feb. 1945	D 48434 - D 48437	
77		Nation-Wide Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Mar. 1945	D 48438 - D 48524	
77		International Relations. Speeches in Parliament	20 Mar. 1945	D 48525 - D 48565	
77		Debate on North Grey. Speeches in Parliament	3 Apr. 1945	D 48566 - D 48571	
77		Statement of the Death of F.D. Roosevelt. Speeches in Parliament	12 Apr. 1945	D 48572 - D 48578	
77		Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	13 Apr. 1945	D 48579 - D 48589	
77		San Francisco Conference. Speeches in Parliament	25 Apr. 1945	D 48590 - D 48600	

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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Statement by the Prime Minister

Honourable Members will have felt a special interest in the following paragraph which appears in the Speech from the Throne, opening the present Session of Parliament:

"The government has accepted the invitation to Canada to send representatives to a Conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25th at San Francisco to prepare a Charter for a General International Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security. My Ministers are of the opinion that the Canadian delegation at the San Francisco Conference should be assured of the widest possible measure of support from Parliament. A joint resolution of both Houses will, accordingly, be submitted for your approval."

The invitation to the Conference at San Francisco reads as follows:

"Embassy of the
United States of America,
Ottawa, Canada,
March 5, 1945

No.293

Sir,

The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China, invites the

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Government of Canada to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The above named governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter 6.

"C. VOTING.

1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter 8, Section A and under the second sentence of paragraph one of Chapter 8 Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting".

Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently. In the event that the Government of Canada desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating governments.

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

(Signed)Ray Atherton.

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

The invitation was accepted in the following terms:

"Office of the Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, March 5th, 1945.

Sir,

The Government of Canada is pleased to accept the invitation conveyed in your Note No. 293 of March 5th, on behalf of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25th, 1945, at San Francisco to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Government of Canada agrees that the conference should accept as a basis for its discussions the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public in October 1944 and have now been supplemented by the addition set forth in your Note of provisions regarding voting procedure in the Security Council.

Note has been taken of the offer of the Government of the United States of America to transmit to other participating governments such views or comments concerning the proposals as the Government of Canada may desire to present in advance of the conference. I shall communicate with you again if the Government of Canada decides to take advantage of this offer.

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

(sgd.) W.L.MACKENZIE KING.

Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

His Excellency
The Hon. Ray Atherton,
Ambassador of the United States of America,
United States Embassy,
Ottawa.

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I do not think there is any question that this House will be prepared to endorse the acceptance by the government of the invitation to Canada to send representatives to the World Security Conference at San Francisco.

At yesterday's sitting, I gave notice of the resolution which appears on today's order paper. In accordance with the understanding reached at the time, I now beg to move, seconded by Mr. St.Laurent:

That it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the following Resolution:-

WHEREAS the Government of Canada has been invited by the Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China, to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25th, 1945, at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security, and

WHEREAS the invitation suggests that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization which have been made public by the four Governments which participated in the discussions at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, and

WHEREAS the Government of Canada has accepted the invitation to send representatives to this conference,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED -

1. that this House endorses the acceptance by the Government of Canada of the invitation to send representatives to the conference;

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2. that this House recognizes that the establishment of an effective international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security is of vital importance to Canada, and, indeed, to the future well-being of mankind; and that it is in the interests of Canada that Canada should become a member of such an organization;

3. that this House approves the purposes and principles set forth in the proposals of the four Governments, and considers that these proposals constitute a satisfactory general basis for a discussion of the Charter of the proposed international organization;

4. that this House agrees that the representatives of Canada at the conference should use their best endeavours to further the preparation of an acceptable charter for an international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security;

5. that the charter establishing the international organization should, before ratification, be submitted to Parliament for approval.

Next to the winning of the war, the supreme end to be achieved is the winning of the peace. Peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. The purpose of the forthcoming conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world.

In some quarters there appear to be misconceptions as to what it is intended the San Francisco Conference should accomplish. It might be well, were I at the outset to

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remove one prevalent misconception. The purpose of the conference has been set forth clearly in the communication of March 5th on behalf of the inviting Governments which I have just read. The Conference at San Francisco is not the Peace Conference. It will have nothing to do with the preparation of the treaties of peace. It will not discuss the terms which the United Nations will impose on Germany and on Japan at some future time. It will deal only with the constitutional framework of the future Society of Nations. The purpose is to provide for the maintenance of peace, once peace has been secured.

Steps leading to San Francisco Conference

It may be helpful to the House if I proceed at once to give an outline of the negotiations that have led to the calling of the San Francisco Conference.

The Moscow Conference which ended on November 1st, 1943, was the first step by the Great Powers towards the development of plans for a new International Security Organization forecast in the Atlantic Charter, and endorsed by the United Nations' Declaration of 1942. In the declarationissued at the conclusion of the Moscow Conference the four governments which were later represented at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, declared that they recognized

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"the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

At the Prime Ministers' meeting in London in May, 1944, there were discussions of proposals framed by the United Kingdom Government. Since that meeting there have been frequent interchanges of opinion between Commonwealth Governments.

Between late August and early October, 1944, meetings were held at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington. At these meetings discussions took place between officials representing the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom looking to the establishment of a general international organization for the maintenance of Peace and Security. At a subsequent stage, meetings were held of officials of the United Kingdom, United States of America and China. At the end of these meetings, there was issued on October 9, 1944, what are known as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Canada was not represented at Dumbarton Oaks, but the Canadian government received day to day reports on the progress of the discussions.

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The official delegations at Dumbarton Oaks were unable to reach agreement on some points. The proposals there framed were, consequently, but the first stage in the development of a draft charter for consideration by all the United Nations. The proposals were subsequently accepted and supplemented by the initiating governments at the Crimea Conference at Yalta held in February of the present year. They were thereafter concurred in by China, and were then submitted to other countries for their consideration.

At Yalta the three greatest world powers achieved unified proposals for a charter of a World Security Organization. That of itself is a hopeful augury for the future. Without continuing unity among the great powers there would be little hope for enduring peace.

As I have already stated, it was on the 5th of this month, that invitations were extended to Canada and other United Nations to attend a Conference at San Francisco. The invitations were extended by the United States of America on its behalf and that of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. The invitation suggests that the conference should consider, as affording a basis for the charter of the new Organization, the proposals which have been agreed upon between these four Governments.

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Since the invitation was received, I have had an opportunity for personal conversations with President Roosevelt, in the course of which we discussed the main features of the proposals, and suggestions which the Canadian Government believe would make for improvement in the effectiveness of the proposed Organization. Early in April, there is to be a meeting of representatives of Commonwealth Governments in London to discuss the proposals. I shall not be able to be present myself at this meeting. Our Government will be represented by the Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Hume Wrong, in co-operation with the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. I believe that the discussions in London will serve a useful purpose as an exchange of information, and as a clarification of views among the different nations of the Commonwealth, all of which alike are deeply interested in the success of the Conference. This meeting will be a continuation of the exchanges of information and ideas which have been taking place between Canada and the other countries of the Commonwealth and some of the United Nations.

I might here mention that there was some discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at the recent Inter-American Conference on the problems of war and peace at

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Mexico City. Canada was not represented at that Conference, and received no invitation to attend. The Conference adopted a gracious resolution which rendered a tribute of admiration to Canada for our country's great war effort, and expressed a desire for closer Canadian collaboration with the Pan-American system. To this resolution I have made an appreciative reply.

Purpose of San Francisco Conference.

While the San Francisco Conference will concern itself with international co-operation in matters other than the assurance of security, its main purpose will be to erect a firm and enduring structure for the maintenance of world peace. The proposals formulated at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta are not in final treaty form. They are a general basis for discussion of the charter for the proposed international organization. It is the purpose of the Conference to develop from the proposals a complete instrument for signature by the United Nations. For the success of any final plan of world security, it is essential that it should command the cordial assent of the Great Powers, as well as the support of a large number of intermediate and small countries. The great defect of the

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League of Nations was not that it had an imperfect constitution, but that, at no time, did it include more than half the great powers. The Great Powers will no doubt support the inclusion in the completed Charter of the substance of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. For that and other reasons, the Resolution now before the House recognizes that the proposals which have been made public constitute a satisfactory general basis for discussion of the proposed International Organization.

Purposes and Principles

The Resolution asks this House to approve the purposes and principles set forth in the proposals of the four governments.

The purposes of the organization as set forth in the proposals of the four governments are:

1) To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;

2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3) To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and

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4) To afford a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

These are purposes for a general international organization of which this House will surely cordially approve.

In pursuit of these purposes the proposals recommend that the Organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1) The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

2) All members of the Organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

3) All members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

4) All members of the Organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization.

5) All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6) All members of the Organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organization. The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

These principles upon which the general International Organization will be expected to act will also, I am sure,

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be cordially approved by all honourable Members of this House.

According to the proposals, membership of the Organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

It is proposed that the Organization should have as its principal organs: a General Assembly; a Security Council; an international court of justice; and a Secretariat. It is also proposed that the Organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

Outline of Proposals:

One of the first questions which anyone looking at the proposals for the new World Security Organization will ask is: How do these proposals differ from the Covenant of the League of Nations and in what respects do they improve upon it? The failure of the League to secure world peace was a world tragedy. It must not, however, be thought that the idealism and effort which went into the League have been wasted. That would be a shallow judgment. The ideal of the new International Organization remains the same - the organization of enduring peace. There are,

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however, important lessons to be learned from the League's failure to attain that end. The knowledge gained should be applied to building on more solid foundations.

The structure of the proposed Organization bears a general resemblance to that of the League of Nations. But there are important differences in the authority of the various organs proposed.

The General Assembly.

The General Assembly, like the League Assembly, would be composed of representatives of all members, with one vote for each delegation. The Assembly would discuss and make recommendations on any matter of international importance with the single exception of international disputes which may be under consideration by the Security Council. These disputes the Assembly might discuss, but in order to avoid conflict of jurisdiction, it could not make recommendations for their settlement. The Assembly would also elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary General of the Organization, and, probably, the Judges of the International Court. It would control budgets and apportion expenses. It would have wide powers of initiation and super-

vision

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in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. Its important decisions would be reached by a two-thirds majority, thus abrogating the League rule of unanimity for important decisions of the Assembly.

The Security Council

It is when we come to consider the Security Council that we encounter an important difference between the proposed Organization and the League of Nations. Unlike the League, in which both the Assembly and the Council concurrently had many similar general powers, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security would, in the proposed Organization, be assigned to the Security Council. A further point of difference is that, whereas the League Council dealt with many matters other than those directly related to security, the new Council's functions would be confined to the consideration of international disputes, and of situations which might lead to friction and give rise to international disputes. The Council would deal with disputes, present or prospective, likely to endanger the peace. The Assembly's main concern would be to promote general progress through concerted international action to foster the general welfare.

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The Security Council therefore would be vested with primary authority for guarding the peace of the world. It would consist of five permanent members (the United States, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, France and China), and six other States elected for two years by the Assembly and not immediately eligible for re-election. Each member would have one vote and seven votes out of the eleven would be required for decisions.

Under the formula proposed at Yalta, decisions on questions other than procedural matters would be taken by a majority of seven votes, including in the majority, the votes of the five permanent members. To this rule there would be one important exception. If a permanent member were involved in a dispute before the Council, that member would abstain from voting when the procedure for the peaceful settlement of the dispute was being followed. If it came to a decision that a given situation was a threat to the peace, or to a decision requiring the imposition of penalties, the right to vote would be restored to the permanent member in question. Thus a permanent member could not block the consideration of a complaint against it by another State, nor an effort to solve the problem by pacific means. If, however, pacific means were to fail, the permanent member could by its vote block a decision to take punitive action against itself.

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The Economic and Social Council

A new agency is now proposed which had no exact counterpart in the League. This is the Economic and Social Council. It would consist of eighteen members elected for three years by the Assembly. There would be no permanent members and no provision preventing re-election. The Economic and Social Council would be charged with the general supervision of international economic, social and humanitarian activities, in the light of the policies laid down by the Assembly. Expert Commissions and staffs would be attached to the Economic and Social Council.

International Court.

The proposals recognize that there should be a Court of Justice as the chief international judicial organ. The question as to whether the present statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be revised or a new Statute prepared is left open. It is to be hoped that as time goes on, and as a more stable world emerges, international differences will more and more be amicably settled by judicial methods. Only in this way can a body of precedent be developed, and broadened, until all the differences between nations come to be settled as a regular practice in accordance with principles of law and equity,

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and with respect for contractual obligations. Here I might mention that the Canadian Bar Association is performing a most useful task by making a series of valuable studies on the subject of international jurisprudence.

The Settlement of Disputes

The machinery for dealing with disputes between nations which is outlined in Chapter VIII of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals deserves close study. The procedure falls into two stages. The first is concerned with the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Security Council on its own motion or at the request of any State would have the power to investigate any dispute or situation likely to give rise to international friction. Members of the Organization would be bound to seek peaceful solutions by the normal methods of negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement. If the parties to the dispute themselves should fail to reach agreement by any of these means, the Security Council could recommend appropriate procedures, such as reference to the International Court; or seeking the Court's advice on the legal aspect of the questions at issue. Matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States would be expressly excluded.

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Threats to the Peace

If peaceful measures should fail, the second stage of the procedure would come into effect. The Security Council could then declare that the failure to arrive at a solution to a dispute constituted a threat to the peace, and it could proceed to further measures. These measures might include, in the first instance, diplomatic and economic sanctions such as the severance of diplomatic relations, the interruption of communications, an embargo upon trade, and other forms of pressure short of the use of armed force. The Security Council could call upon all members of the Organization to join in the application of such measures.

If sanctions of this nature were still ineffective, the Security Council could in the last resort require forcible action against the disturber of the peace. In such action, the Council would be aided by a Military Staff Committee which would be in charge of plans for the application of armed force. The Military Staff Committee would also have to do with long-term problems concerning the regulation of armaments. Here is another fundamental difference between the proposed Organization and the League of Nations. The new Security Organization would be founded on a clear recognition of the fact that world security is based upon the maintenance of a large superiority of power on the side of peace. It is also recognized that machinery would have to be devised to make it possible to apply such power instantly and effectively, should another aggressor arise to disturb international peace.

D 48544

It will, I am sure, be agreed that peace-loving nations cannot afford to risk a return to conditions which allowed one nation after another to be struck down by an aggressor before concerted action could be organized and taken. Nations have surely learned that they cannot secure their liberties except on an agreed basis of mutual aid. The proposed arrangements with their emphasis on the exploration of peaceful means of settlement, and with organized force in the background to deal with recalcitrants, ought to prevent international disputes from reaching the point of danger. The main function of the police is not to catch criminals, but to make it obvious that crime does not pay. The police do not interfere in the settling of disputes by discussion or litigation, but the police are available if the disputes threaten to lead to the breaking of heads.

Military Agreements

The question arises: How would the Security Council be able to call out forces when the danger point had been reached? Under the present proposals, members of the Organization would not be required to place forces under the control of the Security Council except in accordance with special agreements separately entered into, setting forth the number and types of the forces, and the facilities and assistance which they are prepared to provide.

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The agreements would limit the military aid, pledged by members, to what each member was ready to give of its own volition. The agreements might include provisions governing the circumstances in which any forces could be called upon to serve abroad. These agreements would need separate approval in accordance with the constitutional processes of each country. In Canada that would mean approval by Parliament before such agreements were ratified.

There is at present a good deal of obscurity about the methods by which this part of the proposals would be developed in practice. One point, however, is clear. As they stand, the acceptance of the proposals would in no way commit Canada to send forces beyond Canadian territory at the call of the Security Council. If any such commitment were sought, it would be embodied in a later agreement, freely negotiated by the Government of Canada, and coming into effect only after it had been approved by Parliament.

Regional Arrangements.

Provision is also made in the proposals for the use of regional agencies to handle local disputes under the general direction of the Security Council. The relationship of such regional agencies to the Security Council is likely to prove one of the important questions which will come up for consideration at San Francisco.

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Social and Economic Arrangements

The maintenance of security is only one aspect of the creation of a world society in which peace can take root and flourish. It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible; prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war when many nations sought economic security in economic isolation. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that just as no nation can ensure its own safety of itself, so no nation or group of nations can ensure its own prosperity in isolation.

In the social, economic and humanitarian activities contemplated under these proposals, which would extend over the whole international field, Canada would be certain to take both a prominent and a useful part. It would be a mistake to think of the world organization as exclusively pre-occupied with the prevention of war. Indeed, if the defeat of our enemies brings about a securer world, we may hope that considerations of security will gradually recede into the background, and that progress in the arts of civilization by international co-operation on many fronts will be the first topic and central concern of foreign policy.

D 48547

We should come to think and act, less and less, in terms of Force, and, more and more, in terms of forces - the forces that create or destroy international amity and good-will.

Economic and social collaboration was always a useful and active part of the work of the League of Nations. It is now proposed to expand into new fields and establish further special bodies to deal with particular problems. In almost all these aspects of economic and social activity, Canada will have a deep interest. As a great trading nation with a progressive and expanding economy, we are, from the point of viewof markets and supplies, concerned with conditions all over the world. The Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will be central agencies of initiation and co-operation in this field. It will be clearly in the interests of Canada to participate fully in the work of these special bodies. Moreover, the humanitarian tradition which has played so worthy a part in our national life should give us a special interest in world-wide social betterment which the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will seek to foster.

It is one of the proposed functions of the Assembly "to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". This is an aspect of the World Organization which should never be forgotten. If this great war, and the last, have taught us anything, it is the truth that "we are members one of another, and that the freedom both of men and of nations is one and indivisible".

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The new organization and its affiliated agencies should be able in time to sponsor long-term arrangements for human welfare.

Just, here, I should like to say a word or two on one problem of human welfare with which the United Nations are immediately faced. The retreating enemy has left behind him, in Western and Eastern Europe, starvation, disease, and an ~~appalling~~ alarming shortage of the elementary necessities of life. This situation represents a critical danger to the recovery of liberated Europe. The reports reaching the Government portray appalling conditions. Even for those who greeted with joy the expulsion of the Germans from their homelands during these last few months, from the point of view of food, fuel, clothing and shelter, this sixth year of war is the ~~blackest~~ bleakest year of all. The privations of those still under German domination are even more terrible.

The United Nations have pooled their efforts to build up their great armed forces. For some time to come, it will be in Canada's interest, no less than in the general interest, for all to continue to pool their efforts to make available food and materials for relief and rehabilitation.

Some activities of the proposed World Organization in the field of human welfare are likely to be conducted directly

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under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council. These may include the collection of statistical and other economic information, international health problems, and the control of traffic in narcotics. Such services would be for the most part a continuation of very useful activities previously directed from Geneva. Expert commissions are contemplated to study these and related matters, from the point of view of general welfare and utility, with the experience and wisdom of the world's best technicians at their service.

Functional International Agencies

Apart from activities under the direct supervision of the World Organization a number of large functional inter-governmental bodies have already been established and others are being considered. The proposals to be discussed at San Francisco should be considered in relation to these other very important agencies. These inter-governmental bodies would be related to the world organization by agreements reached between them and the Economic and Social Council. Among these agencies is the International Labour Organization which has already existed for 25 years, and is a solid reality. In the very important fields of agricultural production and of nutrition, a consditution has been drawn up by an interim commission for a United Nations Organization on Food and

D 48550

Agriculture. The interim Commission of which Mr. L.B. Pearson is Chairman was appointed at the Hot Springs Conference of 1943. Proposals were developed at the Bretton Woods Conference for an International Monetary Fund and an International Development Bank. The setting up of an international agency to deal with problems of civil aviation is also well under way. Proposals for further specialized agencies are under discussion, all of much interest to Canada. These include the establishment of an international agency to deal with questions of commercial policy, designed to assist in removing, by agreement, impediments to trade, and in promoting uniform customs' practices, lower tariffs, the removal of exchange controls and similar matters. Proposals for the international regulation of cartels and for the adoption of measures to regulate the prices of certain raw materials are also under consideration. This is not an exhaustive enumeration.

If all proceeds as it is hoped it will, it may be found that, within a few years, there will be six or eight large international bodies performing functions which are beyond the capacity of any one nation or small group of nations. Such international agencies would not be regimenting or controlling individual nations, but, by agreement, would be framing courses of action designed to serve the general interest. It would be one of the functions of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council to co-ordinate

D 48551

the activities of these bodies, to prevent the overlapping of activities, and to fill in gaps where joint action proves to be desirable.

I have now completed a summary outline of the proposals to come before the San Francisco Conference. Let me mention some of the difficulties and objections which are certain to present themselves in any consideration of the proposals.

Difficulties and Objections

In considering the proposals as a whole it is important to have constantly in mind that the International Organization should be so constituted that it will function as effectively as possible. It is no less important for us, that in whatever is agreed to, the interests of Canada should be safeguarded. It is also most desirable that the Organization, as finally established, should command the assent of the people of Canada so that, over the years, its underlying principles will secure steady public support. It may be that no fundamental changes will be needed to safeguard our interests. But that is not to say that the proposals could not and should not be improved.

Position of Great Powers

Let me first refer to the position which would be accorded to the great powers. I have already mentioned that the participation of the Great Powers in the enforcement of peace

D 48552

is imperative, and that the main task of maintaining peace must rest with them. The five permanent members of the Security Council would be given the special voting rights I have described. If responsibility is to be fairly matched with power, it is essential that the Great Powers should have permanent membership in the Security Council. Incidentally, permanent membership was given to the Great Powers in the Council of the League of Nations.

Objections are certain to be raised to the special voting rights proposed for the Great Powers. There can be no question that they are open to theoretical objection. To what degree ~~Whether~~ they are open to practical objection depends upon how far objection can be taken to a recognition of the fact of "Power" in this imperfect world. It would not be realistic to expect to establish immediately an international system strong enough to coerce any great military power bent on attaining its aims by force. In the proposed new organization, all its members, great and small, would be bound to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization." If this solemn promise were broken by a Great Power the world would be faced once more with a situation like that presented by German aggression in 1914, and again in 1939. Such a situation could not be met in any international body merely by an arrangement of voting, however

D 48553

theoretically perfect. It is not a question so much of what is perfect as of what is possible. No charter can give the world security if, among the powerful, there be not the will for security.

Furthermore it should not be assumed that the possession by the permanent members of the Security Council of an individual veto on the application of penalities would make the Security Organization impotent in the event of a breach of the principles of the charter by one of the Great Powers. Penalties are the last resort. Before they were applied, there would have to be full discussion of the merits of the dispute. If, by its voting procedure, the Council were blocked in proposing a solution, the general assembly could make its own recommendations by a two-thirds majority of its members. The Great Power concerned would know where, in the eyes of the world, justice lay, and the risks such a Power would incur in violating the charter.

To expect perfection in any plan would be utopian. Both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have stated that while the proposals are not perfect, they are in substance the best upon which, up to the present, it has been found possible to secure agreement. President Roosevelt has said he expects that, over the years, the charter will be amended from time to time in the light of experience.

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The decision with regard to voting taken at Yalta represents an achievement of substantial unity by the three greatest Powers. It would be unrealistic and unwise to reject that decision outright. Here, if anywhere, there is reason to keep an open mind, and to reserve judgment as to our position until all points of view have been explored at the conference.

In general, exception can hardly be taken to the extension, within the Organization, of some special prerogatives to the Great Powers, on whom the major responsibility for keeping the peace must rest. That is a correct application of the functional idea to international organization, which is that the position accorded to a State should correspond with the functions which it is able and ready to discharge. In marshalling force against aggression, the position of those able to contribute the greatest force must be respected. If this be granted, it would seem that a further application of this principle would be both logical and appropriate.

Leading Secondary States

The contribution of states, other than the Great Powers, to the success of the organization will vary widely. It would be in the general interest to develop the idea, and to accept as a guiding principle that power and responsibility

D 48555

should, as far as possible, be made to coincide. If this could be done, the result would be to narrow the gap between the great powers and other nations, while maintaining the principle of the Sovereign equality of all member States. It would mean that the smallest and least powerful members would not nominally be given the same responsibilities as, let us say, Australia or the Netherlands or Brazil. It is the view of the government that the constitutional position within the Organization of important secondary countries should be clarified, and that the delegation from Canada should exert the utmost effort to secure due recognition of their ~~status~~ relative standing among the nations of the world.

As the proposals stand, all States, other than the five Great Powers would have the same constitutional position in the Organization. No regard would be paid to their international significance, or to their record in resisting aggression, or to their potential contribution to the maintenance of peace. It is surely desirable that among the States which are to be elected members of the Security Council there should be several countries which can make a valuable contribution to the maintenance of security. At the same time, there should, of course, be representation in the Council of different parts of the world. Without doubt much consideration will be given at San Francisco to the character of the elected representation

D 48556

on the Security Council. Some method of selection which would have due regard for the power and responsibilities of secondary states would make the Council a more powerful and efficient body.

The proposal that all members should bind themselves to carry out diplomatic, economic and military sanctions at the request of the Security Council raises another difficult question for Canada and other secondary states. As I have already mentioned, military action would be limited to whatever was undertaken by each State in a special military agreement. It would seem to be desirable to develop some procedure whereby States not represented on the Security Council would not be called upon to undertake serious enforcement action without the opportunity of participating in the Council's proceedings, or without agreeing separately to join in executing the decisions of the Council.

To be effective, nearly all decisions of the Council imposing sanctions would require the assistance of one or more States not represented on the Council. The co-operation of States bordering on the offending State, or of States in which operational facilities might be essential, would be particularly needed. In practice, if the enforcement of sanctions required active aid from a country not represented on the Council, its consent would probably be sought. The probable practice might

D 48557

well be made the formal rule.

Transitional Arrangements

A further question arises in connection with such transitional arrangements as may be necessary for the enforcement of the surrender and peace terms against Japan and Germany in the years following their defeat. Special arrangements will clearly be required so long as those countries are under full military occupation. It will be necessary to have a definition of the relations between the Security Council and any inter-allied authority which may be set up to supervise any long-term measures of control of the enemy countries.

In view of the difficulty of planning a world security organization, especially while the world itself is still at war, it might be desirable to include in the Charter some provision for its general review after a term of years.

The Government's views on the composition and powers of the Security Council and on other aspects of the proposed organization have already been communicated to the Greater Powers. It is not at present the intention of the Government to propose particular provisions or amendments in advance of the discussions at the Conference.

D 48558

Canada's interest in the prevention of war

In considering this great plan for organizing peace, it is all-important that we think broadly and take a long view. The benefits which Canada may hope to gain from full participation in the Organization are immense. They should not be weighed merely in terms of prestige. No country has a greater interest than ours in the prevention of another general war. That is the over-riding consideration.

It was on the battlefields of an earlier war that our country reached the full stature of nationhood. On all the seas, in the skies over land and sea and in some of the bitterest land battles of the present world-encircling conflict, our fighting men have held high the name of Canada. Our contributions to the fashioning of victory have been far greater than could have been imagined six years ago. Our part in the shaping of peace may be no less urgent and no less effective.

The organization of world security is a co-operative undertaking. The present effort will be, perhaps, the greatest of its kind in history. To achieve success there will have to be a willingness to give and take. The results should not be regarded piece-meal. They should be assessed as a whole. Concentration on security and on the need to organize force to meet the threat of war will not be enough.

D 48559

Once confidence has been established, international action and organization in many fields will be required to make peace enduring. The strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation which have been developed under the stress of war, should be made ever stronger in the organization of peace.

Were another great war to break out in twenty or thirty years, or at any time in the future, it is certain that Canada would not escape its fury. The development of new weapons, the development in particular of the flying-bomb and the rocket projectile, are making it impossible for any country to claim immunity from sudden aggression. So long as Might is made a substitute for Right by any nation, there can be no security for this, or the next or any succeeding generation of Canadians.

Even should the charter as finally drafted not be all that we could wish, its acceptance might nevertheless be preferable to its rejection. At all events, the interests of Canada are fully protected by the wording of the resolution. Hon. members will have noted that the resolution provides that the charter should, before ratification, be submitted to Parliament for approval.

D 48560

In proposing this course, the government is following the procedure customary with respect to treaties. No treaty obligation could be more solemn than that which the United Nations will assume under the charter. The course which the government is proposing would, moreover, ensure to a Parliament newly elected by the people, the final word with respect to the adoption of the Charter.

Canadian Representation

It is important to Canada that her representatives at the World Security Conference should be assured of the widest possible measure of support from Parliament and from the people. It is important that our representatives should speak with a clear, strong and united voice. There is every reason to believe that the vast majority of Canadians of all parties desire to have Canada participate in measures to safeguard the peace which we hope to see established at the close of this terrible war. For this, as well as other reasons, it is desirable that Canada's delegation to the San Francisco Conference should be broadly representative. As I have already announced, it is the government's intention to select representatives from both Houses of Parliament, and from both sides of each House. The government itself will, of course, assume its constitutional responsibility both for the selection of the delegation and for any

D 48561

decisions which are agreed to at San Francisco. It is desirable that the House should make its decision upon the Resolution now before it, before the membership of the delegation is announced. Once the Resolution is adopted, I would hope very shortly thereafter to be able to make an announcement. By associating with the delegation members of political parties other than its own, the government is seeking to lift and to keep the effort to achieve enduring peace above the arena of party strife.

In the resolution, the House is asked to agree that the representatives of Canada at the Conference should use their best endeavours to further the preparation of an acceptable charter. I think I may assure honourable members that Canada's representatives will certainly be guided by the determination to do everything that is humanly possible to make the most effective provision for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Conclusion

At the approaching San Francisco Conference, the United Nations will be laying the foundation of a new world order. I know that the people of Canada, regardless of party or other affiliations, welcome the opportunity thus afforded our country to make its contribution to this vast undertaking. I am equally sure that this Parliament will approach the question of world

D 48562

security and reach its conclusions with a full sense of its responsibility to our own and to future generations of Canadians and, indeed, to all the peoples of the world.

In any charter to establish a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security, the spirit in which the approach is made, and in which effect is given to its provisions will be vastly more important than the letter. As long ago as March 24, 1941, I spoke, in Toronto, of a new world order to take the place of the old order when the war was at an end. On that occasion I said: "If that new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. A new world order cannot be worked out at some given moment and reduced to writing at a conference table. It is not a matter of parchments and of seals. That was a part of the mistaken belief at the end of the last war." A new world order will be born, not made. It will be something that lives and breathes, something much closer to the soul of man than a mere mechanical or legalistic device. A new world order needs to be worked out and have its place in the minds and the hearts of men. It should express itself in brotherhood and good-will. It will be the application, in all human relations, of the principle of service and of mutual aid.

These words, I believe, express the spirit underlying the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Declaration of 1942.

D 48563

This spirit has found concrete expression in Lend-Lease, in Mutual Aid and in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The same spirit will, I believe, guide the United Nations in their deliberations at San Francisco. It is important that the machinery of the new world Organization should be realistically devised and wisely planned. But no constitutional machinery, however ingenious, will be effective unless the nations of the world profit by the lessons they have learned in these five and a half years of war. The supreme lesson is that Humanity should no longer be made to serve selfish national ends, whether these ends be world domination or merely isolated self-defence. Nations everywhere must unite to save and to serve Humanity.

CONFIDENTIAL D 48564 March 21

file Biographical

Walter,

This is another of mine x

M J

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star King

Date March 21, 1945

Subject D 48565 San Francisco Conf.

Mr. King On New World Order

In Prime Minister King's notable speech in the House of Commons yesterday on the San Francisco conference and the plans which will be formulated there for a world organization to maintain peace, he quite properly discussed some of the technical details of the composition and powers of the various bodies in the proposed institution, including due recognition of the services performed in the war by "secondary" nations, neither "great" nor "small," among whom Canada ranks high, together with their potential contribution to the maintenance of peace and their relative standing among the nations of the world.

It is important, he conceded, that the machinery of the new world organization should be realistically devised and wisely planned. But no constitutional machinery, however ingenious, will be effective, he declared, unless the nations profit by the lessons they have learned in these five and a half years of war. "The supreme lesson is that humanity should no longer be made to serve selfish national ends, whether these ends be world domination or merely isolated self-defence. Nations everywhere must unite to save and to serve humanity."

"A new world order," Mr. King said with his customary eloquence, imagination and idealism, "will be something that lives and breathes, something much closer to the soul of man than a mere mechanical or legalistic device. A new world order needs to be worked out and have its place in the minds and hearts of men. It should express itself in brotherhood and good-will. It will be the application, in all human relations, of the principle of service and of mutual aid."

There was nothing of the sterile or platitudinous in what Mr. King said, because he went on to point out that this spirit has found concrete expression in Lend-lease, Mutual Aid and in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. These techniques and institutions indeed are examples of co-operation for an unselfish common good. Canada's own Mutual Aid to Great Britain and other countries within and without the British Commonwealth is a part of this practical expression of good-will. The United States' system of Lend-lease throughout the world; Britain's reverse Lend-lease and her sharing of food, out of her own limited stores, with the starving peoples of Europe —all these developments are a good augury for the new world order which Mr. King describes and of which this tragic world is so greatly in need.

(written by Mair Johnston)

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Remarks re: Possibility of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	6 Dec. 1944	D 48430	
77		Conscription. Speeches in Parliament	7 Dec. 1944	D 48431 - D 48433	
77		Inauguration of CBC's International Service, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Feb. 1945	D 48434 - D 48437	
77		Nation-Wide Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Mar. 1945	D 48438 - D 48524	
77		International Relations. Speeches in Parliament	20 Mar. 1945	D 48525 - D 48565	
77		Debate on North Grey. Speeches in Parliament	3 Apr. 1945	D 48566 - D 48571	
77		Statement of the Death of F.D. Roosevelt. Speeches in Parliament	12 Apr. 1945	D 48572 - D 48578	
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77		San Francisco Conference. Speeches in Parliament	25 Apr. 1945	D 48590 - D 48600	

(WLMK)
x

APRIL 3rd, 1945
3/4/45

Elections - Gen. Elec 1945
By-elections - Grey North

Debate on North Grey

D 48566

Parliament should have been called sooner.

Answer:

A. No need to call another session already had 5.

Would not have called another session had war been over in time for general election before beginning of Victory Loan campaign.

Situation re Victory Loan fully explored. Finance Committee anxious to hold to customary period.

April 23 (Monday)
to May 12 (Saturday)

Desired fortnight for organization V.L.

Purposes V.-. begin April 9 or earlier.

At least 8 weeks required for period of election campaign.

General Election campaign to begin February 9th (or thereabouts)

all subject to moving forward possibly a week or two.

D 48567

Prorogation had been fixed for
January 31st.

Election would have been announced
had decisive battles been fought.

No supply needed

B. 6th session thought of simply to enable some progress to be made with war appropriation Estimates, between January 31st and April 17 in event of war not being over by latter date;
and to secure the needed credit on account of the prosecution of the war, and the needed Supply for civil government during the period of a general election, and the time thereafter before the meeting of a new Parliament.

To make progress with War Appropriation Estimates the presence of the Minister of National Defence in H. of C. essential -

presence not needed to secure interim appropriation, or interim supply.

Purely and simply a matter of accommodation of a future Parliament, which will be much pressed at a time of war, demobilization, and post-war problems.

D 48568

C. Session not called earlier because of North Grey by-election.

Co-operation required between political parties, - in time of war;

Promised in vote of H. of C.

Parliament adjoured on Dec. 7, 1944.

Government immediately sought seat for Minister of Defence.

Seat secured by - December 9, 1944 (date of resignation of Mr. Telford)

8 weeks required for by-election.

Nomination a week earlier - January 29, 1945.

If elected by acclamation Parliament would have been called for day following as in preceding sessions, so as to suit convenience of Members.

Delay in calling:

(I) Result of by-election, evidencing determination of Opposition NOT to cooperate, but to make progress impossible

Not carry by-election campaign into H. of C.

(II) Uncertainty as to date of conclusion of war.

D 48569

D. Once SanFrancisco Conference called it became necessary to fix date for election subsequent thereto.

Also it became self evident Parliament should be called to endorse acceptance of invitation and to give support to delegation to conference by mandate based on resolution.

North Grey - no test of Confidence in Government

The only test is the support the Government is able to command in this House of Commons. That support has varied from time to time, but has for the most part been substantial on the following divisions (which include all since beginning of present Parliament) (see separate sheet)

Re North Grey

Unnecessary to call at all - save to aid in prosecution of war.

Every reason to expect support of all parties in H. of C.

Parliament had given its undertaking to aid Government in prosecution of war

Perusal of press indicates country generally was opposed to a contest

Contest result of action of pressure groups

D 48570

General Questions NOT discussed

Contest so far as Government concerned fought on single issue of making possible holding another session.

Government declined to discuss other issues

General McNaughton unable to give time to constituency

Would have won if able to devote time needed to campaign

Will not discuss means taken to arouse prejudice, passion, etc.

Progressive Conservatives claim the issue was one of conscription. If so, results show that issue was defeated, unless it can be shown C.C.F. appeal same as that of Conservative

Figures -	Conservatives	7338
-	Liberals	6099
-	C. C. F.	3136
Against	Conservatives	9235
For	"	7338

Conservatives - minority of 1897

Election conceded to McNaughton until appeals to passion and prejudice of last two days and misrepresentation of Bracken

D 48571

Position of Tory Party in Campaign

(1) Conditions on which Bracken given accommodation he secured

(Hanson)

Coldwell

would be glad to co-operate

(2) Nature of representations made on return not borne out

(3) Attitude towards Parliament -
years as leader not in H. of C.

keep Minister of Crown out.

Treating institution of Parliament with contempt

Sabotaging our representative institutions -- to say nothing of responsible representative Government.

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FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

Mr. Henry

To note corrections on attached manuscript for Hansard.

Winston

May 30/45.

29/V/45 EH

D 48572

April 12, 1945

D 48573

Honourable members have learned of the death at Warm Springs, Georgia, this afternoon, of the President of the United States. Franklin D. Roosevelt was so close and good a neighbour, so great and true a friend of the Canadian people, that the word when received was as if one of our very own had passed away.

I hasten to express on behalf of the government, the members of both Houses of Parliament now in session, and on behalf of all the people of Canada, our deepest sympathy with the government and people of the United States. I wish at the same time to express our deepest sympathy for Mrs. Roosevelt and all the members of the family in their bereavement. Their sorrow and the sorrow of the American Nation will be shared by the peoples of the United Nations and by those who cherish freedom in all parts of the world.

The death of President Roosevelt is in truth a loss to the whole of mankind. Few lives have been more closely identified with Humanity in its needs, its struggles and its aspirations. His services to the cause of freedom went far beyond limits of race and bounds of nationality. He was an undaunted champion of the rights of free men, and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. He has left to the world an enduring heritage by what his life, his faith and his courage have contributed to the well-being of his fellow-men.

D 48574

It is a comforting thought at this time to know that before the close of his great career, he had already helped to fashion the design of a world organization for the maintenance of peace and security. His rest at Warm Springs was in preparation for the journey to San Francisco to open the Conference of the United Nations. In this conference, he envisaged the culmination of his life's great aim - an enduring peace among the nations of the world.

It was my great privilege to have been a life-long friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt. I knew him very well. Of that friendship, I shall hope to speak at another time. My feelings at this moment are perhaps best expressed in lines of Matthew Arnold's, which perhaps I may be permitted to quote to voice what at this hour lies deepest in the hearts of all:

"O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force,
Surely, has not been left vain!
Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm!"

I believe it is.

Mr. Speaker,

As a mark of respect of our country for the memory of the President, the flag will fly at half-mast from the peace tower of our Parliament Buildings. As a further mark of respect

D 48575

I know that all honourable members would wish to have this House adjourn without continuing its proceedings today, and I move accordingly.

D 48576

Unrevised Hansard
April 12th, 1945, page 859

DEATH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

EXPRESSION OF SORROW OF CANADIAN PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, hon. members have learned of the death at Warm Springs, Georgia, this afternoon, of the President of the United States. Franklin D. Roosevelt was so close and good a neighbour, so great and true a friend of the Canadian people, that the word when received was as if one of our very own had passed away.

I hasten to express on behalf of the government, the members of both houses of parliament now in session, and on behalf of all the people of Canada, our deepest sympathy with the government and people of the United States. I wish at the same time to express our deepest sympathy for Mrs. Roosevelt and all the members of the family in their bereavement. Their sorrow and the sorrow of the American nation will be shared by the peoples of the united nations and by those who cherish freedom in all parts of the world.

The death of President Roosevelt is in truth a loss to the whole of mankind. Few lives have been more closely identified with humanity in its needs, its struggles and its aspirations. His services to the cause of freedom went far beyond limits of race and bounds of nationality. He was an undaunted champion of the rights of free men, and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. He has left to the world an enduring heritage by which his life, his faith and his courage have contributed to the well-being of his fellowmen.

It is a comforting thought at this time to know that before the close of his great career he had already helped to fashion the design of a world organization for the maintenance of peace and security. His rest at Warm Springs was in preparation for the journey to San Francisco to open the conference of the united nations. In this conference, he envisaged the culmination of his life's great aim—an enduring peace among the nations of the world.

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I believe it is.

Mr. Speaker, as a mark of respect of our country for the memory of the President, the flag will fly at half-mast from the peace tower of our parliament buildings. As a further mark of respect I know that all hon. members would wish to have this house adjourn without continuing its proceedings to-day, and I move accordingly.

D 48577

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,
in the House of Commons, Ottawa.

April 12, 1945.

Honourable members have learned of the death at Warm Springs, Georgia, this afternoon, of the President of the United States. Franklin D. Roosevelt was so close and good a neighbour, so great and true a friend of the Canadian people, that the word when received was as if one of our very own had passed away.

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D 48578

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Mr. Speaker:

As a mark of respect of our country for the memory of the President, the flag will fly at half mast from the peace tower of our Parliament Buildings. As a further mark of respect I know that all honourable members would wish to have this House adjourn without continuing its proceedings today, and I move accordingly.

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77		Remarks re: Possibility of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	6 Dec. 1944	D 48430	
77		Conscription. Speeches in Parliament	7 Dec. 1944	D 48431 - D 48433	
77		Inauguration of CBC's International Service, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Feb. 1945	D 48434 - D 48437	
77		Nation-Wide Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Mar. 1945	D 48438 - D 48524	
77		International Relations. Speeches in Parliament	20 Mar. 1945	D 48525 - D 48565	
77		Debate on North Grey. Speeches in Parliament	3 Apr. 1945	D 48566 - D 48571	
77		Statement of the Death of F.D. Roosevelt. Speeches in Parliament	12 Apr. 1945	D 48572 - D 48578	
77		Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	13 Apr. 1945	D 48579 - D 48589	
77		San Francisco Conference. Speeches in Parliament	25 Apr. 1945	D 48590 - D 48600	

S/1945/P
D 48579

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

This week, on Wednesday (April 11), I reminded the House that if the business of parliament were not concluded before midnight on Monday of next week, this parliament would be automatically dissolved. I stated that at no time had I any thought or intention of recommending dissolution with a view to shutting off discussion in the House. I added that, as hon. members well knew, the sole reason the government had waited up to the last or almost the last day of the term of parliament before going to the people had been our desire to avoid a general election while the war in Europe was still in progress. I have stated, over and over again, that the intention of the government was not to dissolve parliament if that could be avoided before the decisive battles were fought in Europe. That position was subject only to the limitation that the people should not be denied the right guaranteed to them by the Constitution of electing a new parliament at least every five years.

In a nation-wide broadcast on March 2nd, I said: "Once the war in Europe is over, we feel there should be a general election as soon as possible".

W. L. M. K.
13.4.45

D 48580

This week, on Wednesday (April 11), I ~~told~~ reminded the House that if the business of parliament ~~was~~ were not concluded before midnight on Monday of next week, this parliament would be/will automatically dissolved, ~~because it had run the full limit of the time.~~ I ~~also~~ stated that at no time had I any thought or intention of recommending dissolution with a view ~~of~~ to shutting off discussion in the House. I added that, as hon. members well knew, the sole reason the government had ~~continued~~ waited, up to the last or almost the last day of the term of parliament before going to the people had been our desire to avoid a general election while the war in Europe was still in progress. I have stated, over and over again, that the intention of the government was not to dissolve parliament if that could be avoided before the decisive battles were fought in Europe, That ~~intent~~ position was subject only to the one limitation that the people should not be denied the right/~~which~~ the constitution ~~secures to them~~ guaranteed to them of electing a new parliament at least every five years.

In a nation-wide broadcast on March 2nd, I said: "Once the war in Europe is over, we feel there should be a general election as soon as possible."

On Monday (April 9th) I gave to the House an outline of the minimum time which would be required for

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a general election, and placed on Hansard an official memorandum on that subject which had been given me by the Chief Electoral Officer. That statement made it apparent that the earliest date at which a general election could be held, following upon the expiration of the parliamentary term, would be June 11th.

It rests with hon. members on the Opposition benches, and here I am not referring to any particular party or group but to all hon. members opposed to the government, whether the war appropriations and supply bills will be ready for Royal Assent on Monday next.

My hon. friend, the Leader of the Opposition has said that so far as members of the Progressive-Conservative Party are concerned, they are prepared to conclude the debates in this chamber at 6 o'clock this afternoon. Intimations have also been given by the leaders of the C.C.F. and of the Social Credit groups that they and their followers are prepared to assist the government in speedily completing the business for which this session had been specially called.

Were it possible to have the Bills reach the other House this evening that would permit of prorogation being arranged for Monday afternoon (April 16) at 3 o'clock. If that cannot be carried out, then the House will of course resume its sitting at 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon, to be continued

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D 48582

if need be until 11 o'clock at night. Were this to happen, without the business being concluded and Royal Assent given to the bills before midnight, ~~at which time parliament would automatically dissolve~~, the government would be obliged to resort to Governor General's warrants to meet expenditures both for the conduct of the war and for civil government over the period of the general election and the opening of the new parliament.

As hon. members are aware, I stated some time ago that a general election would be called before April 17th. It may assist hon. members in deciding upon the course it is advisable in the public interest for them to pursue if I inform the House at once, on my resposnibility as Prime Minister, that His Excellency the Governor General has authorized me to say that he is willing to approve a recommendation to have parliament dissolved just as soon after the conclusion of its business as may be possible; ~~also that~~ His Excellency has also authorized me to say that he is willing, at the same time, to approve the immediate issue of a Proclamation for the holding of a general election on June 11th.

April 13, 1945

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I have said, on many occasions, that the only purpose of holding another session of the present parliament, however brief, was the desirability, if possible, of having the general election delayed until the war in Europe is over.

I said at the end of last session that I had no intention of having the government continue to carry on for some time after dissolution.

I said, in a communication to the electors of Grey North on January 29, 1945, that"a general election will be called before April 17th".

This week, on Wednesday, I said that "if the business of parliament is not concluded before midnight on Monday of next week, this parliament will be dissolved because it has run the full limit of its time. I have at no time had any thought or intention of recommending dissolution with a view of shutting off discussion in the House.

On Monday, April 9th, I gave to the House an outline of the time which would be required for a general election, and placed on Hansard a memorandum which had been given me by the Chief Electoral Officer. It will have been apparent from this statement that the earliest date at which a general election could be held following upon the expiration of the parliamentary term, would be June 11th.

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and here I am not referring to any particular ~~group~~ party or group but to all ~~the~~ hon. members ~~in~~ opposition to the Government

It will have been apparent from what I then said that the earliest date at which a general election could be held, following upon the expiration of the Parliamentary term, or an earlier dissolution would be June 11th.

It rests entirely with members on the Opposition benches if discussions in this House are to be continued to a late hour on Monday night, with the possibility that it would then be too late for the War Appropriation and Supply Bills to receive Royal Assent before the dissolution of the present Parliament. ~~If this~~ were this to happen, ~~resort would necessarily have to be made~~ to Governor General's Warrants, ~~both~~ for meeting the ~~cost of~~ the conduct of the war and defraying the ordinary expenses of civil government, over the period of the general election and the ~~re-assembling~~ opening of the new parliament. It rests with hon. members ~~opposite~~ on the opposition benches whether ~~the business of the session can be wound up in such a manner as to enable the Royal Assent to be given to these measures before midnight~~ Royal Assent can be given to the War Appropriation and Supply Bills can will be ready) for Royal Assent on Monday next.

to next page

and Royal Assent given to the Bills before midnight, at which time Parliament would automatically dissolve and the Govt would be obliged to resort to

Concluded completed without the business being

Mr hon. friend

The Leader of the Opposition has said that so far as members of the Progressive-Conservative Party are concerned, they are prepared to ~~end~~ conclude the ~~main~~ discussion debates in this Chamber at 6 o'clock this afternoon. Intimations have also been given by the leaders of the C.C.F. and ~~by the leader~~ of the Social Credit group that

they and their followers ~~would~~ are prepared to assist the government ~~to have the business of the House wound up in a manner which would enable the government to complete~~ by speedily completing the business for which this session had been specially called.

Were this course to be followed by all hon. members it would be possible to have the necessary bills pass this House and immediately thereafter be sent to the other House for its consideration in plenty of time to avoid any risk in the matter of enactment of these measures before Parliament is dissolved.

Were it possible to have the Bills reach the other House this evening that would permit of prorogation being arranged for Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock. If that cannot be carried out then the House will of course resume its sitting at 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon, to be continued if need be until 11 oclock at night, ~~in which case the proceedings would be followed by an immediate dissolution of the Parliament of Canada.~~

It may assist hon. members in deciding upon the course it would be most in the public interest to pursue if I inform the House at once that ~~I have received from~~ His Excellency the Governor General has authorized me to say his permission to announce (or, I am authorised by His Excellency to announce) that he will ~~be prepared to~~ approve ~~of~~ a recommendation to have Parliament dissolved just as soon after the conclusion of its business as may be possible; also that His Excellency will ~~be prepared~~ at the same time to

approve ~~of~~ the immediate issue of a Proclamation for the holding of a general election on .

There would I think be some purpose in keeping Parliament in being until Monday, not only to implement my own promise to our fighting men overseas to postpone the holding of an election until the last moment short of taking away the constitutional right of the people, but also because of the possibility of military battles of an even more decisive character taking place within the next two or three days.

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J. A. G.

Dr. Coleman telephoned to report that reference to Morley's speech shows the following:

"If the Government should be defeated tonight His Majesty would assent.....

"I say this on my full responsibility as a spokesman of the Government"

" ..... His Majesty would assent to the creation of peers sufficient in number to guard against any possible combination of the different parties in opposition by which the parliament bill might again be exposed a second time to defeat."

Dr. Coleman suggests that the Prime Minister might appropriately say something after the following words:

"Speaking in his responsibility as leader of the government, he can assure the House that His Excellency . . . . . "

From Miss Hart

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Morley's Recollections
Volume 2, page 353:

"His Majesty would assent to the creation of peers sufficient in number to guard against any possible combination of the different parties in opposition by which the parliament's bill might be exposed a second time to defeat."

Aug
10 1911

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Hansard
January 25, 1940
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"The eighteenth parliament was dissolved on Thursday, January 25, 1940, by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor General."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Remarks re: Possibility of Wartime election. Speeches in Parliament	6 Dec. 1944	D 48430	
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77		International Relations. Speeches in Parliament	20 Mar. 1945	D 48525 - D 48565	
77		Debate on North Grey. Speeches in Parliament	3 Apr. 1945	D 48566 - D 48571	
77		Statement of the Death of F.D. Roosevelt. Speeches in Parliament	12 Apr. 1945	D 48572 - D 48578	
77		Business of the House. Speeches in Parliament	13 Apr. 1945	D 48579 - D 48589	
77		San Francisco Conference. Speeches in Parliament	25 Apr. 1945	D 48590 - D 48600	

DRAFT -- Secret (JWP) April 25/45

San Francisco Conference

D 48590

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada

In addressing the United Nations Conference on International Organization, as Chairman of the delegation from Canada, I am in the fortunate position of being able to speak for Canada with an assurance that I am representing the views of the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people.

The Canadian delegation is representative of the major political parties in our country. The vital interest of our people in the success of the Conference was abundantly demonstrated in our Parliament within the past month. A resolution was introduced in both Houses ~~of our Parliament according~~ endorsing the objective of the Conference; approving the purposes and principles of the proposals of the four governments; accepting these proposals as a satisfactory general basis for the discussion of the charter; and urging the representatives of Canada to work for the preparation of an acceptable charter for an organixation for the maintenance of international peace and security. The resolution received virtually unanimous support in the Parliament of Canada.

As the present war has progressed and the whole world has become directly involved, the people of Canada, like those of other lands have increasingly come to see that peace can only

be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. It is a measure of the growing strength of that realization, particularly on this continent, that an effort is now being made, before peace has been restored, to establish the means to keep the peace which is rapidly being won for us on the battlefields of the world.

My country has welcomed each successive step in the direction of establishing a United Nations Organization for World Security. Canada was an original signatory of the United Nations declaration of January 1st, 1942. Our people welcomed the declaration made at the conclusion of Moscow Conference on November 1, 1943. Perhaps I might pause here to say how greatly the people of Canada regret the absence from San Francisco of Mr. Cordell Hull. His fortitude in undertaking the arduous journey to Moscow in 1943 and the large part he had in formulating the Moscow declaration earned for him one of the highest places among the founding fathers of the United Nations Security Organization.

The publication of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in October last occasioned widespread interest in our country. In addition to the close study given to the proposals by the government, there has been a considerable measure of public discussion in the press and elsewhere. As a result there has developed in Canada, a growing body of public opinion upon which our government and the Canadian delegation are able to rely in putting

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forward the views of our country at this conference.

It is, therefore, with the greatest confidence that I am able to say that our people learned with relief and satisfaction that the three greatest powers had achieved at the Crimean Conference unified proposals for a charter of a world security organization. That is not to say that the Canadian delegation are ready to endorse those proposals in their entirety and without debate. But it does mean that the Canadian people recognize clearly the cardinal point that without continuing unity among the great powers there would be little hope for enduring peace.

The fact that so large a measure of unity was achieved at Yalta was regarded in Canada as a hopeful augury for the success of this Conference. All our people were deeply conscious of the very great contribution which the late President Roosevelt had made to the maintenance and the strangthening of the unity of purpose of the great powers. Ordinary people in Canada, like ordinary peace loving people everywhere, were counting upon the continuing exercise of the great and beneficent influence of Franklin Roosevelt in the establishment of a world security organization. I like to feel that his spirit pervades this great conference and that the hearts of all may be stirred by something of Roosevelt's passionate zeal for the well-being of humanity.

At the outset of my statement of Canada's position, I

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should like to emphasize one point. Security is not an end in itself. The great majority of human kind crave security in order that a favourable world climate will exist in which men and nations may labour constructively for human betterment. On the northern half of this continent Canada and the United States have mutually established a sense of security towards one another which is so deep that security itself has receded into the background. Our mutual relations are concerned almost exclusively with joint constructive efforts of common benefit to both our peoples.

Happily the same constructive approach has been made in the proposals before the Conference. It is recognized that on a foundation of security, a positive structure of international co-operation can be and should be erected. We cannot afford to risk a return to conditions which allowed one nation after another to be struck down by an aggressor before concerted action could be organized and taken. The freedom of nations can only be secured on an agreed basis of mutual aid. The primacy of achieving security must be clearly and fully accepted. But it is our hope, and should be our aim, to strengthen the arrangements for the exploration of peaceful means of settlement of international disputes. The objective should be to settle the difference before it reaches the point of danger to international peace. Organized force therefore must be in

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the background to deal with recalcitrants, but organized international force, like the municipal police, should have as its main function a preventive rather than a punitive role.

The present world conflict has taught all nations that there is no security to be found in isolation. But the maintenance of security is only the primary aspect of the creation of a world society in which peace can take root and flourish. The economic and social well-being of nations can no more be achieved in isolation than can their security. It is the view of the Canadian delegation and, I am convinced, of our people generally that lasting international security depends upon co-operation to achieve international prosperity. No nation and no group of nations can, in isolation, ensure its own prosperity. It will accordingly be our aim to give our support to all proposals which will serve to strengthen the United Nations Organization in its constructive economic and social aspects.

In considering the proposals as a whole, the Canadian delegation believe the first consideration should be the establishment of an international organization which will function as effectively as possible. The effectiveness with which the organization will function will, of course, depend upon many factors. None will be more important, however, than the assurance that the organization, over the years, will command

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the support of public opinion within each of the member nations. The proposals of the inviting powers recognize that a special position in the Security Council should be accorded to the great powers. We in Canada, realize fully that the participation of the great powers in the enforcement of peace is imperative, and that the main burden of maintaining peace must rest with those nations which can exert the greatest military strength. The Canadian delegation readily accepts the proposal that the five greatest powers among the United Nations should, accordingly, have permanent membership in the Security Council.

In the proposed new organization Canada welcomes the provision that all its members, great and small are to be bound to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization." If at some time in the future, this solemn engagement were to be broken by one of the great powers, the world would inescapably be faced with a situation like that presented by German and Japanese aggression in the present war. Such a situation could not be prevented merely by an arrangement of voting in an international organization, however theoretically perfect the system of voting might be. No charter can give the world security if, among the most powerful nations, there is not the will for security. The greatest

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hope is that the most powerful nations will maintain and strengthen their will to peace and co-operation.

The very existence of an international security organization will serve as a moral restraint on all its members. Any power, including the great powers, will know that the means exists to demonstrate to the world where justice lies. The mobilization of world opinion would of itself be a serious risk for any power to incur in violating the charter.

The fact that the Canadian delegation is more concerned with the spirit than the word of the charter does not mean that we shall not seek improvements and support amendments which we believe will make the organization more effective. We have, however, no amendments to suggest at the outset and we have no intention of taking an inflexible position on any point of detail which might endanger the achievement of an agreement.

I should perhaps indicate certain directions in which Canadian opinion is moving.

In the first place, we feel that it is desirable to provide flexible machinery for periodic revision of the charter in the light of experience. For the sake of achieving agreement, many nations may feel obliged to accept provisions of the charter which they do not regard as wholly satisfactory. It should be open to them to advocate and to seek amendments

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from time to time. Satisfactory provision for the amendment of the charter may, indeed, greatly facilitate the achievement of an initial agreement.

I have indicated that Canada accepts the primacy of the greatest powers in the establishment of an international security organization. We recognize that, in marshalling force against aggression, the position of those able to contribute the largest forces must be respected. But I should not be correctly representing the views of my country if I did not add that our people believe a further application of this principle would be both logical and appropriate. It is obvious that the contribution of states, other than the great powers, to the effective maintenance of world security will vary widely. It is our view that the guiding principle should be accepted that power and responsibility should be made to coincide. If this principle were accepted in determining the membership of the Security Council, the result would be to narrow the gap between the great powers and other nations. At the same time, the sovereign equality of all member states would be clearly maintained by their individual and equal membership in the General Assembly. In the achievement of security itself, it is surely desirable that, among the states which are to be elected members of the Security Council there should be at all times several countries which can make a valuable contribution to the maintenance of security. At the same time, we in Canada recognize the desirability of ensuring representation on the Security Council of different parts of the world.

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There is also the very difficult question of the constitutional method of reconciling prompt and effective military action with the consent of the appropriate organs of each national government. This problem will not arise for the permanent members of the Security Council since they will always be represented when decisions are taken. But it would seem to be desirable to develop some procedure whereby states not represented on the Security Council would be called upon to undertake serious enforcement action only when they had had the opportunity of participating in the Council's proceedings, or of agreeing separately to join in executing the decisions of the Council. In practice, if the enforcement of sanctions required active aid from a country not represented on the Council, its consent would probably be sought. It is our view that the probable practice might well be made the formal rule.

The organization of world security is a co-operative undertaking. The present effort will be, in all probability, the greatest of its kind in human history. The Canadian delegation recognizes that, to achieve success, there will have to be a willingness to give and take. As I have already said, the cardinal point in the achievement of security is the maintenance of the unity of the greatest powers. Unless the great powers are able to agree among themselves on basic principles and proposals, we see no hope at all for any world organization.

We believe the people of Canada will assess the

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results of this conference as a whole and that what they most desire is a genuine agreement to maintain peace and security. The precise nature of that agreement takes second place in their minds.

The Canadian people believe that once confidence has been established, international organization and action in many fields will be required to make peace enduring. It is our desire that the strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation developed among the United Nations under the stress of war, should be made ever stronger in the organization of peace.

Nothing could be more fortunate than the fact that the most difficult step of all, a wide measure of agreement among the great powers, has already been attained. Surely after that has been attained, it should be possible for the other powers represented at this Conference to co-operate with the great powers in formulating a charter which will be generally acceptable.

The maintenance of peace depends primarily on the great powers. But that does not mean that the likelihood of the great powers remaining in agreement and unity will not be very much increased by all of them and all the United Nations joining together in a great world organization and assuming definite obligations in that organization.

It is, of course, very important that the machinery of the world organization should be realistically devised and

D 48600

wisely planned. But no constitutional machinery, however ingenious, will be effective unless the nations of the world profit by the lessons they have learned in the past five or six years of war. The supreme lesson is that nations should no longer seek to serve selfish national ends, whether those ends be world domination or mere isolated self-defence. The hope of mankind is that all nations should unite to save and to serve our common humanity. It is in that spirit that the people of Canada wish to be represented at this Conference. I should like in closing to address to the Conference the words I addressed on the same subject to the Canadian House of Commons. We . . . cannot afford to utter any word, to take any step, which may do other than help to make the conference a success, because, if it is a failure, God alone knows what will happen to the future of this world.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48601 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Apr.28/45

Text of Mr. King's Speech at 'Frisco

SAN FRANCISCO, April 28.—Text of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King's speech to the plenary session of the United Nations security conference follows:

The Canadian delegation comes to this conference with one central purpose in view. That purpose is to co-operate as completely as we can with the delegations of other nations in bringing into being, as soon as possible, a charter of world security.

This conference is meeting at a time without parallel in the history of human affairs. The present is one of those moments of transition when an old order is passing away. As representatives of the United Nations, we are here to help lay the foundation of a new world order. The ends that we seek to serve transcend the limits of race and the bounds of nationality.

Social Security And Human Welfare

We would do well to seek to match our deliberations to the rapid movements of events. While the fires of war are still burning fiercely, the opportunity is given to this conference to forge and fashion from those fires an instrument for world security. In the execution of this great task, there should be no avoidable delay. It is ours to give to grief-stricken humanity a hope of which it is in greater need today than it has ever been before. It is ours to help to bring into being a world community in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The support we owe to the fighting forces of the United Nations must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who have borne the heat of the strife, we owe it to the memory of those who have given their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

More Abundant Life Best Monument

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. The only memorial worthy of the service and sacrifice in this war is one which will help to secure to peoples everywhere the opportunities of a more abundant life.

Perhaps this great gathering would permit me, as one who represents a country which has such close ties with the United States, to say how deeply Canada felt and will continue to feel the loss of so close a friend and so good a neighbor as President Roosevelt. To many here who enjoyed his friendship, his death was a deeply moving personal bereavement. To the United States in its national bereavement, I should like again to express our sympathy.

But the passing of Franklin Roosevelt was more than a loss to neighboring countries. It is a loss to the whole freedom-loving world. That loss places upon each and every one of us a greater responsibility. If the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt pervades the deliberations of this conference, its success will be assured. The highest tribute which we, of the United Nations, can pay to his memory, is, by our united efforts, to build a world organization which will express his life's aims and his life's ideal—a system of international co-operation which will banish from the world the threat of war and the fear of war.

Advises World Copy Canada, U. S.

I can express to those who have come to this continent from other lands no higher hope for the future of mankind than that, out of the instrument we are now fashioning, there may develop relations among all nations similar to those which, for generations, have been a common possession of Canada and the United States.

May I add a further personal reference. All present will join with Mr. Stettinius (U.S. state secretary) in the hope he expresed that, before the conference concludes, Mr. Cordell Hull (former state secretary) will be sufficiently restored in health to join in our deliberations. Mr. Hull's name will always be associated with the origins of the world security organization.

His years of devoted service to the cause of world freedom; his fortitude, at his age, in making the arduous journey to Moscow in 1943; and the large share he had in shaping the proposals we are now considering, have earned for him an enduring place among the founders of the United Nations.

The proceedings of this conference have been greatly facilitated by the preparatory work already done at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta by the inviting powers. We may all rejoice that the great powers have achieved unified proposals for a world security organization. That is a great step forward—a mighty contribution already made to the establishment and maintenance of world peace.

Need Strong, Flexible World Organization

The rapid movement of events on the battlefronts and the heavy demands upon all who are represented here at San Francisco, make it most desirable to begin as early as possible the detailed consideration of the proposals before the conference.

It is not the intention of the Canadian delegation to put forth, in plenary session, specific amendments to the proposals. Our delegation will express its point of view, at an appropriate time and place, on specific questions as they arise. Our sole preoccupation in any amendments which may put forward or support at a later stage will be to help in creating an organization which, over the years and the decades to come, will be strong enough and flexible enough to stand any strains to which it may be subjected.

We shall not be guided by considerations of national pride or prestige and shall not seek to have changes made for reasons such as these. We recognize the principle that power and responsibility must go hand in hand and that international security depends primarily upon the maintenance of an overwhelming preponderance of power on the side of peace.

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Lesser Powers Can Play Part

Power, however, is not exclusively concentrated in the hands of any four or five states and the conference should not act on the assumption that it is.

Such a position would not only be contrary to the facts, as they have been demonstrated in the past five years, but it would also be dangerous to the cause of security itself. For it would foster in any smaller countries the development of a new type of isolationism—a feeling that the task of preserving the peace could be left exclusively to the great powers.

Such a habit of thought would make it difficult for the smaller powers to make their contribution. Experience has shown that the contribution of smaller powers is not a negligible one either to the preserving of the peace or to its restoration when peace has been distributed.

The people of Canada are firm in their resolve to do whatever lies in their power to ensure that the world will not be engulfed for a third time by a tidal wave of savagery and despotism. That is why our Parliament overwhelmingly endorsed the acceptance of the invitation to Canada to participate in this conference. That is why our Parliament accepted the proposals of the inviting powers as a satisfactory general basis for the discussion of the proposed charter.

Represent Important Shades of Opinion

That is why the delegation from Canada received from Parliament a mandate to use its best endeavors at this conference to further an agreement to establish a world security organization. The measure of the unanimity of our country is to be found in its delegation to this conference. The delegates were selected while our Parliament was in session. They were chosen from both Houses, and from both sides of each House. They represent all important shades of opinion in Canada.

In conclusion, may I express my conviction that the spirit on which we approach the great task of the conference will determine the measure of its success. It is for each nation to remember that "over all nations is humanity." It is for all to remember that "justice is the common concern of mankind." The years of war have surely taught the supreme lesson that men and nations should not be made to serve selfish national ends, whether those ends be isolated self defence or world domination. Nations everywhere must unite to save and to serve humanity.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press D 48603

Date April 28th 1945

Subject

KING SAYS NATIONS MUST UNITE TO SAVE HUMANITY

San Francisco, April 28. (CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, speaking to a plenary session of the United Nations conference, as leader of the Canadian delegation, made a plea for general acceptance by the delegates of the principle that "justice is the common concern of mankind." Nations everywhere must unite "to save and to serve humanity."

Canada was not thinking of national pride and prestige, but was hoping to play whatever part it could for the development of the best kind of an organization for collective effort to maintain peace.

"We recognize the principle that power and responsibility go hand-in-hand and that international security depends primarily upon maintenance of an overwhelming preponderance on the side of peace."

But that power, said Mr. King, was to be found in all the nations that desired peace, each contributing what it could.

Transcends Limits of Race

"The end we seek to serve transcends the limits of race and the bounds of nationality," he continued. "It is ours to give to a grief-stricken humanity a hope of which it is in greater need today than it has ever been before."

Mr. King said the people of Canada were resolved to do whatever was in their power to ensure that the world would not be engulfed for a third time "by a tidal wave of savagery and despotism."

He continued: "That is why the delegation from Canada received from parliament a mandate to use its best endeavor at this conference to further an agreement to establish a world security organization.

"The spirit in which we approach the great task of the conference will determine the measure of its success. It is for each nation to remember that 'over all nations is humanity.' It is for all to remember that 'justice is the common concern of mankind.'"

MEMORIAL WORTHY OF SERVICE AND SACRIFICE

Mr. King also said: "In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. The only memorial worthy of the service and sacrifice in this war is one which will help to secure to peoples everywhere the opportunities of a more abundant life."

Mr. King then expressed "how deeply Canada felt and will continue to feel the loss of so close a friend and so good a neighbor as President Roosevelt."

"If the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt pervades the deliberations of this conference, its success will be assured.

"The highest tribute which we, of the United Nations, can pay to his memory, is, by our united efforts, to build a world organization which will express his life's aims and his life's ideal—a system of international co-operation which will banish from the world the threat of war, and the fear of war."

Canada-U.S. Example

"I can express to those who have come to this continent from other lands no higher hope for the future of mankind than that, out of the instrument we are now fashioning, there may develop relations among all nations similar to those which, for generations, have been a common possession of Canada and the United States."

Mr. King said the "measure of the unanimity of our country is to be found in its delegation to this conference."

"The delegates were selected while our parliament was in session. They were chosen from both houses, and from both sides of each house. They represent all important shades of opinion in Canada."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date APR 28 1945

Subject

1972-B

D 48604

PEACE AIMS FIRST, KING TELLS PARLEY

Canadian Prime Minister Warns Against New Kind of Isolationism

UNITY IS HELD VITAL

Canada Ready to Play a Full Part in Development of Best Organization, He Says

San Francisco, April 27. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King today told the United Nations Security Conference that power was "not exclusively concentrated in the hands of four or five states and the conference should not act on the assumption that it is."

If small nations get the habit of thinking preservation of peace should be the responsibility of a few great powers it would foster "a new kind of isolationism" which would make it difficult for them to contribute properly to the common task of preventing aggression.

Mr. King, speaking to a plenary session as leader of the Canadian delegation, made a plea for general acceptance by the delegates of the principle that "justice is the common concern of mankind. Nations everywhere must unite "to save and to serve humanity."

It was not the intention of Canada to offer in plenary session any amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks security plan for world peace, said Mr. King.

"Our delegation will express its point of view at an appropriate time and place on specific questions as they arise," he said.

Canada was not thinking of national pride and prestige but was hoping to play whatever part it could for the development of the best kind of an organization agreement for collective effort to maintain peace.

UNITY IS STRESSED.

"We recognize the principle that power and responsibility go hand-in-hand and that international security depends primarily upon maintenance of an overwhelming preponderance on the side of peace."

But that power, said Mr. King, was to be found in all the nations that desired peace, each contributing what it could.

"The end we seek to serve transcends the limits of race and the bounds of nationality," he continued. "It is ours to give to a grief-stricken humanity a hope of which it is in greater need today than it has ever been before."

Mr. King said the people of Canada were resolved to do whatever was in their power to ensure that the world would not be engulfed for a third time "by a tidal wave of savagery and despotism."

He continued:

"That is why the delegation from Canada received from Parliament a mandate to use its best endeavors at this conference to further an agreement to establish a world security organization . . .

"The spirit in which we approach the great task of the conference will determine the measure of its success. It is for each nation to remember that 'over all nations is humanity.' It is for all to remember that 'justice is the common concern of mankind.' "

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date April 28, 1945

Subject

D 48605

Nations Must Unite To Save And Serve Humanity Declares Mr. King

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King today told the United Nations Security Conference that power was "not exclusively concentrated in the hands of any four or five states and the conference should not act on the assumption that it is."

If small nations get the habit of thinking preservation of peace should be the responsibility of a few great powers it would foster "a new kind of isolationism" which would make it difficult for them to contribute properly to the common task of preventing aggression.

Mr. King, speaking to a plenary session as leader of the Canadian delegation, made a plea for general acceptance by the delegates of the principle that "justice is the common concern of mankind." Nations everywhere must unite "to save and to serve humanity."

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Text of Speech.

The text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech to the plenary session of the United Nations Security Conference follows:

The Canadian delegation comes to this conference with one central purpose in view. That purpose is to co-operate as completely as we can with the delegations of other nations in bringing into being, as soon as possible, a charter of world security.

This conference is meeting at a time without parallel in the history of human affairs. The present is one of those moments of transition when an old order is passing away. As representatives of the United Nations, we are here to help lay the foundations of a new world order. The ends that we seek to serve transcend the limits of race and the bounds of nationality.

We would do well to seek to match our deliberations to the rapid movement of events. While the fires of war are still burning fiercely, the opportunity is given to this conference to forge and fashion from those fires an instrument for world security. In the execution of this great task, there should be no avoidable delay. It is ours to give to grief-stricken humanity, a hope of which it is in greater need today, than it has ever been before. It is ours to help to bring into being a world community in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

Extend Beyond War.

The support we owe to the fighting forces of the United Nations must extend beyond the theaters of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who have borne the heat of the strife; we owe it to the memory of those who have given their lives, to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. The only memorial worthy of the service and sacrifice in this war is one which will help to secure to peoples everywhere the opportunities of a more abundant life.

Perhaps this great gathering would permit me, as one who represents a country which has such close ties with the United States, to say how deeply Canada felt and will continue to feel the loss of so close a friend and so good a neighbor as President Roosevelt. To many here who enjoyed his friendship, his death was a deeply moving personal bereavement. To to the United States in its the United States in its national bereavement, I should like again to express our sympathy.

But the passing of Franklin Roosevelt was more than a loss to neighboring countries. It is a loss to the whole freedom-loving world. That loss places upon each and every one of us a greater responsibility. If the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt pervades the deliberations of this conference, its success will be assured. The highest tribute which we, of the United Nations, can pay to his memory, is, by our united efforts, to build a world organization which will express his life's aims and his life's ideal—a system of international co-operation which will banish from the world the threat of war, and the fear of war.

Develop Same Relations.

I can express to those who have come to this continent from other lands no higher hope for the future of mankind than that, out of the instrument we are now fashioning, there may develop relations among all nations similar to those which, for generations, have been a common possession of Canada and the United States.

May I add further personal reference. All present will join with Mr. Stettinius (US state secretary) in the hope he expressed that, before the conference concludes, Mr. Cordell Hull (former state secretary) will be sufficiently restored in health to join in our deliberations. Mr. Hull's name will always be associated with the origins of the world security organization.

His years of devoted service to the cause of world freedom; his fortitude, at his age, in making the arduous journey to Moscow in 1943; and the large share he had in shaping the proposals we are now considering, have earned him an enduring place among the founders of the United Nations.

The proceedings of this conference have been greatly facilitated by the preparatory work already done at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta by the inviting powers. We may all rejoice that the great powers have achieved unified proposals for a world security organization. That is a great step forward—a mighty contribution already made to the establishment and maintenance of world peace.

The rapid movement of events on the battlefronts, and the heavy demands upon all who are represented here at San Francisco, make it most desirable to begin as early as possible the detailed consideration of the proposals before the conference.

No Specific Amendments.

It is not the intention of the Canadian delegation to put forth, in plenary session, specific amendments to the proposals. Our delegation will express its point of view, at an appropriate time and

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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place, on specific questions as they arise. Our sole preoccupation in any amendments which we may put forward or support at a later stage will be to help in creating an organization which, over the years and the decades to come, will be strong enough and flexible enough to stand any strains to which it may be subjected.

We shall not be guided by considerations of national pride or prestige and shall not seek to have changes made for reasons such as these. We recognize the principle that power and responsibility must go hand in hand, and that international security depends primarily upon the maintenance of an overwhelming preponderance of power on the side of peace. Power, however, is not exclusively concentrated in the hands of any four or five states and the conference should not act on the assumption that it is.

Such a position would not only be contrary to the facts, as they have been demonstrated in the past five years, but it would also be dangerous to the cause of security itself. For it would foster in any smaller countries the development of a new type of isolationism—a feeling that the task of preserving the peace could be left exclusively to the great powers.

Such a habit of thought would make it difficult for the smaller powers to make their contribution. Experience has shown that the contribution of smaller powers is not a negligible one either to the preserving of the peace, or to its restoration when peace has been distributed.

Firm in Resolve.

The people of Canada are firm in their resolve to do whatever lies in their power to ensure that the world will not be engulfed for a third time by a tidal wave of savagery and despotism. That is why our Parliament overwhelmingly endorsed the acceptance of the invitation to Canada to participate in this conference. That is why our Parliament accepted the proposals of the inviting powers as a satisfactory general basis for the discussion of the proposed charter.

That is why the delegation from Canada received from Parliament a mandate to use its best endeavors at this conference to further an agreement to establish a world security organization. The measure of the unanimity of our country is to be found in its delegation to this conference. The delegates were selected while our Parliament was in session. They were chosen from both Houses, and from both sides of each House. They represent all important shades of opinion in Canada.

In conclusion, may I express my firm conviction that the spirit in which we approach the great task of the conference will determine the measure of its success. It is for each nation to remember that "over all nations is humanity." It is for all to remember that "justice is the common concern of mankind." The years of war have surely taught the supreme lesson that men and nations should not be made to serve selfish national ends, whether those ends be isolated self defence or world domination. Nations everywhere must unite to save and serve humanity.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Vancouver News Herald

Date April 28th 1945

D 48607

Subject

Big Powers Not Supreme, Peace Concerns All: King

SAN FRANCISCO, April 28. —(CP)—Prime Minister MacKenzie King Friday told the United Nations security conference that power was "not exclusively concentrated in the hands of any four or five states and the conference should not act on the assumption that it is."

If small nations think preservation of peace should be the responsibility of a few great powers it would foster "a new kind of isolationalism" which would make it difficult for them to contribute properly to the common task of preventing aggression.

Mr. King made a plea for general acceptance by the delegates of the principle that "justice is the common concern of mankind." Nations everywhere must unite "to save and to serve humanity."

NO AMENDMENTS

It was not the intention of Canada to offer in plenary session any amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks security plan for world peace.

"Our delegation will express its point of view at an appropriate time and place on specific questions as they arise," he said.

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But that power, said Mr. King, was to be found in all the nations that desired peace, each contributing what it could.

"The end we seek to serve transcends the limits of race and the bounds of nationality," he continued. "It is ours to give to a grief-stricken humanity a hope of which it is in greater need today than it has ever been before."

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77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
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77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
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77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
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Vancouver

Re Government - National Campaign — Liberal during war 1941 — Liberal during war 1941 — Liberal during war 1941

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The Liberal Programme

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The Liberal Programme

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I - The Achievement of Final Victory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48615

II - The Establishment of World Peace

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

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

D 48616

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

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

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

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

D 48617

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

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

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

D 48618

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

D 48619

The Liberal Programme

III - Full Employment

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

The 1944 session of Parliament, although it was a war

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

D 48621

IV - The Department of Veterans Affairs

To further the government's policies of full employment, social security and human welfare, three new departments of government were established last year. The first of these I wish to mention is the Department of Veterans Affairs. The new department administers war pensions, war veterans allowances, the re-habilitation programme, veterans' land settlement and all other government measures which are exclusively concerned with the welfare of the men and women who have served in Canada's armed forces.

Next to the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, I am happy to be able to say that, throughout the war, the first care of the government, as it was our first duty, has been to make provision for the future of our fighting forces, and for the security of their dependents. The government has fully implemented the supreme national obligation to provide for the dependents of those who have made the supreme sacrifice, to care for the sick and disabled veterans, to see that education and training are available to all who wish these advantages, and above all, to make sure that the opportunities for useful employment, and a better standard of living than most of them knew before the war, are open to our fighting men.

I shall not give details of the provisions for

D 48622

pensions, for medical care, for maintenance allowances, for vocational, technical and university training, for preference or re-instatement in employment, for the advantages of unemployment insurance, for land settlement, for veterans' insurance. Mere mention of these measures indicates how comprehensive the programme is! I wish, however, to refer particularly to the war service gratuities and re-establishment credits provided by Parliament last year in the War Service ~~Gratuities~~ Grants Act. They are designed to fill in the gaps and to provide all veterans with financial backing in the difficult period of adjustment to civil life. With the War Service Grants Act crowning the measures previously enacted, it is generally agreed that Canada leads the world in the provision for our returning veterans.

But it is not enough to make special provision for the re-establishment of our fighting men. We must make sure that the nation itself is prosperous, if the veterans are to be assured of prosperity and social security. Our veterans are no less interested than the civilian population in the means the government is taking to ensure full employment.

D 48623

V - The Department of Reconstruction

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

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

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

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

D 48624

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

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

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

1) the demand for relief and rehabilitation in Europe;

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

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

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

5) the provision of urban and rural housing; and

6) the expanding market in Canada for consumer goods.

D 48625

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

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

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

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

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

D 48626

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

D 48627

VI - The Department of National Health and Welfare

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48630

VII - Dominion-Provincial Relations

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

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

D 48632

VIII - Protection of Basic Standard of Living

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

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

D 48633

IX - Building a New Social Order in Canada

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

JWP-May5/45

FIRST DRAFT

D 48634

The Future of Canada

Broadcast by the Prime Minister on The Issue in the General Election

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- The best programme and one already largely on the statute books

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- Not between the competing claims of two or three parties, but between the Liberal party and a Parliament of competing and bargaining groups -- none strong enough to govern.

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SECTION ONE

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The Timing of the General Election

Fellow Canadians:

This is my first address to the nation in the 1945 general election campaign. At the outset I wish to take you fully into my confidence about a question which long caused me deep concern. It was a question which, as Prime Minister, I had personally to take the full responsibility for deciding. The question I had to answer was this: when would it be most in the interest of Canada, and of Canada's future, to hold the present general election? There are those who will tell you that, in answering that question, I was governed by only one consideration, and that consideration was the advantage of the Liberal party.

I will admit quite frankly that I would not deliberately have chosen a date for the general elections which I believed would place my own party at a disadvantage. I do not believe any other man in my position would deliberately place his own party at a disadvantage. A party leader who did not genuinely believe in his party and its policies would be a poor servant of his country. But I can honestly say that party advantage was not the governing consideration. I am

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going to tell you what considerations did, in fact, govern my decision. When you have heard what I have to say on this point, I am perfectly content to leave it to you to decide whether I was seeking to act in the highest interest of Canada.

Under our constitution, there must be a general election every five years. That was the first consideration of which I had to take account. The right to elect a Parliament at least once every five years is the fundamental guarantee of the people's right to control their government. I did not want to touch that greatest of all the rights of the people -- and, least of all, at a time when the finest of our young men were fighting to preserve freedom. The most precious of freedoms is the rights of free men to choose those who will govern them.

At the same time, I could see, as clearly as any man, how difficult it would be to hold a general election while our young men were in the thick of the fight against Nazi Germany. There would be no adequate opportunity to inform them of the issues. I am happy to say that all parties co-operated in Parliament to make the fullest provision for the voting of our men and women serving in the armed forces throughout the world. But with the best system in the world, it might, when the fighting was heaviest, have been difficult

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to ensure to all of them an ample opportunity to cast their ballots.

There was a second objection to holding a general election in the midst of the heavy fighting. Our hearts and our thoughts would have been centred on the men overseas. We could not and would not have given to the great issues which the Parliament and Government of Canada will have to face in the next five years, the attention they must have, if the wisest decision is to be made.

It is of the greatest importance that the issues of the future should be fully debated and calmly decided. The Parliament we are now going to elect in Canada may well be called upon to make decisions, almost as grave as the decision to declare war in 1939. The destiny of Canadians yet unborn will, in all human probability, be shaped, in large measure, by what the government of Canada does between now and 1950.

I felt it was my duty to do all in my power to see that all our people, overseas and at home, were given the most favourable opportunity to choose the members of the new Parliament calmly, dispassionately and wisely.

It was obvious enough that the most favourable time to hold the election was as soon as possible after the

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end of the fighting against Germany. A whole new range of problems would then present themselves. To meet these problems effectively we would need a new Parliament and a government with a fresh and unmistakable mandate. It was important that no unnecessary time should be taken in holding the elections. In the midst of swiftly moving events, decisions must be made and action taken by Canada. If the voice of Canada is to speak clearly and firmly in world affairs, these decisions should be taken by a government which is assured of the widest possible measure of public support. I knew it would be no less important to have a government with a fresh mandate, and free from the distractions of an impending election, to give undivided attention to internal problems which would cry out for solution as soon as hostilities ended in Europe.

From a Liberal party standpoint, more than one favourable occasion for a general election, while the war was on, was allowed to pass by. I was convinced that while the fighting continued in Europe, the great majority of our people did not want a general election to be held. I determined to wait, if necessary, as long as the constitution permitted, in the hope that, before the election was called, we might be able to foresee an early end to the resistance of Nazi Germany.

And that is what happened. Early in April it was

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clear that the decisive battles had already been fought in Europe. Although we could not tell when the final surrender would come, it was certainly coming soon. To me personally it was a deep satisfaction to know that our great war Parliament had been able to see the war against Germany through to the very eve of victory. I am sure most of you shared that satisfaction.

By the middle of April, I was able to select the earliest possible date for an election in the almost certain knowledge that, before polling day, the fighting against Nazi Germany would be ended, and all of us, fighting forces and civilians alike, could turn our faces to the future.

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SECTION TWO

The Length of the Campaign

The main reason for selecting the earliest possible date of polling was the desire to bring the new Parliament into being at the earliest moment. Our country cannot afford, in these times, to be without a Parliament for a single day longer than is absolutely necessary for the holding of the election. In the next few months, we shall be all but overwhelmed with questions which the representatives of the people alone can decide.

June 11th was accordingly selected as polling day. No earlier date could have been set without running a risk of depriving our fighting men of the vote. This was true, despite the fact that the first steps to provide for the Active Service Vote overseas were taken as long ago as last August. The machinery for the overseas vote in a Federal Election was fully established. No last minute improvising of arrangements was required after our general election was called.

In setting the date of polling, we realized, of course, that the following four weeks would be devoted to the Victory Loan campaign. Here may I pause to express anew, in the name of the government, our deep appreciation of the splendid response to that loan. The record achieved in the Eighth Victory Loan, held in the midst of a general election campaign, was no party

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triumph. It was something far greater than that. It was a fine expression of the fundamental unity of the Canadian people, and of our faith in the future of our country.

The Victory Loan campaign reduced somewhat the time available for the election campaign. But there are four clear weeks between the close of the Loan campaign and polling date. That, I believe, should be ample time for all parties and all candidates to place their policies and programmes before the people. I doubt if many [redacted] who are listening to me will wish to complain because this election campaign will be shorter than usual. On the contrary, I believe most of you will be pleased.

In my own case, as in some others, the opportunity of taking part in the general election campaign has been restricted by my absence at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. Speaking for myself, I felt that was where my duty lay. I felt, too, that the Canadian people would wish to have their Prime Minister, whoever he might be, take his appropriate part in that momentous conference. That is what I have tried to do.

During the remainder of the campaign, I do not intend to forget that I am still Prime Minister and that our country is still at war. My first duty is to give my attention to the affairs of the nation, and I intend to give them my first

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attention, even if the cause of my party should suffer in consequence. Unlike the leaders of other parties, I cannot give my whole time and attention to politics. I shall count on my friends and supporters to understand my position. If I take a smaller part than others in this campaign it does not mean that my zeal to serve Canada has weakened. It means only that I am obliged by my position to hope that actions will speak louder than words.

SECTION THREE

D 48644

A New Parliament for the Tasks Ahead

There is another reason why the election campaign should be as short as possible. The general election should be over and the new Parliament should meet before circumstances oblige the government of our country to take the key decisions regarding Canada's part in the making of the peace and the shaping of the future. Already at San Francisco, the United Nations have begun to build the structure of a peaceful world. In that Conference the delegation from Canada has tried to take a worthy part. But the decisions taken at San Francisco have to be ratified by our Parliament and the San Francisco Conference is only one of the many international conferences which will have to be held in the next year or two.

The people have a right to decide what government will speak for Canada in world affairs and what government will direct Canada's effort to help in creating a peaceful and prosperous world. Speaking for myself, I have always wanted the people to exercise that right before final decisions as to the future had to be made.

Moreover, we cannot allow ourselves to forget, in our satisfaction over the defeat of Nazi Germany, that victory over Germany is not the end of the war. War is still raging in the Pacific. Japan's military power has still to be destroyed

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(3)

We have been enheartened by the brilliant victories won by Allied arms in the jungles of Burma, in the Philippines, and the Indies, and in the seas and skies around and over Japan. Victory in Europe and successes in the Asiatic theatres should give us fresh vigour for the final effort.

In the final struggle against Japan, Canada must take her just part. The organization of our national contribution to victory over Japan must now be pushed forward as rapidly as possible. The government which is to direct that effort should be free from the distraction of a general election. That is yet another reason for determining without delay what administration is to direct our country's affairs for the next five years.

Until Germany was defeated all the United Nations have been able to use all the military strength each of them could muster in waging war at one time on both sides of the world. Now that Germany is beaten, the United Nations will not be able to bring to bear against the enemy all the military power they are capable of mobilizing. The supply of shipping and the character of the warfare in the Pacific alike place limits upon the forces which can be employed effectively against Japan. All of the United Nations will have to demobilize a part of their armed

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(3)

forces and begin the conversion of their war industries to peace time purposes. We must, of course, be very sure that there is a large margin of safety. Nothing would be more tragic than to prolong the war against Japan through any shortage either of trained fighting men or of supplies. The people of Canada have a vital interest in the future of the whole Pacific area. We are resolved to make our appropriate contribution to the defeat of Japan. One of the most difficult problems of government immediately facing us is the maintenance of the proper balance between Canada's war effort in the Pacific and the effort to re-establish a peace-time economy. In Canada, as in the other nations at war, the solution of this problem will call for wide experience and mature judgment.

One of the greatest and most urgent tasks of government is the direction and supervision of the return from the European theatre of Canada's fighting men. The need of ships for the war against Japan will cut down the number of ships which can be used to bring home the soldiers and airmen to this continent. What shipping is available will be shared with the United States. The people of Canada, I know, want our heroic fighting men to be brought home as rapidly as possible. The government fully shares this wish. But success in achieving it will depend upon the vigourous and the experience of those whose responsibility it is.

Then there is the great problem of demobilising our sailors, soldiers and airmen and helping them to re-establish themselves in civilian life. Over the next few years, three-quarters of a million of our fighting men must find employment in peacetime occupations. The men who have preserved our freedom and ~~and~~ defended the very existence of our country deserve and must be provided with useful employment and with employment at a decent standard of living. The people of our country will insist - and rightly insist - that their future should be the first concern of the government. But if that huge task is to be performed effectively, it must be undertaken by a government in which vision is blended with experience, and the government must be supported and sustained by Parliament.

Our first care must be the welfare of our returning veterans. But we cannot give them the full employment and social security they have earned in battle, unless the whole country is kept prosperous. The re-establishment of our fighting forces, the re-employment of our war workers, the continued employment of all other workers, the incomes of our farmers and other primary producers all depend upon our ability to maintain full employment and a high national income. The greatest of all the tasks facing the new Parliament is the reconstruction of a peace-time economy in which there will be work, homes and incomes for all. It is a task which will call for the highest

statesmanship. That is why it is so important that the Parliament we are now electing in Canada should be the best Parliament we have ever had. To meet these great problems I have just outlined, the members of Parliament should be the ablest and the most devoted men and women available. But they should be more than that. They should be prepared to support a government which has definite policies for dealing with these problems. In the next five years, Canada will need a Parliament with a clear mandate to deal with these post-war tasks. Above all, we shall need a stable but forward-looking government which both in internal and external affairs can speak with certainty for the whole of Canada.

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Section Four

The Claim of the Liberal Party

I have no hesitation in claiming that, among all those who are seeking your votes, the Liberal party alone is capable of giving Canada such a government.

I appeal to all of you to look over the Ministry as it is constituted today at Ottawa. It represents as fortunate a combination of experience and youthful enthusiasm as there has ever been in a Canadian Cabinet. The Ministry is composed, for about two thirds of its members, of men who have been tried in the fires of wartime administration; men who have organized and directed the magnificent contribution Canada made to victory over Nazi Germany. The other third of the members of the Cabinet are younger men, bringing fresh vision and new energy to the tasks ahead. But they are not untried or without experience. Most of them have served, as Parliamentary Assistants to the Ministers or in other ways, a valuable apprenticeship in the work of government. They are trained for the duties they are now performing as servants of the people of Canada.

My leadership is being called into question by some who desire to see the government of our country in other hands. This is no new experience for me. It has happened in every election since I was chosen leader of my party - twenty-six years ago.

Only once, in all that period have the Canadian people by their votes, expressed a preference that any other man should occupy the position I hold. Five years later they returned the party I lead to office with the greatest majority any party had, up to that time, received in Canada.

For eighteen years I have had the high honour of serving my country as its Prime Minister. That is a long time. I have now attained my seventieth year. I have no further ambitions to realize save only one. That is to serve the people of Canada as long as they continue to honour me with their confidence and I remain equal to the task. If I did not believe that, out of my long experience, I have gained certain advantages of knowledge and understanding of affairs which can be useful to my country at this very critical period in world affairs, I should not be appealing for your support today. I believe that in the next few years our country is going to need the experience and knowledge which, of all Canadians today in active public life, my senior colleagues and I alone possess. The Liberal party is appealing for your support for a government in which experience and knowledge are associated with youth and enthusiasm. It is only because no other party has anything comparable to offer to the Canadian people that I have been prepared to lead my party once more in a general election.

The character of the Ministry is not the only asset of the Liberal party which far surpasses what other parties and groups have to offer. I am convinced that the policies and programme of the Liberal party in this election are superior to those offered by any of our numerous and divided opponents. I do not intend in this speech to outline the Liberal programme; that will be for another occasion. But I do want to remind you of how that programme came to be adopted. Throughout the war, the government concentrated its attention on the winning of the war. That was a full time job and the record is there to show how well that job was done. We knew, of course, that part of the task of waging war was to be prepared for victory and the post-war. We did not think the preparations for the post-war should be confined to the departments and offices of Ottawa. Accordingly, in September of 1943, we called together a great assembly of the Liberal party under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation. That meeting drew up a programme for the post war period and recommended the programme to the government. The Cabinet studied the programme carefully and adopted practically every item. What is more, when Parliament met in January 1944, the government introduced a programme of legislation based on those recommendations. Parliament in turn accepted the programme and, as a result, the greater part of the programme

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of the Liberal party is today a part of the law of the land.

I invite all of you who are listening to my voice to study the Liberal programme and to compare it with the programmes of any and all of the parties and groups opposed to the Liberal party. You will find it more forward looking than any other. You will find it far more concrete and practical. Above all, you will know that it is actually being carried into operation.

I want now to mention a third claim which the Liberal party can make for your support which can be made honestly and truthfully by no other party.

The Liberal party is the only party which is truly national in the sense that it has a large body of support in every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is, therefore, the only party which has the slightest chance, by itself and apart from bargains or combinations with other groups, to win a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. Unless the Liberal government is returned to office on June 11, no government will be able to speak for Canada with a clear, strong and united voice in world affairs. Never has our country had greater need to make its voice heard in the council of the nations.

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I have often been derided for my life-long championship of the cause of national unity. I have worked for national unity all my life because national unity is the price of the continued existence of Canada. Without unity, our country will count for nothing in world affairs; without unity, we cannot hope to maintain and develop a prosperous and happy country. The cause of national unity has always needed champions in Canada, because there have always been plenty of preachers of disunity. Yet no one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, English and French, Protestant and Catholic, Employer and Labourer, farmer and city-dweller, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of a new world order than a Canada torn assunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

It is because the Liberal party embraces within its ranks substantial numbers from every section, every race, every creed and every social class that it is better fitted than any other party to serve Canada at this hour.

Section Five

D 48654

The Issue

The decision is yours. It is no longer the representatives of the people in Parliament who are deciding upon the future of Canada. It is you, the people.

Never have the Canadian people been called upon to make a more serious decision. Five years ago you made a decision which determined our contribution to the defeat of Germany. Our national achievement in war has won for Canada a high place, a heavy responsibility, and the greatest of opportunities in the shaping of the future of our own and other lands. On your decision will depend our own future; on it, too, will depend the contribution which our country will make to the future of mankind.

Before you make your decision, I earnestly suggest that 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?

A united march forward into the future by a united Canada, represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire

of the Canadian people. If you ask yourselves these questions I have suggested and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt what your decision will be.

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77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 48656

Office of
The Prime Minister

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Name of Publication 5166/45

Date ..... MAY 8 1945

Subject .....

Red Ensign to Mark Mackenzie King Talk

Ottawa, May 7.—(CP)—When Prime Minister Mackenzie King begins his radio address from San Francisco tomorrow, the Canadian Red Ensign will be raised over the Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings here as a tribute to Canada's fighting men, it was announced tonight.

The Union Jack will be flown earlier in the day and during the broadcast address by King George.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

D 48631

5166/45

Date MAY 8 1945

Subject

Premier King's Speech To Follow the King's

Ottawa, May 7—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King is scheduled to speak over a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation network from San Francisco at 3.20 p.m., E.D.T., tomorrow, it was learned today.

Mr. King's address will follow that to be delivered by King George. Justice Minister St. Laurent is scheduled to speak after Mr. King.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 43638

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

5166/45

Date MAY 9 1945

Subject

More Abundant Life For Everyone Urged By Mr. King As A Memorial

SAN FRANCISCO, May 8 — (CP) —Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast marking victory in Europe, said today a more abundant life for people everywhere would be the only memorial worthy of the service of free nations in the present war.

Speaking from San Francisco where he is attending the United Nations Security Conference, Mr. King said he was confident the conference would succeed. His 15-minute address was heard over a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national network and was repeated in French by Justice Minister St. Laurent.

Text of Address.

Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address follows:

Fellow Canadians: You have been listening to His Majesty the King speaking to his peoples throughout the world on the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

In the name of our country, I ask the people of Canada, at this hour, to join with me in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi Germany. We unite in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His mercy thus vouched to the peoples of our own and other lands.

Let us rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long, and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicing, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if our first thoughts were not of those who have given their lives that victory, this day, might be ours and not our enemy's. We would not be true to ourselves were our thoughts not also of those who are sorrowing today for the loved ones taken from them in the terrible holocaust of war.

Nation Bows Head.

The word of the defeat of Nazi Germany will bring to all a sense of indescribable relief. It will, however, intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes for those who will never return. Words can bring little in the way of consolation to hearts whose joy is thus overshadowed with pain. I can only say that, at this moment, the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to the men and women of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice. Our comfort lies in the belief that they today belong to the chivalry of God.

Our thoughts too, are of those who lie wounded, of the maimed and disabled, of those who have not yet been released from prison camps. Our thoughts are of those who fight on in the areas still being devastated by the ravages of war, and of those who suffer privation and want. We pray that aid and comfort may speedily be brought to all in distress.

It is too soon to begin to recount the heroic exploits of those whom today we hold in highest honor. At the moment, I shall only say that our fighting forces have written glorious pages of history for which Canada will remain forever in their debt. We who have lived through the grim years of war may leave it to future generations to unfold the pages of an epoch in which Canada's contribution to final victory in Europe has found a place next in importance to the contributions of the most powerful Allies.

Await Their Return.

We shall now eagerly await the triumphant return of those who have fought the fight of freedom on the sea, on land and in the air, and who have survived the vicissitudes of war. What a welcome will be theirs! As long as they live, their welfare should be our first concern. Especially must we look to the well-being of the dependents of those who will never return. We must endeavor to see that no service and no sacrifice is allowed to go unremembered.

Canada's great contribution to victory has been made possible by the unbroken partnership of her warriors and her workers. Supporting our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part.

In this hour of triumph over the evil forces of Nazi Germany, I should like all of you who have fulfilled the duties which it was yours to perform; all who by word, or prayer, or deed have striven in any form, to feel that you have helped to rid the world of a great scourge. For all time, it will be yours to claim a share in the triumph of right. In the degree to which you have been faithful, you, one and all, are entitled to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.

We rejoice to think that in Europe the armed forces of Canada have done their full share to defeat the enemy, and have helped in so great measure to defend and to liberate nations to whose history and civilization our own is so closely akin. In this hour of victory let us not forget that, but for the resistance of countries which were ruthlessly invaded, occupied and oppressed, our own country might have lost the freedom we have never ceased for a single day to enjoy.

Much Remains.

There is much that remains to be done. Over the stricken nations of Europe, hunger, privation or disease now pour in the wake of war. In the liberated homelands of our Allies, we must help to relieve the suffering and to repair the devastation. Until the hungry have been fed, the homeless sheltered and the sick healed, we cannot claim a complete victory over the evil forces which have been seeking the destruction of civilization itself.

Throughout the war, the response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. In every land in Europe, the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross. By continuing to bind up the wounds and to dry the tears of grief-stricken millions, we can give to the gratitude we feel so deeply its truest and noblest expression.

The United Nations are rejoicing today at the complete defeat of Germany. But the end of warfare in Europe is not the end of the war. There is yet another enemy. The United Nations have still to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. The Japanese aggressor must be completely defeated, and his inflated and insane ambitions forever crushed. Our national war effort must and will continue until the war in the Far East has also been won.

Saw With Clear Vision.

We, in Canada, were among the first to realize the world encircling character of the present conflict. We saw with clear vision that the war in Europe and the war in Asia were but one war. We saw in them a combination of tyranny and aggression which aimed at world conquest and world domination. We decided to fight this monstrous design.

The Nazi beast has, at last, been slain in his native lair. It remains to crush Japanese militarism wherever that treacherous viper continues to raise its venomous head.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

The defeat of Nazi Germany should give us new strength to bring the war speedily to its close in every quarter of the globe. There must be no pause until total victory has been achieved.

A resounding response to the present Victory Loan is one way in which we can all reaffirm our determination to remain steadfast to the end.

Finally, we must fight to a victorious close the war against war itself. The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing. Until we win that struggle, we cannot truly say that we have won the war.

More than 2½ years ago, speaking in New York on the defence of common liberties, I said:

"Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever, but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come; and the rest of that prediction is being fulfilled. It is being fulfilled in a measure surpassing all expectations.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco. Here the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States are at each other's side. They are united more closely than ever. But they are part of a larger company.

It is the company of the United Nations, now numbering nearly 50 in all. They are nations which are united in the defence of freedom. They are meeting today in San Francisco to bring into being an organization for the maintenance of peace and security. They are framing a charter under which they will remain united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. The nations have seen that monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate, for future generations, the service and sacrifice of war.

Already as trustees of the honor of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the theaters of war, and beyond the end of hostilities.

They are seeking to secure for peoples everywhere, and for generations yet unborn, the opportunities of a more abundant life. This they regard as the only memorial worthy of the service of the free nations in the present war.

In its great task, the United Nations conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success, victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought for freedom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 48660

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

5166/43

Date MAY 9 1945

Subject

PEACE NOT FULL WITH NAZI FALL

Prime Minister King Jolts Complacent with Mention of Japs

San Francisco, May 8.—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast marking victory in Europe, said today a more abundant life for people everywhere would be the only memorial worthy of the service of free nations in the present war.

Speaking from San Francisco where he is attending the United Nations security conference, Mr. King said he was confident the conference would succeed. His 15-minute address was heard over a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national network and was repeated in French by Justice Minister St. Laurent.

"The United Nations are rejoicing today at the complete defeat of Germany; but the end of warfare in Europe is not the end of the war,' he said. "There is yet another enemy. The United Nations have still to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan . . .

The Prime Minister expressed Canada's gratitude for deliverance from Nazi forces. Canada's rejoicing would be tempered by the thought of those who had given their lives in the struggle.

"We shall now eagerly await the triumphant return of those who have fought the fight of freedom on the sea, on land and in the air, and who have survived the vicissitudes of war," he said.

Their welfare and the wellbeing of the dependents of those who would not return should be the first concern of the nation.

"Canada's great contribution to victory has been made possible by the unbroken partnership of her warriors and her workers," Mr. King said. "Supporting our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part. In this hour of triumph over the evil forces of Nazi Germany, I should like all of you who have fulfilled the duties which it was yours to perform; all who by word, or prayer, or deed have striven to do your best; all who have aided by service in any form, to feel that you have helped rid the world of a great scourge.

"For all time it will be yours to claim a share in the triumph of right. In the degree to which you have been faithful you, one and all, are entitled to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind."

Finally there must be a continued fight in the war against war itself, Mr King continued.

"The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing," he said. "Until we win that struggle we cannot truly say that we have won the war. In its great task the United Nations conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought the fight for freedom."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48661

5166/45

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAY 9 1945

Subject

Fight for Peace Still to Be Won Says Mr. King

SAN FRANCISCO, May 8.—(CP)—Prime Minister King, in a broadcast marking victory in Europe, said today a more abundant life for people everywhere would be the only memorial worthy of the service of free nations in the present war.

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"For all time it will be yours to claim a share in the triumph of right. In the degree to which you have been faithful you, one and all, are entitled to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind."

Finally there must be a continued fight in the war against war itself.

"The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing", he said. "Until we win that struggle we cannot truly say that we have won the war.... In its great task the United Nations conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought the fight for freedom."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

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D 48661

5166/45

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"The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing", he said. "Until we win that struggle we cannot truly say that we have won the war. . . . In its great task the United Nations conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought the fight for freedom."

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date May 9/45

D 48662 1972-B
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Text of Premier King's Address From 'Frisco

SAN FRANCISCO, May 8—(CP) — Text of Prime Minister King's radio address follows:

Fellow Canadians: You have been listening to His Majesty the King speaking to his peoples throughout the world on the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

In the name of our country, I ask the people of Canada, at this hour, to join with me in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi Germany. We unite in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His mercy thus vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other lands.

Let Us Rejoice

Let us rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long, and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicing, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if our first thoughts were not of those who have given their lives that victory, this day, might be ours and not our enemy's. We would not be true to ourselves were our thoughts not also of those who are sorrowing today for the loved ones taken from them in the terrible holocaust of war.

The word of the defeat of Nazi Germany will bring to all a sense of indescribable relief. It will, however, intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes for those who will never return. Words can bring little in the way of consolation of hearts whose joy is thus overshadowed with pain. I can only say that, at this moment the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to the men and women of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice. Our comfort lies in the belief that they today belong to the chivalry of God.

Thoughts of Wounded

Our thoughts, too are of those who lie wounded, of the maimed and disabled, of those who have not yet been released from prison camps. Our thoughts are of those who fight on in the areas still being devastated by the ravages of war, and of those who suffer privation and want. We pray that aid and comfort may speedily be brought to all in distress.

It is too soon to begin to recount the heroic exploits of those whom today we hold in highest honor. At the moment, I shall only say that our fighting forces have written glorious pages of history for which Canada will remain forever in their debt. We who have lived through the grim years of war may leave it to future generations to unfold the pages of an epoch in which Canada's contribution to final victory in Europe has found a place next in importance to the contributions of the most powerful Allies.

Await Men's Return

We shall now eagerly await the triumphant return of those who have fought the fight of freedom on the sea, on land and in the air, and who have survived the vicissitudes of war. What a welcome will be theirs! As long as they live, their welfare should be our first concern. Especially must we look to the well-being of the dependents of those who will never return. We must endeavor to see that no service and no sacrifice is allowed to go unremembered.

Canada's great contribution to victory has been made possible by the unbroken partnership of her warriors and her workers, supporting our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part.

In this hour of triumph over the evil forces of Nazi Germany, I should like all of you who have fulfilled the duties which it was yours to perform; all who by word, or prayer, or deed have striven in any form, to feel that you have helped to rid the world of a great scourge. For all time, it will be years to claim a share in the triumph of right. In the degree to which you have been faithful, you, one and all, are entitled to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.

Carried On Fight

We rejoice to think that in Europe the armed forces of Canada have done their full share to defeat the enemy, and have helped in so great measure to defend and to liberate nations to whose history and civilization our own is so closely akin. In this hour of victory let us not forget that, but for the resistance of countries which were ruthlessly invaded, occupied and oppressed, our own country might have lost the freedom we have never ceased for a single day to enjoy.

There is much that remains to be done. Over the stricken nations of Europe, hunger, privation or disease now pour in the wake of war. In the liberated homelands of our allies, we must help to relieve the suffering and to repair the devastation. Until the hungry have been fed, the homeless sheltered and the sick healed, we cannot claim a complete victory over the evil forces which have been seeking the destruction of civilization itself.

Throughout the war, the response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. In every land in Europe, the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross. By continuing to bind up the wounds and to dry the tears of grief stricken millions, we can give to the gratitude we feel so deeply its truest and noblest expression.

V-E Day Not End

The United Nations are rejoicing today at the complete defeat of Germany. But the end of warfare in Europe is not the end of the war. There is yet another enemy. The United Nations have still to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. The Japanese aggressor must be completely defeated, and his inflated and insane ambitions forever crushed. Our national war effort must and will continue until the war in the Far East has also been won.

We, in Canada, were among the first to realize the world encircling character of the present conflict. We saw with clear vision that the war in Europe and the war in Asia were but one war. We saw in them a combination of tyranny and aggression which aimed at world conquest and world domination. We decided to fight this monstrous design.

Beast Slain In Lair

The Nazi beast has, at last, been slain in his native lair. It remains to crush Japanese militarism wherever that treacherous viper continues to raise its venomous head. The defeat of Nazi Germany should give us new strength to bring the war speedily to its close in every quarter of the globe. There must be no pause until total victory has been achieved.

A resounding response to the present Victory Loan is one way in which we can all reaffirm our determination to remain steadfast to the end.

Finally, we must fight to a victorious close the war against war itself. The hard struggle for

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 48663

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Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

peace will go on long after the guns cease firing. Until we win that struggle, we cannot truly say that we have won the war.

More than 2½ years ago, speaking in New York on the defence of common liberties, I said:

"Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever, but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come; and the rest of that prediction is being fulfilled. It is being fulfilled in a measure surpassing all expectations.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco. Here the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States are at each other's side. They are united more closely than ever. But they are part of a larger company.

Company of U. N.

It is the company of the United Nations, now numbering nearly 50 in all. They are nations which are united in the defence of freedom. They are meeting today in San Francisco to bring into being an organization for the maintenance of peace and security. They are framing a charter under which they will remain united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco Conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. The nations have seen that monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate, for future generations, the service and sacrifice of war.

Already, as trustees of the honor of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the theatres of war, and beyond the end of hostilities.

They are seeking to secure for peoples everywhere, and for generations yet unborn, the opportunities of a more abundant life. This they regard as the only memorial worthy of the service of the free nations in the present war.

In its great task, the United Nations Conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success, victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought for freedom.

D 48664

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Memorandum for Mr. Turnbull

The Prime Minister will be interested to know:

1) that his speech this morning was carried on the largest network ever arranged by the CBC (including Canada, the U.S. and UK).

2) that a condensation is being rebroadcast by the U.S. Office of War Information to all the countries including the forces in Europe and the Pacific.

C.S.W.

C.S.W.

San Francisco

May 8, 1945

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

Broadcast

Sat
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The End of the War in Europe

D 48665

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2) Remembrance of the dead and
comfort to the bereaved

3) Honour to the armed forces

4) Honour to workers at home

5) Relief and Restoration in Europe

6) War against Japan

7) Conclusion

re: San Francisco Conference

San Francisco
~~May 8, 1945~~

D 48666

Broadcast by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
from Toronto
on cessation of hostilities in Europe

INTRODUCTORY:

Fellow Canadians:

~~The news that hostilities in Europe have ceased has just been announced over the wireless by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.~~ You have ~~since~~ been listening to His Majesty the King speaking to his peoples throughout the world. On the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in Europe, In the name of our country, I ask the people of Canada, at this hour, to join with me in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance, from the evil forces of Nazi Germany ~~which, today, has been vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other lands. As we hear the words, "unconditional surrender,"~~ We unite in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His ~~M~~ercy thus ~~revealed. Touch~~ vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other lands.

~~We do well to~~ Let us rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicings, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if, ~~beneath all else,~~ our first thoughts, ~~first and foremost,~~ were not of those who have given their lives that victory, this day, might be ours and not our enemy's. ~~Neither~~ We would ~~we~~ not be true to ourselves were our thoughts not ~~equally~~ also of those who are sorrowing today for the loved ones taken from them in the terrible holocaust of war.

~~While~~ The word of the ~~surrender~~ unfortunate of Nazi Germany

D 48667

will bring to all a sense of indescribable relief, it will ~~inevitably~~ however intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes for those who will never return. ~~I know that~~ Words can bring little in the way of consolation to hearts whose joy is thus ~~so poignantly co-mingled~~ overshadowed with pain.

I can only say that, at this moment, the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to the men and women of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice. Our comfort lies in the belief that they today belong to the chivalry of God.

Our thoughts, too, are of those who lie wounded, of the maimed and disabled, of those who ~~still linger in~~ have not yet been released from prison camps, ~~of all who suffer privation and want, and~~ of those who fight on in the areas still being devastated by the ravages of war. We pray that ~~all such may speedily receive~~ the aid and comfort ~~necessary to minister effectively to their several needs~~.

D 48668

Honour to ~~the~~ Fighting Forces:

It is too soon to begin to recount the heroic exploits of those whom we ~~today~~ hold in highest honour. We who have lived through the grim years of war may leave it to future generations to unfold the pages of an epoch which ~~has given~~ Canada's contribution to final victory in Europe, ~~a place only next in importance to the contribution of the most powerful Allies.~~ ~~Surely~~ it ~~is~~ at the moment ~~too~~ ~~say~~ that our fighting forces have written glorious pages of history for which Canada will remain forever in their debt.

D 48669

Recognition of Civilian Service:

Supporting our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part. Canada's great contribution to victory has been made possible by the unbroken partnership of her warriors and her workers. In this hour of triumph over the evil forces of Nazi Germany, I should like all who have fulfilled the duties ~~that were theirs~~ to perform, all who by word, or prayer, or deed have striven to do ~~their~~ best ~~in the common cause;~~ all who have aided by service ~~or sacrifice~~ in any form to feel that ~~they~~ have helped to rid the world of a great ~~curse.~~ For all time it will be ~~theirs~~ to claim a share in the triumph of Right. ~~My~~, one and all, in the degree to which ~~they~~ have been faithful, are entitled ~~hence forth~~, to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.

D 48670

The Nation's Duty to Returned Men and Dependents:

We shall now eagerly await the triumphant return of those who, ~~having survived the vicissitudes of war,~~ have fought the fight of freedom at sea, on land and in the air. and also those who suffered the vicissitudes of war. What a welcome will be theirs! Their welfare, as long as they live, ~~must~~ should be our first concern. ~~Equally~~ Especially must we ~~be concerned with~~ look after the well-being of ~~all who, by action of war have suffered loss~~ the dependants of those who have lost their lives. We must ~~ever seek~~ endeavour to see that no service and no sacrifice is allowed to go unremembered ~~or to have been in vain~~.

Insert page 3 *

D 48671

Recognition of Resisting Nations:

In this hour of victory, ~~we also do well~~ Let us not forget ~~to remember that~~ but for the ~~brave~~ resistance of countries ~~that~~ which were ruthlessly invaded, ~~conquered~~ occupied and ~~or~~ oppressed, our own country might have lost the freedom ~~it has~~ we have never ceased, for a single day, to enjoy. We rejoice to think that, in Europe, ~~in the case of so many of the nations, our own~~ our armed forces, based on distant bases, have helped to liberate ~~their peoples and to drive the enemy from their soil~~ countries and peoples so long oppressed from their own soil.

D 48672

The Work of Restoration:

Much remains ~~still~~ to be done. In the ~~liberated~~ homelands of our Allies, we must ~~now~~ help to relieve the suffering and to ~~restore~~ repair the ~~devastated areas~~ devastation. Over the stricken nations of Europe, hunger, privation and disease now hover in the wake of war. Until suffering has been alleviated, the ~~starving~~ hungry and fed, the homeless sheltered, and the sick healed, we cannot claim victory over the forces ~~of evil~~ which have been seeking the destruction of civilization itself.

Throughout the war, the response of our people to every ~~necessitous~~ appeal of humanity has been magnificent. In every land in Europe, the name of Canada ~~speaks of the beneficent results of mutual aid, and~~ spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross. ~~It~~ They continue to bind up the wounds and ~~dry~~ the tears of grief-stricken millions ~~will~~ we can give to the gratitude we feel so deeply today, its truest and noblest expression.

We rejoice that the righteous cause for which we fought in Europe has triumphed. This certainly is no hour for exhaltation. Rather is it a time for rededication and restoration.

D 48673

The War Against Japan:

~~There is one thing more which should be ever present to our thoughts.~~ We are rejoicing today at the ~~unconditional surrender~~ of Germany. ~~But there is yet another enemy.~~ The end of warfare in Europe is not the end of the war. ~~We~~ have still to ~~witness~~ the unconditional surrender of Japan. ~~There must be no relaxation of our national effort~~ until the war in the ~~Far East~~ has also been won. The Japanese aggressor must be completely defeated and his ambitions forever crushed.

We, in Canada, were ~~quick~~ to realize the world-encircling ~~compass~~ of the present conflict. We saw with clear vision that the war in Europe and the war in Asia were but ~~the~~ combination of acts of tyranny and aggression which aimed at world conquest and world domination. We decided to ~~strike at~~ this monstrous evil ~~wherever it raised its venomous head.~~ The Nazi beast has, at last, been slain in his native lair. It remains to crush the serpent of Japanese militarism wherever it continues to ~~rise~~. The defeat of Nazi Germany should give us ~~the~~ new strength ~~required~~ to bring war speedily to its close in every quarter of the globe. There must be no pause until total victory has been achieved.

D 48674

The War Against War - San Francisco Conference

Finally we must fight to a victorious end the war against war itself. The hard struggle for peace must go on long after the guns cease firing. Until we win that struggle we cannot truly say that we have won the war.

D 48675

Prophecy ~~Fulfilled~~ - The ~~Present~~ Position

More than two and a half years ago, speaking in New York on the defence of common liberties, I said:

> "Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever, but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come and the rest of ~~Today, as regards the war in Europe,~~ that prediction has been fulfilled. It ~~has been~~ is being fulfilled in a measure ~~which has wholly~~ surpassed all expectations.

I am speaking to you, ~~as you are aware,~~ from San Francisco. Here the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States are at each other's side. They are united more closely than ever. But they are ~~also~~ part of a larger company. It is the company of representatives of the United Nations numbering ~~at present~~ nearly fifty in all.

D48676

They ~~represent the~~ nations which have been united in the defence of freedom. They are meeting today in San Francisco to bring into being ~~just as soon as may be possible,~~ an organization for the maintenance of peace and security, ~~which will keep them~~ united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco Conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. ~~Its members~~ have seen that, for future generations, monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate the service and sacrifice of war. Already as trustess of the honour of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the theatres of war and beyond the end of hostilities. They are seeking, ~~by the establishment of a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security,~~ to secure for generations yet unborn ~~and for peoples everywhere,~~ the opportunities of a more abundant life. This they regard as the only memorial worthy of the service ~~and sacrifices~~ of the free nations in the present war. In ~~the achievement of~~ its great task, the United Nations Conference will, I believe, succeed.

D 48677

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MORANDUM

I ask the people of Canada to ~~All Canada will~~ join with me at this hour in expressing to almighty God our profound gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi ~~of Nazi~~ Germany ~~Germany~~ which in His Providence has today ~~at last~~ been vanquished to the peoples ~~of our~~ of our own and other countries which Nazi Germany with other of our enemies sought to conquer and enslave. We now in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His mercy this revealed to our own and other freedom loving

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 48678

D48679

1)

Thanks to God

I ask the people of Canada to join with me at this hour in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi Germany which, in the Providence of God, has today been vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other countries. As we hear the words "unconditional surrender," we join in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His Mercy thus revealed to our own and to other freedom-loving lands.

D 48680

2)

Remembrance of the Dead and Comfort to the Bereaved

We do well to rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicing, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if our thoughts were not of those who have given health, strength and life itself to save civilization from destruction.

This day will inevitably sharpen the grief of the thousands of Canadian families whose dear ones have given up their lives that victory might this day be ours and not our enemy's. I know that no words of mine can bring comfort to the hearts of those whose joy at the termination of the war in Europe is tempered with tears at the thought of sons and husbands and brothers who will not return. I can only say that at this moment the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to those who have fallen in our behalf.

3)

D 48681

Honour to the Fighting Forces

Today we think in terms of highest honour of our own fighting forces around the world. We think of ships of the Royal Canadian Navy serving in many waters. We think of courageous men who, from the very first days of the war, have helped to hold open and to keep safe the seaways vital to the achieving of victory.

We think, too, of our fighting airmen, who in increasing numbers and with implacable determination have contributed to the enemy's defeat.

We think, as we have thought increasingly since the launching of the main invasion in the West nearly a year ago, of the men of Canada's army. These valiant men have harried and hurled back the German enemy until his resistance has collapsed and crumbled away.

We think of the merchant seamen. We think of all who have held high the name of Canada in the many theatres of war. To them we owe the fullest measure of this nation's gratitude.

We eagerly await the release of those who are still prisoners of war, and the triumphant return of the thousands of young Canadians who have fought the fight of freedom at sea, on land and in the air. They have written glorious pages of Canadian history for which our country will remain forever

D 48682

3)

in their debt. In future years and generations, when people discuss, as they will, how close we were to the brink of the abyss, and how, out of a situation which at times looked well-nigh desperate, victory was finally snatched, Canadians will be able to hold their heads high.

D 48683

4)

Honour to the Workers at Home

In this hour of victory I should like all the men and women of Canada who have done their part in whatever task it was given them to do, to feel that today they have had a share in the triumph of the cause of humanity.

Canada's vast contribution to victory was the fruit of an unbroken partnership of the warriors and the workers. To the workers of Canada -- and I use the term "workers" in its widest sense -- I wish to say a word of heartfelt thankfulness. On the farms, in the fisheries, in the forests, in the mines, in the factories, in the shops, in the offices, on the railways, on road and lake, in communications, in power stations, in every walk of life, from the humblest office boy or farm hand to the directors and managers of our greatest enterprises, all have joined together to make Canada's effort in this war the marvel it has been.

D48684

6)

The War Agsinst Japan

Let us by all means rejoice in a great victory -- the fruit of a long and patient endeavour. But let the celebration of our triumph in Europe be tempered and restrained by the realization that complete and final victory has yet to be won. Victory over Nazi Germany should give us fresh courage and fresh resolution to face the fighting and the sacrifice required to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. The war against Japan goes on. We, in Canada, have always realized that this global war is all one war. By our response to the Victory Loan we can re-affirm our determination to be steadfast to the end. There can be no pause until total victory has been achieved over all our enemies. Enheartened by the news from Europe let us turn with renewed hope and renewed energy to the final round in the war for the world's freedom.

48685
D

7)

The San Francisco Conference

More than two and a half years ago, I spoke in New York on the topic: "The defence of common liberties." In that speech, I said:

> "Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come, and the rest of that prediction is being fulfilled. It is being fulfilled in a measure surpassing all expectations.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco. Here the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States are at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But they are part of a larger company. It is the company of representatives of the United Nations numbering nearly fifty in all. They are the nations which have been united in the defence of freedom. They are

D48686

meeting in San Francisco today to bring into being an organization for the maintenance of peace and security. They are seeking to establish an instrument which will hold them united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco Conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. Clearly the nations have seen that monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate, for future generations, the service and sacrifice of war. Already, as trustees of the honour memory? of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the end of hostilities and beyond the theatres of war. As the only memorial worthy of the suffering and sacrifice of the present war, we are seeking to secure for peoples everywhere, the opportunities of a more abundant life. In this great task, the United Nations will, I believe, succeed. In that success, victory and peace will, indeed, crown the sacrifices of all who have fought for freedom.

Secret

D 48687

March 31,1945.

DRAFT STATEMENT RE COLLAPSE IN GERMANY.

Organized resistance in Germany is at an end!

For five and half long years our hopes have been centred on the moment which has now come. The collapse of Nazified and paganized Germany has come, fittingly, at the Easter season. We have just celebrated the anniversary of the resurrection of the highest hopes of all mankind. What an Easter this has been for the peoples of Europe rising once from their bondage and daring once more to hope!

At the outbreak of war, I said that the forces of evil had been loosed in the world in a struggle between the pagan conception of a social order which ignores the individual and is based upon the doctrine of MIGHT, and a civilization founded upon the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man and the sacredness of human personality.

The Nazi regime which loosed those forces of evil has been beaten and collapsed. But the evil forces loosed by Naziism upon mankind have not yet been brought under control.

This universal war, in the European and African theatres, has taken the greatest toll of human sacrifice in the history of the w estern world. Today every heart rejoices at the news that those responsible for that suffering and sacrifice have been crushed in defeat. But the suffering and the sacrifice will continue

D 48688

long after the fighting has ceased. Our rejoicing today cannot fail to be mixed with sadness and compassion.

None, I believe, will feel that our task in this war is over until the suffering have been comforted, the starving fed, the homeless sheltered and the diseased healed.

In the destruction of Nazi Germany, the share of Canada has not been small. We do not seek to compare our contribution with Britain's. But we are proud that when Britain alone bore the whole brunt of the German onslaught, Canada stood in arms at her side.

Our military strength is small when compared with the armed might of the Soviet Union. We gladly honour the Russian armies which tore the very vitals out of the German military machine. But we are proud that Canada had a full share in arming and equipping the great Red army.

In magnitude, the total war effort of Canada is not great when measured beside the fully mobilized strength of our great American neighbour. None rejoiced more sincerely than the people of Canada when the decisive strength of the United States was thrown fully into the Allied Cause. But we in Canada are proud that our close partnership in war has added to the total strength of both nations.

Beside the horrors and sufferings of the peoples in lands which were under German occupation, we readily acknowledge

D 48689

that the hardships and deprivations we have endured are small indeed. Yet the Canadian people have every right to feel that they have accepted the exacting demands of war in a spirit of willing co-operation. And the response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. To thousands in every land in Europe the name Canada spells the mercy of the Red Cross.

As Prime Minister it has been my duty to watch, as best I could, over every aspect of Canada's many-sided activities in this world-wide struggle. There are many who know far more of the army or the navy or munitions or food or finance, but none, I believe, can have the same appreciation of all the great variety of contributions which our people have made to the victory we have now achieved.

All will agree that the highest honour goes to our fighting men in the three services, to the merchant seamen, to the fire fighters, to the auxiliary services, to the women in the armed forces, to all who have held high the name of Canada in the many theatres of war.

In God's keeping we leave our heroic dead. We shall ever honour their memory. It will be our hope that in victory itself, and in the honour Canada pays to the dead, those who have been bereaved will find comfort and consolation. We shall ~~forever~~ honour owe a debt to the suffering and the disabled. We eagerly await the release of the prisoners of war and the triumphant return of

D 48690

the thousands of young Canadians who have fought the fight of freedom at sea, on land and in the air.

Canada's vast contribution to victory was the fruit of an unbroken partnership of the warriors and the workers. To the workers of Canada — and I use the term "workers" in its widest sense — I wish to say a word of heartfelt thankfulness. On the farms, in the fisheries, in the forests, in the mines, in the factories, in the shops, in the offices, on the railways, on road and lake, in communications, in power stations, in every walk of life, from the humblest farm hand or office boy to the directors and managers of our greatest enterprises, all have joined together to make Canada's effort in this war the marvel it has been. In this hour of victory I should like all the men and women who have done their part in whatever task it was given them to do, to feel that they have a share in the triumph of the cause of humanity.

I should like, too, to pay a tribute to all who, in addition to their daily tasks, have helped to make successful the many war services and other voluntary activities of wartime. The spirit of free co-operation within each community will be needed more than ever, in the next few months, to bring relief to the liberated but still suffering peoples of Europe. The struggle against the forces of evil must continue.

D 48691

5)

Relief and Restoration of Europe

Nazi Germany has given up the fight. But long after the fighting has ended, the suffering and the sacrifice will continue. Hunger, privation and disease still hover over the stricken nations whose peoples have already endured suffering beyond our comprehension. But for their sacrifice we might, ere this, have lost the freedom we have never ceased to enjoy. Until the suffering has been alleviated; until the starving have been fed, the homeless sheltered, the sick healed, there can be no peace.

Throughout this war, the response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. To thousands in every land in Europe, the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross. Within each community, the spirit of mutual aid will be needed, more than ever, in the next few months to bring relief to the liberated peoples of Europe. All our people will, I believe, wish to help to bind up the wounds of humanity.

D 48692

(1)

29.IV.45
W.L.M.K.

INTRODUCTORY

I ask the people of Canada to join with me at this hour in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi Germany which, in the Providence of God, has today been vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other countries. As ~~we hear~~ the words "unconditional surrender", we join in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His Mercy thus revealed to our own and to other freedom-loving lands.

We do well to rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicings, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if, beneath all else, our thoughts were not of those who have given health, strength and life itself to save civilization from destruction and of the hearts sorrowing today for loved ones whose lives have passed beyond their ken in ~~this~~ the terrible holocaust of war.

1.V.45

D 48693

INTRODUCTORY

I ask the people of Canada to join with me at this hour in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance ~~from the evil forces of Nazi Germany~~ from the evil forces of Nazi Germany which, ~~in the Providence of God, has,~~ today, been vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other lands. As we hear the words "unconditional surrender", we join in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His Mercy thus revealed. ~~to our own and to other freedom-loving lands.~~

We do well to rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long, and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicings, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if, beneath all else, our thoughts, first and foremost, were not of those who have given their lives that victory might, this day, be ours and not our enemy's.

~~We would~~ We could not be ~~neither~~ true to the sacred trust we bear their memories, nor to ourselves, were our thoughts not equally of ~~the hearts that~~ those who are sorrowing today for loved ones ~~whose lives have passed beyond their ken~~ whose lives have been forced beyond their ken, in the terrible holocaust of war.

While the word of the surrender of Nazi Germany brings ~~with it~~ to all a sense of indescribable relief, ~~we do~~

D 48694

~~wall to remember~~ it will inevitably intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes ~~bereft of their loved ones~~. I know that no words of mine can bring comfort to ~~the~~ hearts ~~of those~~ whose joy, at this time is thus co-mingled with pain. I can only say that, at this moment, the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to those who have made the supreme sacrifice on our behalf.

(possible alternative: whose desire to share in the nation's rejoicing is restrained by personal sorrow.)

D 48695

HONOUR TO THE FIGHTING FORCES:

The men and women of our armed forces have fought the good fight. We may leave to ~~time to unfold, for~~ future generations, the pages of an epoch which has given Canada's contribution to final victory in Europe, a place only next in importance to the contributions of ~~our three great~~ Allies; ~~the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet~~ Union. Suffice it at the moment to say that our fighting forces have written glorious pages of history for which Canada will remain for ever in their debt.

Canada's contribution to victory was made possible by the unbroken partnership of ~~the~~ warriors and ~~the~~ workers. Back of our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part to help fashion the final victory.

In this hour of victory, I should like/the men and women of Canada who have done ~~their~~ part in ~~whatever~~ it was given to them to do, to feel today that they have had a share in the triumph of the cause of humanity.

Thine! ~~[illegible]~~ Thine welfare, and thine well-being ?
Those who have suffered and lost, as long as they live must be their first
concern. We must ever seek to see that no simple
and no loss has to have been in vain

D 48696

We ~~would also~~ do well to remember that but for the resistance of nations that have been conquered, ~~overrun, and sacrificed~~, we, ourselves, ~~ere this, might~~ have lost the freedom we have never ceased to enjoy.

Our gratitude today will find its noblest expression in our beginning at once to help to bind up the wounds of suffering humanity.

Over the stricken nations of Europe ~~whose peoples have already endured suffering beyond our comprehension~~, hunger, privation and disease ~~are~~ hover in the wake of war. Until ~~the~~ suffering has been alleviated; ~~until~~ the starving ~~have been~~ fed, ~~the homeless sheltered, the sick healed~~, ~~there~~ can be ~~no peace~~.

Throughout the war, the response of our people to every appeal ~~of humanity~~ has been magnificent. To thousands in every land in Europe, the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross.

JAG/ Revised April 28,1945

D R A F T

D 48697

The End of the War in Europe

Broadcast by the Prime Minister

The tremendous news which is officially confirmed today will find the people of Canada united in a feeling of thankfulness and humble gratitude to Almighty God. It is a feeling which will speak for the aspiration - strong even where it is unexpressed - from all human hearts that peace may now be assured for our own and future generations.

If the first feeling is one of thankfulness and rejoicing, it will be mingled with many another feeling. Among these I would think of the quiet moments of remembrance for all of those brave spirits for whom the trumpets have sounded on the other side and who have passed over. Surely in this solemn hour we may take comfort in the knowledge that wherever their earthly sepulchre may stand - whether it be on far-flung battlefields or in the sounding depths of the sea - their souls are at peace.

The feeling of thankfulness is one which reflects the appreciation of which I should like to express - now, and with a full heat - to all of those men and women of Canada who have fought in this fight for the world's freedom.

Today we think in terms of highest honour of our own fighting forces around the world. We think of ships of the

D48698

Royal Canadian Navy serving in many waters. We think of courageous men who, from the very first days of the war, have helped to hold open and to keep safe the seaways vital to the achieving of victory.

We think, too, of our fighting airmen, who in increasing numbers and with implacable determination have contributed to the enemy's defeat. We think, as we have thought increasingly since the launching of the main invasion in the West nearly a year ago, of the men of Canada's army. These valiant men have harried and hurled back the German enemy until his resistance has collapsed and crumbled away. To them we owe the fullest measure of this nation's gratitude. To their return to their homeland we now look forward with eager anticipation and great pride.

The news which comes assures us that victory in the field has been won over our enemy whose greed for conquest betrayed the name of humanity and condemned millions to cruel death and the desolation of warfare. There are other enemies against whom we fight - against which all the United Nations must continue to fight until the scourge of war has been banished from our experience.

There is one military enemy, which is Japan. The fight against this enemy will be continued until his defeat is encompassed, and his power to wage aggressive warfare crushed. This is a task to which the naval, military and air forces of the most powerful

D 48699

among the United Nations will now turn the full weight of their combined purpose and material strength.

The organizing of military victory has been a tremendous task, and it has, understandably, left great problems in its train. Even when we had passed the great divide that marked the point at which the certainty of victory replaced the uncertainty which everywhere surrounded us, we kept on mobilizing our resources to hasten that day of victory. We kept on until, at the peak of our effort, we were spending more than half our total national income on the direct requirements of the war.

In this war there has been no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both have had their part in the winning of victory. The workers in industry, with skill and patience have done their splendid part. The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere and the workers on the home front. The miners, the lumbermen, the workers in all forms of transport have carried their share of the immense productive effort of Canada.

The women of Canada, whether they have served in uniform or in the many voluntary agencies of Canada, have written a stirring chapter in the war effort of our land. In these closing months of the war against Germany the minds,

D 48700

the wills and the energies of all who have been united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the military defeat of our enemies. The future well-being of mankind depended upon that victory and the sense of thankfulness which is in our hearts may well reflect the measure of our several contributions to the fashioning of victory.

There are other enemies which lie outside and beyond the assurance of military victory in Europe which has so gratified our hearts today. Now we can begin to fight against some of these other enemies. Some of them lie within our own borders; many more of them are to be found in the lands but lately liberated from enemy domination. These enemies are fear, hunger, disease, hovering over stricken nations whose people have endured suffering and hardship beyond our comprehension.

There are other problems which will demand the best efforts we can bring to their solution. The work of rehabilitation and rebuilding of liberated Europe has already been entrusted to the skill and planning of a great agency of the United Nations. We of Canada have been proud to have our share in the work of UNRRA. For some years to come we will continue to be one of the chief supplies of many kinds of food, of materials for new houses, of machines to help in restoring once-prosperous industries.

D 48701

We shall want to use our efforts also to assist in the re-opening and the expanding of channels of trade, upon which so largely the prosperity of our own and other countries depends. One of the most illuminating of all the lessons five years of global war have taught us is that as peace in indivisible, so also is prosperity indivisible. We can have a major place in restoring these channels of trade. We can use our best endeavours to broaden the peaceful highways of commerce by land, across the seas, and through the air.

Over and beyond all of these is the task of preserving peace itself. The Parliament of Canada ~~has~~ during ~~April~~ March devoted ten days of debate to one of the most important resolutions ever placed before it. It approved of full participation by Canada in the work of the United Nations Conference on International Organization which opened at San Francisco on April 25. In this great meeting of the United Nations the Canadian delegation has tried to give an earnest of the wish of this country to carry beyond the bitter years of warfare into the beckoning years of peace, the many useful areas of co-operation developed among the allied nations. But this wish will be as nothing unless the nations of the world succeed in the over-riding task of devising and maintaining a just and durable peace.

We are perhaps too close to most of the staggering events of these last five years to appreciate the full significance

D 48702

of the effort we have made. It was on the battlefields of an earlier war that our country reached the full stature of autonomous nationhood. In this war we have made a contribution to the organizing of victory far greater than anyone could have imagined six years ago. This nation went to war by its own deliberate act, by the declaration of its freely-elected Parliament. From that moment Canada took on a sense of purpose and an assurance of physical strength which has never wavered. Throughout all the uncertainties of combat, throughout the darkest days when victory or defeat hung in the balance, this nation stood firm.

Today that sense of purpose and resolution are a bulwark in our further battle against oppression and need, and in all our efforts to build within our nation a people strong, healthy, alert, and removed far from those fears of want and persecution which have laid so heavy a hand upon other nations.

That gentlest and most imaginative of all the English poets, William Blake, had a great phrase to describe these aspirations, and I quote it today:

"Awake, Awake, Jerusalem.'

"Awake and overspread all Nations as in Ancient Time;

"For lo! the Night of Death is Past and the Eternal Day

"Appears upon our Hills, Awake!

D 48703

The resistance of the peoples of Europe and Asia and what their resistance has contributed to the enemies ultimate defeat.

The effort and sacrifices of all who have resisted but for which we might, ere this, have lost the liberty we now enjoy.

Until the forces of evil are all destroyed, there can be no enduring peace.

Think of the sorrowing and suffering ones. The voice of Red Cross is the voice of humanity.

Signs of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy heard amidst the devastation of ancient monuments and tumbled homes and from the waves of the storm-swept seas.

The voices of our brave sons and daughters and their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live.

The voice of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agony and privation for us.

Remember the afflicted. Welcome the refugee. Feed the hungry. Shelter the homeless. Tend the sick. Aid the wounded. Bring up to the dying great humanitarian services sacrifices and sorrows.

D 48704

We have in our thoughts at this time those who, through the devastation in the war, have suffered the loss of loved ones or of home and of country. Then those who have held the front line of freedom.

The free nations that have been invaded, dominated by Nazi power.

The unconquerable spirit of the British peoples.

The Canadian forces grown in strength on land at sea and in the air.

Canadian industry, Canadian labour, Canadian agriculture worked together to equip and supply our own soldiers, sailors and airmen to provide munitions equipment and supplies and food-stuffs.

On the part of the Canadian people the unity of purpose the determination of effort, readiness to make whatever sacrifices might be involved.

The new world order will cherish freedom, truth and justice and it will be born of all there has been of toil, of tears and of suffering and sacrifice.

The heroic endurance of men, women and children in the midst of fire and death from the clouds.

The determination of ordinary men and women to carry on their work. The gallant resistance of all nations - none too humble to do his part.

D 48705

Duty well and honestly done, contribution to victory -- all who have laboured at their appointed tasks with all the strength of his arm and the prayer of his heart.

The liberty in the old world -- everywhere in the world -- will depend upon labour in the new world.

Consecration of our individual lives and the collective life of Canada to the preservation of freedom.

Tyranny based on brutality has been overthrown.

The peoples of the world have been saved from state of bondage.

(See broadcast delivered Tuesday, December 31, 1940 and words of Norman Roger)"

June 10 - 1940

"In the faith we will fight on
We will resist; we will endure;
We will take the offensive and we will win."

We have met total war by total effort -- effort not for a day, a week or a month, but every day until victory is won.

Obtained by the free-will offering of a free people.

The willingness of our people to spare no efforts of sacrifice that the need of war demands.

Contributions by men of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Men and women working in factories, in the mines, in the forests and by the sea.

Those who have helped provide money necessary to feed, equip, transport fighting forces, to make the weapons and

48706

D

munitions of war. Savings freely lent: Navy, Army, Air and war production, supplies. Transport vehicles. Ship building industry. Aircraft industry and training of men.

Canada has given of her men and blood.

People have given freely and pledged fully their treasures, resources and their manhood.

We may take pride in the vision, the unity, the resolution and the achivement of the Canadian people.

See broadcast entitled Canadians All.

See also speech delivered in New York, June 17, 1941.

We are determined to establish on this earth a freedom wider, more deeply founded than ever before in human history.

D 48707

Thanks for deliverance.

Remembrance of those who have given their lives.

Sorrowing and sacrifices.

Remember we have still to fight the Japs.

Our rejoicings mixed with sadness and compassion, until sufferers have been comforted; the starved fed, e tc.

Proud of Canada's share in arming and equipping Red Army.

Response of our people to every appeal of humanity. To thousands of every land in Europe the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Red Cross.

The variety of contributions which Canadian people have made to the victory of the United Nations.

Highest honour goes to our fighting men in the three services and to the Merchant Marine. (see page four of draft)

Our heroic men - their being part of the chivalry of God. The debt we owe throughout our lives to the suffering and disabled.

Eagerly await release of those who are still prisoners of war.

Triumphant return of thousands of young Canadians who have fought the fight of freedom on sea, on land and in the air.

Canada's contribution to victory -- fruit of an unbroken partnership of the warriors and of the workers. (see pages 4 & 5 of draft)

D 48708

Not forget that the war is all one war.

Not pause until total victory has been achieved over our enemies.

Enheartened by the news from Europe.

Renewed hope and renewed energy to the final round in war of the world's freedom.

DRAFT

JWP/April 28, 1945 (revise 2)

D 48709

The End of the War in Europe

Broadcast by the Prime Minister

The resistance of Nazi Germany has ended. For nearly six years -- long and bitter years -- the world has awaited this hour. It is right that we should rejoice in the victory which has been so dearly won. But in our rejoicing, let us first give thanks to Divine Providence for this blessed deliverance from the power of evil men. In our thanksgiving, too, let us not forget the sorrowing hearts of those who have lost their loved ones in the terrible holocaust of war.

The celebration of our triumph in Europe will be tempered and restrained by the realization that complete and final victory has yet to be won. On the other side of the world we have a still undefeated enemy no less barbarous and no less tenacious than Nazi Germany. Victory in Europe should give us fresh courage and fresh resolution to face the fighting and the sacrifice required to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan.

In September of 1939, when war broke out in Europe, I said that the forces of evil had been loosed upon the world. The Nazi gangsters who have done such evil deeds against mankind have been crushingly defeated. But they have left hideous misfortune and suffering in their train. -

D 48710

Nazi Germany has ~~taken~~ inflicted the greatest toll of human sacrifice in the history of western civilization. Those responsible for ~~the suffering and the~~ that sacrifice are vanquished today. That, indeed, is ~~cause enough for rejoicing~~ good reason to give thanks. ~~But the suffering and the sacrifice will continue long after the fighting~~ has ceased.

But, as we rejoice today in the great news of victory, our rejoicing cannot fail to be mixed with sadness and compassion.

Until the suffering have been comforted, the starving fed, the homeless sheltered and the diseased healed, our task will not be completed. That, I believe, will be the view of all the people of Canada. To the victory Canada has made a splendid contribution. We have not had to endure the physical destruction and the civilian suffering which have fallen to Britain's lot. But we are proud that when Britain alone bore the whole brunt of the German onslaught, Canada stood in arms at her side.

Our military strength is small beside the armed might of the Soviet Union. We gladly honour the Russian forces which tore the very vitals out of the German military machine. But we are proud that Canada had a full share in arming and equipping the mighty Red army.

The magnitude of Canada's total war effort is not

D 48711

great when measured beside the fully mobilized strength of our great American neighbour. None rejoiced more sincerely than the people of Canada when the decisive strength of the United States was thrown fully into the Allied Cause. But we in Canada are proud that our close partnership in war has added to the total strength of both our countries.

Beside the horrors and sufferings endured by the peoples in lands which were under German occupation, we readily acknowledge that hardships and deprivations we in Canada have endured are small indeed. Yet the Canadian people have accepted the exacting demands of war in a spirit of willing co-operation. The response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. To thousands in every land in Europe the name Canada spells the mercy of the Red Cross.

As Prime Minister it has been my duty to keep before me, as best I could, each and every one of Canada's many-sided contributions to victory in this world-wide struggle. Many have a more detailed knowledge of each particular activity — of the army or the navy or munitions or food or finance. No one, I believe, can have quite the same broad appreciation of all the great variety of contributions which the Canadian people have made to the victory the United Nations have now achieved.

In weighing the contributions of each, all of us

D 48712

will agree that the highest honour goes to our fighting men in the three services, to the merchant seamen, to the fire fighters, to the auxiliary services, to the women in the armed forces, to all who have held high the name of Canada in the many theatres of war.

In God's keeping we leave our heroic dead. We shall ever honour their memory. It will be our hope that, in victory itself, and in the honour Canada pays to the dead, those who have been bereaved will find comfort and consolation. We shall, throughout their lives, owe a debt to the suffering and the disabled. We eagerly await the release of those who are still prisoners of war and the triumphant return of the thousands of young Canadians who have fought the fight of freedom at sea, on land and in the air.

Canada's vast contribution to victory was the fruit of an unbroken partnership of the warriors and the workers. To the workers of Canada -- and I use the term "workers" in its widest sense -- I wish to say a word of heartfelt thankfulness. On the farms, in the fisheries, in the forests, in the mines, in the factories, in the shops, in the offices, on the railways, on road and lake, in communications, in power stations, in every walk of life, from the humblest office boy or farm hand to the directors and managers of our greatest enterprises, all have joined together to make Canada's effort in this war the marvel

D 48713

it has been. In this hour of victory I should like all the men and women who have done their part in whatever task it was given them to do, to feel that today they have a share in the triumph of the cause of humanity.

I should like, too, to pay a tribute to all who, in addition to their daily tasks, have helped to make successful the many war services and the other voluntary activities of wartime. The spirit of free co-operation within each community will be needed more than ever, in the next few months, to bring relief to the liberated but still suffering peoples of Europe. Now more than ever we shall need their efforts in the continuing struggle against the forces of evil.

Let us by all means rejoice in a great victory -- the fruit of a long and patient endeavour. But let us not forget that, on the other side of the world, there is another enemy badly bruised but yet unbeaten. We, in Canada, have always realized that this war is all one war and that there can be no pause until total victory has been achieved over all our enemies. Enheartened by the news from Europe we shall turn with renewed hope and renewed energy to the final round in the war for the world's freedom.

D 48714

DRAFT OF PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST

The great moment towards which all our thoughts and all our efforts have been directed during the past five and a half years is now at hand. The monstrous tyranny which the depraved and brutal leaders of the German nation sought, with the connivance and complicity of the German people, to impose on the rest of the world has now been utterly and finally destroyed. The ~~proud~~ vainglorious boast of Adolph Hitler, ~~that~~ arch-enemy of civilization and mankind, that his German rule would last for a thousand years, has been ~~emptied~~ reduced to ~~its last dregs~~ nothingness. The noble enterprise of combatting this hateful purpose, in which the Canadian people decided, in September 1939, to join, has been brought to a successful conclusion.

There is cause for great rejoicing in these events. But the first words I wish to address to you, my fellow-citizens, are not words of rejoicing. This day will inevitably sharpen the grief of the thousands of Canadian families whose dear ones have given up their lives that victory might this day be ours and not our enemy's. I know that no words of mine can bring comfort to the hearts of those whose joy at the termination of the war in Europe is tempered with tears at the thought of sons and husbands and brothers who will not return. I can only say that at this moment the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to those who have fallen in our behalf.

The men and the women of our armed forces have fought the good fight. They have written glorious pages of Canadian history for which our country will remain forever in their debt. In future years and generations, when people discuss, as they will, how close we were to the brink of the abyss, and how, out of a situation which at times looked well-nigh desperate, victory was finally snatched, Canadians will be able to hold their heads high. Canadians

D 48715

will be able to hold their heads high in the knowledge that at the darkest hour, in 1940, when it appeared that only the British Isles stood between Germany and World domination, Canadian troops stood guard there ready to repel the invader. They will be able to hold their heads high in the knowledge that our fighting men, on the land and in the air and on the sea, have fought hard and well and have given a good account of themselves in all the tasks assigned to them. They will be able to hold their heads high in the knowledge that the Canadian contribution to final victory in Europe has been only next in importance to the contribution of our three great allies, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The war against Japan goes on; and we must not relax our efforts, on the production front or on the savings front, until the world is rid once and for all of the tyrants who would enslave their neighbours. It is as necessary as ever to make the present Victory Loan drive an overwhelming success. Each individual must carry on with his job without greater interruption than is called for by the official proclamation. By doing so we shall hasten the day when we can finally close this chapter in the world's history and open a new and happier one.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco where the representatives of 46 nations are gathered together to formulate plans for a world organization to keep the peace in the future and to improve the lot of the ordinary man. Success in these efforts is the only way we can discharge any part of the debt we owe to those of our own people and of our valiant allies, who have sacrificed and suffered during these years which have passed. The world has now an opportunity, which if not taken, is unlikely to recur, to build cooperatively for a safer and a more abundant future. Let us pray that wisdom and tolerance

D 48716

will prevail so that the anguished cry of the peoples of the world for peace and prosperity may be heard and heeded.

Statement by U.S. press (drafted by Pearson) ready for publication

D 2871

The people of Canada - like the people of the United States - will receive the news of the end of the European war with feelings not easily put into words. We will think first of those who died to make this day possible; of those who lie wounded; of those who still fight on in other areas where war continues.

We rejoice that the righteous cause for which we fought in Europe has triumphed. But this is certainly no hour for exultation. Rather, it is a time for re-dedication and resolution. More objectives remain to be won. The Japanese aggressor must be defeated and his ambitions forever crushed. We must help relieve the suffering and restore the devastated areas in the lands of our liberated Allies. Above all, we must fight to a victorious end the war against war itself; we must lay at San Francisco a solid foundation on which can be built an enduring structure of international co-operation and world peace.

The hard struggle for peace must go on long after the guns cease firing. Until we win that struggle, we cannot say we have won the war. This we should remember today.

D 48718

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Let us by all means rejoice in a great victory — the fruit of a long and patient endeavour. But let us not forget that, on the other side of the world, there is another enemy badly bruised but yet unbeaten. We, in Canada, have always realized that this war is all one war and that we cannot be satisfied short of total victory. Enheartened by the news from Europe we shall turn with renewed hope and renewed energy to the final round in the war for the world's freedom.

One thing more we must remember ~~on this side of the Atlantic~~, Dear as victory means, we can only do our part in Canada, more quick to realize that the world ~~is waiting~~ awaiting ~~our~~ to see just what part Canada will play in the final conflict.

We have ~~to~~ the courage and the energy ~~and the~~ ~~to~~ to see our task ~~to the end~~ through to the end. We must ~~accept~~ accept all sacrifices and all efforts that may be necessary to bring about complete victory and overthrow the domination of the Nazi ~~power~~ beast that has been slain in his own native lair. We remember that ~~the~~ Germany is not the only enemy. Japan ~~is~~ must be crushed if the people of the Nazi Germany shall ~~be~~ ~~free~~ ~~to~~ live in peace ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~safe~~ ~~for~~ ~~democracy~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~made~~ ~~secure~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~menace~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Japanese~~ ~~war~~ ~~lords~~ ~~and~~ ~~their~~ ~~allies~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Axis~~ ~~powers~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~destroyed~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~made~~ ~~safe~~ ~~for~~ ~~democracy~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~given~~ ~~the~~ ~~opportunity~~ ~~to~~ ~~live~~ ~~in~~ ~~peace~~ ~~and~~ ~~security~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~free~~ ~~from~~ ~~fear~~ ~~and~~ ~~want~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~domination~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Nazi~~ ~~beast~~ ~~who~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~slain~~ ~~in~~ ~~his~~ ~~own~~ ~~native~~ ~~lair~~.

48719

PM / Statements D 48720

WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD (CANADA)

San Francisco, Cal.

Not to be released before delivery

Broadcast to Canada by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, on the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

Fellow Canadians:

You have been listening to His Majesty the King speaking to his peoples throughout the world on the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

In the name of our country, I ask the people of Canada, at this hour, to join with me in expressing our gratitude as a nation for the deliverance from the evil forces of Nazi Germany. We unite in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His Mercy thus vouchsafed to the peoples of our own and other lands.

Let us rejoice in the victory for which we have waited so long, and which has been won at so great a price. Our rejoicing, however, would fail to give expression to our true feelings if our first thoughts were not of those who have given their lives that victory, this day, might be ours and not our enemy's. We would not be true to ourselves were our thoughts not also of those who are sorrowing today for the loved ones taken from them in the terrible holocaust of war.

The word of the defeat of Nazi Germany will bring to all a sense of indescribable relief. It will, however, intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes for those who will never return. Words can bring little in the way of consolation to hearts whose joy is thus overshadowed with pain. I can only say that, at this moment, the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to the men and women of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice. Our comfort lies in the belief that they today belong to the chivalry of God.

Our thoughts, too, are of those who lie wounded, of the maimed and disabled, of those who have not yet been released from prison camps. Our thoughts are of those who fight on in the areas still being devastated by the ravages of war, and of those who suffer privation and want. We pray that aid and comfort may speedily be brought to all in distress.

D 48721

It is too soon to begin to recount the heroic exploits of those whom today we hold in highest honour. At the moment, I shall only say that our fighting forces have written glorious pages of history for which Canada will remain forever in their debt. We, who have lived through the grim years of war, may leave it to future generations to unfold the pages of an epoch in which Canada's contribution to final victory in Europe, has found a place next in importance to the contributions of the most powerful Allies.

We shall now eagerly await the triumphant return of those who have fought the fight of freedom at sea, on land and in the air, and who have survived the vicissitudes of war. What a welcome will be theirs! As long as they live, their welfare should be our first concern. Especially must we look to the well-being of the dependents of those who will never return. We must endeavour to see that no service and no sacrifice is allowed to go unremembered.

Canada's great contribution to victory has been made possible by the unbroken partnership of her warriors and her workers. Supporting our armed forces, workers in every walk of life have done their part. In this hour of triumph over the evil forces of Nazi Germany, I should like all of you who have fulfilled the duties which it was yours to perform; all who by word, or prayer, or deed have striven to do your best; all of you who have aided by service in any form, to feel that you have helped to rid the world of a great scourge. For all time, it will be yours to claim a share in the triumph of Right. In the degree to which you have been faithful, you, one and all, are entitled to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.

We rejoice to think that, in Europe, the armed forces of Canada have done their full share to defeat the enemy; and have helped, in so great measure, to defend and to liberate nations to whose history and civilization our own is so closely akin. In this hour of victory, let us not forget that, but for the resistance of countries which were ruthlessly invaded, occupied and oppressed, our own country might have lost the freedom we have never ceased, for a single day, to enjoy.

D 48722

There is much that remains to be done. Over the stricken nations of Europe, hunger, privation and disease now hover in the wake of war. In the liberated homelands of our Allies, we must help to relieve the suffering, and to repair the devastation. Until the hungry have been fed, the homeless sheltered, and the sick healed, we cannot claim a complete victory over the evil forces which have been seeking the destruction of civilization itself.

Throughout the war, the response of our people to every appeal of humanity has been magnificent. In every land in Europe, the name of Canada spells the mercy of the Canadian Red Cross. By continuing to bind up the wounds and to dry the tears of grief-stricken millions, we can give to the gratitude we feel so deeply its truest and noblest expression.

The United Nations are rejoicing today at the complete defeat of Germany. But the end of warfare in Europe is not the end of the war. There is yet another enemy. The United Nations have still to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. The Japanese aggressor must be completely defeated, and his inflated and insane ambitions forever crushed. Our national war effort must and will continue until the war in the Far East has also been won.

We, in Canada, were among the first to realize the world-encircling character of the present conflict. We saw with clear vision that the war in Europe and the war in Asia were but one war. We saw in them a combination of tyranny and aggression which aimed at world conquest and world domination. We decided to fight this monstrous design. The Nazi beast has, at last, been slain in his native lair. It remains to crush Japanese militarism wherever that treacherous viper continues to raise its venomous head. The defeat of Nazi Germany should give us new strength to bring the war speedily to its close in every quarter of the globe. There must be no pause until total victory has been achieved. A resounding response to the present Victory Loan is one way in which we can all reaffirm our determination to remain steadfast to the end.

Finally, we must fight to a victorious close the war against war itself. The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing.

D 48723

Until we win that struggle, we cannot truly say that we have won the war.

More than two and a half years ago, speaking in New York, on the defence of common liberties, I said:

> "Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever, but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come, and the rest of that prediction is being fulfilled. It is being fulfilled in a measure surpassing all expectations.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco. Here, the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States are at each other's side. They are united more closely than ever. But they are part of a larger company. It is the company of the United Nations now numbering nearly fifty in all. They are nations which are united in the defence of freedom. They are meeting today in San Francisco to bring into being an organization for the maintenance of peace and security. They are framing a charter under which they will remain united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco Conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. The nations have seen that monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate, for future generations, the service and sacrifice of war. Already as trustees of the honour of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the theatres of war, and beyond the end of hostilities. They are seeking to secure for peoples everywhere, and for generations yet unborn, the opportunities of a more abundant life. This they regard as the only memorial worthy of the service of the free nations in the present war.

In its great task, the United Nations Conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success, Victory and Peace will, indeed, crown the sacrifices of all who have fought for freedom.

8th May, 1945 D 48724

Not for release before delivery.

Broadcast from San Francisco by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Fellow Canadians: You have been listening to His Majesty the King speaking to his peoples throughout the world on the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

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D 48725

The word of the defeat of Nazi Germany will bring to all a sense of indescribable relief. It will, however, intensify the grief felt in thousands of Canadian homes for those who will never return. Words can bring little in the way of consolation to hearts whose joy is thus overshadowed with pain. I can only say that, at this moment, the whole nation reverently bows its head in tribute to the men and women of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice. Our comfort lies in the belief that they today belong to the chivalry of God.

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D 48726

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D 48727

We rejoice to think that in Europe the armed forces of Canada have done their full share to defeat the enemy, and have helped in so great measure to defend and to liberate nations to whose history and civilization our own is so closely akin. In this hour of victory let us not forget that, but for the resistance of countries which were ruthlessly invaded, occupied and oppressed, our own country might have lost the freedom we have never ceased for a single day to enjoy.

There is much that remains to be done. Over the stricken nations of Europe, hunger, privation or disease now pour in the wake of war. In the liberated homelands of our allies, we must help to relieve the suffering and to repair the devastation. Until the hungry have been fed, the homeless sheltered and the sick healed, we cannot claim a complete victory over the evil forces which have been seeking the destruction of civilization itself.

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D 48728

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We, in Canada, were among the first to realize the world encircling character of the present conflict. We saw with clear vision that the war in Europe and the war in Asia were but one war. We saw in them a combination of tyranny and aggression which aimed at world conquest and world domination. We decided to fight this monstrous design. The Nazi beast has, at last, been slain in his native lair. It remains to crush Japanese militarism wherever that treacherous viper continues to raise its venomous head. The defeat of Nazi Germany should give us new strength to bring the war speedily to its close in every quarter of the globe. There must be no pause until total victory has been achieved.

D 48729

A resounding response to the present Victory Loan is one way in which we can all reaffirm our determination to remain steadfast to the end.

Finally, we must fight to a victorious close the war against war itself. The hard struggle for peace will go on long after the guns cease firing. Until we win that struggle, we cannot truly say that we have won the war.

More than two and a half years ago, speaking in New York on the defence of common liberties, I said:

"Victory and peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each others side, united more closely than ever, but they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind."

In Europe, victory has come; and the rest of that prediction is being fulfilled. It is being fulfilled in a measure surpassing all expectations.

I am speaking to you from San Francisco. Here the representatives of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and

D 48730

the people of the United States are at each others side. They are united more closely than ever. But they are part of a larger company. It is the company of the United Nations, now numbering nearly fifty in all. They are nations which are united in the defence of freedom. They are meeting today in San Francisco to bring into being an organization for the maintenance of peace and security. They are framing a charter under which they will remain united in the service of mankind.

Out of the fires of war, the San Francisco Conference has begun to forge and fashion a mighty instrument for world security. The nations have seen that monuments of stone or bronze no longer will serve to commemorate, for future generations, the service and sacrifice of war. Already as trustees of the honour of the millions who have given their lives in the cause of the world's freedom, the representatives of the nations here assembled are looking beyond the theatres of war, and beyond the end of hostilities. They are seeking to secure for peoples everywhere, and for generations yet unborn, the opportunities of a more abundant life. This they regard as the only memorial worthy of the service of the free nations in the present war.

In its great task, the United Nations Conference will, I believe, succeed. In that success, victory and peace will indeed crown the sacrifices of all who have fought for freedom.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

DRAFT

D 48731

The Establishment of World Peace

Outline of Speech by
The Prime Minister
Vancouver - May 14 - - 1945

A word of personal explanation

Appear before audience in two roles:

1) As Prime Minister of a country still at war

2) As leader of a political party in a general election campaign;

While campaign is on, it is impossible to separate those two roles; but as far as possible will try to speak today as Prime Minister;

Have been absent from Canada nearly four weeks. During that time, the Victory in Europe for which we have striven so hard and waited so long has come.

Have been labouring at San Francisco with representatives of nearly fifty other nations to draft a charter to secure the peace our fighting men are winning in battles on land, at sea and in the skies around the world.

Feel, therefore, that my first duty on returning to Canada is to address all the people, without distinction of party.

D 48732

Congratulations on Success of Victory Loan

My first word on my return is one of congratulation to all the people of Canada and especially to the people of British Columbia and the citizens of Vancouver upon the magnificent response to the Eighth Victory Loan.

Continued support of loan in the face of great success in war shows clearly that our people are united in their determination not merely to defeat the enemy but to go on until peace itself has been secured

Rejoicing in Victory in Europe

Already from San Francisco have addressed a word of thanksgiving to all our people on the Victory over Nazi Germany;

Do not need to remind people of this province that our country is still at war;

All Canada will steadfastly do its just share to win complete victory over all our enemies;

Military Victory is not enough; our people are resolved to reap the fruits of Victory in enduring peace.

D 48733

Subject of address: The Establishment of World Peace

That is why I have chosen to speak today on the subject: The establishment of world peace;

An aspiration which is above party and is, happily, shared by all political parties in Canada;

Not a report on the San Francisco Conference. That Conference is still going on; the experts are at work in the hard task of drafting a charter on which all nations can agree and, what is equally important, on the meaning of which all nations can agree.

No time for "revelations" or "inside stories" -- will leave all that to the press of the world. Conference very well reported.

My purpose is rather to give you my views as to the principles upon which lasting peace can alone be established, and my opinion as to the most effective contribution Canada can make to that end.

D 48734

Fundamental Requirements for World Peace

1) The first of all requirements, if world peace is to be established, is unity of purpose on the part of the greatest powers

2) The second is an overwhelming preponderance of power on the side of peace

3) The third is a growing practical recognition of the inter-dependence of all nations: we are members one of another; and the development of co-operation based on the principle of mutual aid.

Unity of Purpose among the Greatest Powers

The secret of success in the war against Nazi Germany;
The one hope of a peaceful world in the future, since without that unity, differences, if pushed to extremes, could only be settled by war;
No system of security can prevent a great power from committing an act of aggression and starting war if that power is determined to do so;

But the longer the habit of working together, of consulting and adjusting differences is kept up, the greater the hope that all differences will be settled by peaceful means.

D 48735

Preponderance of Power on the Side of Peace

Peace will not be broken so long as the greatest powers are agreed to act together to punish a peace-breaker;

But power which can be mobilized to keep the peace must be overwhelming, if there is to be genuine security;

No security machinery, short of war itself, will be adequate to cope with a great power determined on aggression

But real danger to peace can come as well from lesser war started by lesser powers;

Tendency of all modern wars to spread, and importance of preventing their outbreak by:

(a) fear of coercion

(b) positive machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes

Co-operation based on Mutual Aid

A. Settlement of differences among nations:

1) Co-operation in the acceptance of common standards of international justice and international law

D 48736

A. 2) Readiness to accept adjudication by a world court

3) Acceptance of the machinery of conciliation in non-legal disputes

B. Positive action for mutual advantage

1) Removing the barriers to the free exchange of goods and ideas

2) Increasing international prosperity and the standard of living of all countries by the development of backward areas

3) Improvement of standards of labour, health and enlightenment through international action

4) Practical acceptance of the principle that prosperity is indivisible and that enduring peace depends upon durable prosperity

Not enough to seek to prevent war, we must actively work to create peace through the promotion of human well-being and human happiness.

National goals must become international goals

A century ago, the governments of most nations were mainly police organizations concerned to prevent crime but not to promote good.

D 48737

Today the governments of all civilized nations are far more concerned with the promotion of welfare than the prevention of crime.

In the community of nations, we are concerned today, in the shadow of the greatest war in history, with security in its negative or police aspect of preventing war.

But we must get the larger vision of a community of nations in which the preventing of war recedes into the background before positive co-operation among nations in the economic, monetary, social, agricultural, labour, health, educational, cultural and a host of other fields.

We cannot stop with an international association of national police forces; we must create a genuine international society for the improvement of the lot of all mankind.

Canada's contribution to world peace

Now come to most important aspect of subject:

What can our own country do to further world peace.

D 48738

Unique advantages:

1) A British country

2) An American country

3) A country formed from a unity of two races and two cultures - close and historic link with France

4) A great continental country with similar geography, climate and physical problems to the Soviet Union - a basis for understanding

5) Looking out on the Pacific -- the sea of the future -- basis of community with China

No other country has same advantages in understanding and mediating among all five of the greatest United Nations

Security:

Parliament has already indicated an overwhelming support for Canadian participation in world security organization -- supported by all parties and vast majority of our people.

Military and industrial strength of Canada in two great wars demonstrated to be a large factor: at certain stages in this war may well have been decisive.

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Our country, on its own account, therefore, has real weight to throw into the scale on the side of peace

Canada is working for an organization which, over the years, will retain the support of the public opinion of our country. Our people will be prepared to make real sacrifices to keep the peace, because peace is so greatly in Canada's interest

Trade:

Trade is the life-blood of Canada's economy; Trade is likewise the life-blood of the world's prosperity;

No country has more to gain by clearing the channels of trade; almost all political parties, whatever their past records, pay at least lip service to the ideal of freer trade;

Not enough merely to remove barriers, though that is very important;

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Positive steps to maintain monetary stability, to improve international credit facilities, to restore stricken countries, to develop backward areas, all required to keep up the level of our own foreign trade and to defend our own standard of living.

International Co-operation

Canadian participation in revival or development of the machinery of international co-operation has grown by leaps and bounds in recent years.

Canadians prominent in:

International Labour Organization

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

United Nations Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods

United Nations Conference on International Organization

- - - - - - - - - -

Our representatives have uniformly sought, not special prestige or favour for Canada, but the success of the organization itself. They acted on the belief that the more effectively a world community of nations was developed, the better it would be for Canada.

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A Personal Word

I have sought to give you my vision of contribution Canada can make to the establishment of world peace;

Throughout my public life have sought always to work for peace;

Curious irony of fate which made me the leader of our country through these long dark years of war;

But in the darkest hours of the war and throughout its course, have sought to give meaning and purpose to the struggle by stressing the ultimate goal: a just and lasting peace;

With deep pride, accepted honour of leading Canadian delegation at San Francisco;

No task could have been more congenial - in due course the people will say whether they want me to complete that task;

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With their verdict, whatever it is,
I shall be content;

The people of Canada have honoured me for
many years with the highest opportunity
for public service in our country;

Have sought throughout to serve not Canada
alone, but all humanity, because I believe
that in the service of Humanity is the
highest service of one's country.

Whatever the future may hold for me, I shall
be content if my remarks today have given
you a clearer vision of how Canada can
help to establish world peace, and, in so
doing, serve the highest interests of our
own no less than of other nations.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

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NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE DELIVERY -- PLEASE MONITOR FOR CORRECTIONS

Nationwide Broadcast by the

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister of Canada

Vancouver - May 16, 1945.

As I now speak to my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, my thoughts go back to the morning of September 10, 1939. On that day a proclamation was issued by His Majesty the King declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and Germany. For months, indeed for years, prior to that day, the nations of the world had watched with increasing anxiety the outcome of efforts to preserve the world's peace. In those days, it was not easy to persuade the citizens of Canada, or their representatives in Parliament, that all Europe might again be aflame with war. Nor was it easy to lead them to see that war, if it came, would threaten our freedom, and might even come to threaten the freedom of the world.

In those years, it was my responsibility, along with the colleagues who were with me in the Cabinet at that time, to decide on Canada's policy with respect to our country's participation in war. No greater responsibility can be placed upon the shoulders of any man, or any group of men, than to have to decide upon the course to be taken by their country in the event of war. A responsibility equally great, but carrying an even heavier burden, is that of leading one's country into war and continuing that leadership throughout the entire period of war. That double responsibility, shared with earnest and devoted colleagues, has been mine. The responsibility of leadership for nearly six years of war was preceded by years of responsibility for leading our country through a dark period of growing international tension and external danger. Going back only to the days of Munich, it is a responsibility which I have borne, without a day's freedom from anxiety, for over seven years.

I mention this, at the outset of my remarks, for three reasons. The first is that it helps to explain why, over so long a period of time, it has not been possible for me, to visit, as often as I should have liked, all parts of Canada, as I found so much pleasure in doing, in earlier years in office. I ~~have~~ felt it to be my duty to be on the bridge as much as possible ~~while~~ rough weather threatened, and, particularly, ~~when the ship of State was~~ in the midst of the storm. There I have ~~been,~~ almost continuously, save for visits to Britain and the United States, visits intimately connected with the prosecution of the war, and preparations for the coming of peace.

/ of the ship of State

when

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Another reason I speak of this unbroken stretch of public duty is what those years have afforded me of opportunity of coming to know, more intimately, I believe, than any other man in Canada, the inside of the whole war situation, and the problems to which the war has given rise. Because of the position I have occupied, I have become intimately acquainted with most of the leading personalities in the Allied countries whose duties have placed them in positions

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of responsibility and power. That has been a valuable experience. Experience has a special value when it comes to the direction of the affairs of the country at a time of war. It is a national asset. Experience will be more necessary than ever in the solution of the problems which will arise in the post-war era.

The third reason is perhaps the most important of all. It is that in appealing to you for a renewed expression of your confidence, I am able to do so in terms, not of promise, but of performance.

During the past ten days, we have all been rejoicing that the war in Europe has been brought to a victorious close. As citizens of Canada, we have held our heads proudly erect at the part which the armed forces of Canada abroad, and the people of Canada at home, have taken in the overthrow of Nazi tyranny which aimed at the domination of the world. We have been justly proud of the part taken by Canada in the liberation of nation after nation in Europe from the yoke of the oppressor. We may be proud, as well, of the manner in which from the beginning of the war to this hour, the government and people of Canada have co-operated with the governments and peoples of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and with all our Allies of the United Nations. That co-operation has been without unpleasant incident, or friction of any kind.

This is the stage at which Canada has arrived at the end of the war in Europe, under the government which has been in office throughout the entire war, and the years immediately preceding. If anything could do so, that surely speaks of the measure in which the present government has discharged the trust which you, the people of Canada, reposed in it at the time of the last general election. It is now apparent that when, in 1940, you renewed your confidence in our management of the nation's affairs, it was for years which have proven to be the most difficult, the most terrible, and the most momentous in the history of the world.

I have said that this is the stage at which Canada has now arrived. I have used the word "stage" advisedly. For while the war in Europe is over, the war itself is not yet at an end. The fact that in my opening address of the present political campaign, I am speaking to you from the shores of the Pacific Ocean is not without symbolic significance. From now on, till militarist Japan shares the fate of Nazi Germany, Canada's war effort will be directed with unremitting energy, across that Ocean to where the final stage of the great world conflict is now being fought.

And that brings me at once to the decision which you~~, the people of Canada,~~ have now to make. ~~It is a decision to be made by you, the people of Canada.~~ It is not a decision to be made by the government or by Parliament. It is for you the people of Canada to decide, in the light of the manner in which the present administration has discharged the trust you placed in its hands whether you wish to have the affairs of our country in its national and international relations - your affairs - carried on by the tried and trusted administration which you know, or whether you wish from now on to have the administration of your affairs, turned over to unknown and untried hands. It is for you to decide whether you wish this change from the known to the unknown to take place before the present world war is at its end. It is for you to decide whether you wish a change to be made before the conferences which are to ~~determine~~ settle the terms of peace have been held. It is yours to decide whether

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you wish another government to take over before the mighty instrument ~~is brought into being~~ is brought into being which is now being forged at San Francisco for the maintenance of world security and peace, ~~once the war in Asia as well as the war in Europe has been brought to a triumphant close.~~ Let me repeat. The decision is yours. You, it is who are being asked to decide on the present and future of our country at this time of transition from war to peace.

This is a mighty decision for you to be called upon to make. There is not one of you whose future interests will not be affected by it. In reaching a decision, it would be well for you to remember the problems which Canada is facing at the moment, and which will have to be faced during the next few years. In many respects these problems will be more baffling and difficult of solution than thus far has been the problem of the winning of the war.

Just here let me say, it is because the fate of our country is so completely bound up with the solution of these baffling problems, that I resisted so strongly every suggestion to extend the life of Parliament. I was determined that the people should not be denied their constitutional right of electing a new Parliament which would be responsible for dealing with these new problems. For the same reasons, I was determined, if at all possible, not to have the elections brought on while our men were fighting at the front. Above all else, I have sought to see that the men who were fighting our battles onland, at sea and in the air should be afforded the best possible opportunity to weigh the issues in the election, and calmly, wisely and dispassionately choose those to whose care, their future and the future of our country would be so largely entrusted.

In a nationwide broadcast on March 2nd, I said:

> "It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco Conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.
>
> If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs."

I think I may claim some credit for having held firmly to a position which has made this possible.

Let me draw to your attention a very significant fact. You cannot separate the future from the past. In looking to the solution of the new problems with which we are faced, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past. Over the years of war, associations -- intimate and far-reaching associations -- have been forced not only between nations, but between the men who have been directing the nations. We have been working together, meeting most critical situations as they have arisen, month by month, day by day - yes, in many cases, hour by hour. The men who have been directing the governments of the Allied nations have come to know each other, to share each other's confidences and to trust one another. In our relations with our closest Allies, particularly with the United Kingdom and the United States, this has been specially true of the men who have

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been administering Canada's affairs throughout the war. At this of all times, when Canada's future so largely depends on our relations with other countries, are you going to sever ~~these~~ relationships between these governments and between the past and the future? Are you going to substitute for the present administration whose members and policies you know, an entirely new administration, whose members are unknown, and whose policies are untried?

Here let me ask and answer two important questions. The first question is: What was the mandate given by you to the present government when it was returned to power in the general election of 1940? There can be no doubt as to what that mandate was. It was a mandate to carry on Canada's war effort till victory was achieved over Nazi Germany. It was a mandate to share in the war effort of the Allied powers to the utmost of our strength. In so many words, it was to oppose total war by total effort. Above all, it was to make Canada's war effort, in its organization, its scope and its effectiveness, worthy of Canada and of the Canadian people.

The second question is: How has that mandate been carried out? Were I to answer that question in my own words, you might say that I was making far too much of Canada's war effort; claiming far too much for the Canadian people; and, above all, far too much for the government. For this reason, instead of using words of my own, I shall use those of one who speaks with a knowledge and an authority which belong to no other living man. I mean, of course, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, the unchallenged leader in the world's fight for freedom.

You have already seen the message I received from Mr. Churchill on V-E Day. It was a message intended for the people of Canada; a message of thanks to the people of Canada on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom, sent at the moment of the world's deliverance from the scourge of Nazi Germany. That message contains my answer to the question: How has the present government fulfilled the trust reposed in it by you, the people of Canada, in the general election of 1940? How have we carried out the mandate you gave us at that time?

Before I read Mr. Churchill's message, let me make one thing perfectly clear. I have never sought to claim for the government what belongs to the people themselves. I have never claimed that Canada's war effort was the effort of the government and not the effort of the Canadian people. I know, of course, full well, who would have been blamed had Canada's war effort been inadequate; had it been a failure, instead of being the magnificent success it has been. All that I have claimed, and all that I claim now, is that the direction, the planning and the organization of Canada's war effort was the responsibility and the work of the present government. Canada's war effort was not unplanned and not unorganized. Here is my answer as to how we have discharged that great responsibility, given to you, not in my words, but in the words used by Mr. Churchill on V-E Day.

"On this historic day when the forces of tyranny in Europe have met their final doom, I send on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom to the Government and people of Canada our heartfelt congratulations on Canada's magnificent contribution to our common victory. For nearly six long years we have marched together in a common crusade against an enemy who twice in our generation has sought to dominate and enslave the free nations of the world.

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Canada's war effort was not unplanned and not unorganized. All that I have claimed, and all that I claim now, is that the direction, the planning and the organization of Canada's war effort was the responsibility and the work of the present government. As to how we have discharged that great responsibility, here is my answer, given to you, not in my words /used by Mr. Churchill on V-E Day.
but in the words

"On this historic day when the forces of tyranny in Europe have met their final doom, I send on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom to the Government and people of Canada our heartfelt congratulations on Canada's magnificent contribution to our common victory. For nearly six long years we have marched together in a common crusade against an enemy who twice in our generation has sought to dominate and enslave the free nations of the world.

Canada may well be proud of the glorious deeds of her sons in arms. On land, on the sea and in the air she has played a nation's part. Her valiant army was the sure shield of this country during its darkest days and has now contributed powerfully to the liberation of Western Europe. At sea, in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in the air, over Europe, the Canadians have ever been to the fore. The immense achievement of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan under Canadian administration has provided the solid foundation for air supremacy without which victory could not have been won. We remember, too, the aid so generously accorded in the sphere of finance, in the production of munitions of every kind and of the naval and merchant vessels urgently needed to meet the peril of U-boat warfare and in the supply of the foodstuffs on which the life of this country has depended.

In the comradeship which flows from the sharing of common ideals we have overcome the perils of the dark days which threatened our existence and emerged into the sunshine of the glorious victory that has crowned the Allied arms. In this spirit of fellowship we now face the final struggle with our remaining foe and look forward at no distant time to building a new era of security and peace."

I intend to reserve for subsequent addresses what I have to say on the policies and progress of the government for the years ahead. Happily they are already well known.

No greater mistake could be made than to decide the elections on any single issue. The new Parliament will have many problems to face. Among the number will be that of continuing Canada's war effort against Japan. Until Japanese militarism has been defeated and destroyed, this will remain our first objective. The government's policy has already been announced in general terms. More specific announcements will be made in the next few days.

It will be well to remember that the prosecution of the war against Japan will be only one of the pressing problems which have immediately to be faced. Any attempt to make an issue of the war effort against Japan, or any other single question would but serve to blind the country to the real issues which have to be faced in the post-war era.

A main task of the Canadian government from now on will be to maintain full employment and to provide social security for the people of our country.

I am happy to be able to say that the present government did not leave these problems to be solved after the end of the war. We made our plans while the war itself was on, and most of these plans have been translated into action. The necessary laws are on the statute books; the necessary departments of government have been established; and our policies are in actual operation. You do not need to judge the present government on its promises. You can judge us by what we have already accomplished.

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Canada may well be proud of the glorious deeds of her sons in arms. On land, on the sea and in the air she has played a nation's part. Her valiant army was the sure shield of this country during its darkest days and has now contributed powerfully to the liberation of Western Europe. At sea, in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in the air, over Europe, the Canadians have ever been to the fore. The immense achievement of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan under Canadian administration has provided the solid foundation for air supremacy without which victory could not have been won. We remember, too, the aid so generously accorded in the sphere of finance, in the production of munitions of every kind and of the naval and merchant vessels urgently needed to meet the peril of U-boat warfare and in the supply of the foodstuffs on which the life of this country has depended.

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You are being appealed to, to change the leader of the government. You are being asked to replace by others, the present Ministers of the Crown. There is a question or two which you are entitled to ask, and which, in your own interests, you ought to ask of each of the parties that is making these requests of you. First of all, you might ask: Who is its leader? What experience has he had in national and international affairs? To what extent has he participated in the proceedings of the Canadian Parliament? You might also ask: Who would be the Ministers in a Cabinet to be formed by each of the parties seeking office? It is very important you should know this, in advance of the day of polling. It is the only way in which you can be at all sure of how your affairs are likely to be managed during the next few years. Once you know who are to be the Members of the proposed new Cabinet, you will be able to see how far the general interest, as contrasted with special interests, is likely to be served should any one of these parties come into office.

You know who the members of the present Cabinet are. You know what experience and training they have had in public and parliamentary affairs. If a change is to be made, at this time, you are at least entitled to know who are to be the members of any new administration.

It has often been said that Canada is a difficult country to govern. If any of you had my job even for twenty-four hours, I think you would begin to see how difficult the problems of government in Canada are. If you could take my place for a week or a month, I am sure you would have no doubt ~~of this~~ left in your mind.

A leader's strength is bound up with the strength and representative character of his following. In leading the government of Canada, I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the present time, the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true. If you stop to examine the situation, you will, I believe, soon discover that the Liberal party is, in the present election, the only party with any likelihood of having members elected in every province of Canada. It is the only

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party with any chance of winning an over-all majority. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the future of Canada than that no party should have a representative working majority in the new House of Commons. In these perilous times, we must surely seek to avoid a condition such as that which prevailed in far too many of the countries of Europe where the business of government ~~was~~ had become a matter of rivalry and bargaining between minority groups. It was this that contributed as much as anything to the collapse of France

Of all problems a government is called upon to face in Canada, the greatest and the gravest is the preservation of national unity. In the years that I have been in public life in Canada, there is no objective which I have kept so constantly before me. I have made of it the guiding star of the several administrations of which I have been the head. Without national unity, a country can have no influence in the world; without national unity, a country cannot successfully defend itself; without national unity, a country cannot hope to promote the prosperity and well-being of its people. National unity, in other words, is the foundation of the government of a nation.

Our opponents would have you believe that we have not always succeeded in preserving national unity. That may be so up to a point. But I should like to ask what administration, confronted with the problems with which we have been faced in this war, would have been as successful as we have been in keeping Canada united. I do not deny that, at times, there have been evidences of division between race and race and between creed and creed. It is true that class interests, geographical divisions and economic cleavages have also asserted themselves. If these divisions have existed to any appreciable degree, where does the fault lie for creating them? Surely the blame is not with those who, by word and deed, in season and out of season, year after year, have striven to reconcile differences, and to stress the great truth that what all Canadians have in common, is vastly more important than the things which divide us.

For whatever lack of national unity there may be in Canada - and the united response of our people to the recent Victory Loan is hardly the action of a divided country; for whatever appearances of division there may be, the blame surely rests with the small but powerful minority of those who, for their own ends, continually seek to arouse and play upon prejudices and to foment strife and bitterness between races and regions, classes and creeds. All such, I personally consider not only false to the highest interests of their own country, but as enemies of all countries.

This terrible war, in which humanity has been crucified, owed its origin to racial, religious and class hatreds engendered against men and women of other races, of other creeds and of other lands. In Canada, our people are of many races, of many creeds, with origins in many lands. In a world which unhappily will long remain a seething cauldron of enmity and bitterness, any man who lends his voice or his pen to the stirring up of racial, religious or sectional strife should be regarded as a common enemy of mankind.

I have no apology to make for continuing to advocate national unity as the first of all objectives. It is because the Liberal party embraces within its ranks such substantial numbers from every section, every race, every creed and every social class, that, at this hour, it is, I believe, in a better position to serve the interests of Canada as a whole than any other political party in our country.

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Contrast this situation as we have it at present in Canada

~~Apart from this,~~ I ask you to look over the Ministry as it is constituted today at Ottawa. It represents as fortunate a combination of mature experience and youthful vision as there has ever been in a Canadian Cabinet. For about two-thirds of its members, the Ministry is composed of men who have been tried in the fires of wartime administration; men who have helped to organize and direct Canada's magnificent contribution to victory over Nazi Germany. The other third of the members of the Cabinet are younger men, bringing a fresh outlook and new energy to the tasks ahead. But they are not untried, or without experience. As Parliamentary Assistants to the Ministers or in other ways, most of them have served a valuable apprenticeship in the work of government. ~~They are trained for the duties they are now performing as servants of the people of Canada.~~

My leadership is, of course, being called into question by some who desire to see the government of our country in their own hands. This is no new experience for me. It has happened in every election since I was chosen leader of my party - twenty-six years ago. In ~~all that period,~~ the Canadian people, by their votes, have only once expressed a preference for a government of another party under another leader. Five years after that vote, ~~they~~ returned to office the party I continued to lead with ~~the greatest~~ majority ~~any party, up to that time, had received in Canada.~~ For eighteen years, I have had the high honour of serving my country as its Prime Minister. That is a long time. What more, could I personally wish for myself. I have now ~~attained~~ my seventieth year. So far as public life is concerned, I have but one remaining ~~ambition.~~ That is to serve the people of Canada as long as they continue to honour me with their confidence, and I remain equal to the task. If I did not believe that, out of my long experience, I have gained a certain knowledge and understanding of national and international problems which can be useful to my country at this very critical period in world affairs, I should not be appealing for your support today. My life's interests, I need not tell you, have been with the cause of peace - and the promotion of human welfare and social reform. It is because I see so close at hand, unparalleled opportunities to further those great ends that, ~~as head~~ of a government pledged in the international arena ~~arena~~ to the promotion of world security and world prosperity, and ~~in our Canada~~ to policies of full employment and social security, I am seeking once more an expression of the confidence of the people of Canada.

I should like to serve in another Parliament. It is as the leader

EDMONTON JOURNAL, 17 MAY 1945

King Asks Return to Power On Record of 'Performance'

VANCOUVER. — Prime Minister King Wednesday night appealed for the return of the Liberal administration to office on the basis of its record of "performance" and on the statement no other party could win an over-all majority in the coming election nor provide a government representative of every province of Canada.

He opened his campaign with a 30-minute speech before a crowd which overflowed the ballroom of Vancouver's largest hotel and was broadcast over the national network of the C.B.C.

It was his first public utterance on Canadian soil since the surrender of Nazi Germany and de-

Text of King's Speech on Page 18.

livered at the point from which Canadian forces will move out to fight the other enemy across the Pacific.

"From now on," said Mr. King, "until militarist Japan shares the fate of Nazi Germany, Canada's war effort will be directed with unremitting energy, across the ocean to where the final stage of the great world conflict is now being fought."

As evidence of the government's performance in the record of its last five years the prime minister read British Prime Minister Churchill's message to himself on the occasion of the surrender of Germany. He preferred, he said, to let Mr. Churchill's words speak for themselves rather than attempt to state the record.

In reading the Churchill message of "heartfelt congratulations on Canada's magnificent contribution to our common victory," Mr. King said he did not claim the war effort was only the effort of the government and not of the people. But it

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Reps Government

The Times Says--

Short Diet for Germans
Nazis Still in Trap
Tons and Tons of Bombs

LONDON. — A stern military regime for Germany is planned by the Allied powers, says the Times' Paris correspondent. Zones of Allied occupation will shortly be defined. Russians will have an area well to the westward of the Elbe. As for the French, their zone will not necessarily be that part of Germany their armies now hold. As Berlin has virtually ceased to exist as a city, another centre may have to be selected as headquarters for the Allied control commission. Since there will be great shortage of foodstuffs the German people will be placed on the same minimum diet they allowed in the countries their armies occupied. The Times' diplomatic correspondent says the great problem for the Allies now is the complete suppression of the German general staff which survived the last war and will do its best to survive this

* * *

Junction of British and Russian forces in Austria has brought about

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Vote to Extend U.S. Trade Pacts

By Carlyle Allison
(Special to The Journal)

WASHINGTON.—A battle that was important to the Truman ad-

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Return of Party Is Asked by King

(Continued from Page 1)

was the government which managed and directed the war effort and would have been blamed had it not been a success.

In essence, Mr. King's speech was a question directed to the electors as to whether they wished to change a government of performance, of experienced men for one of untried men who had no record of performance. He said he intended to reserve for later speeches a discussion of the government's policies and program for the future.

Questioned Change

After recalling that during his long years of office, and particularly during the war, he had come to know the leaders of the other Allied nations intimately he asked if a change at this stage was advisable.

"It is for you to decide whether you wish this change from the known to the unknown to take place before the present world war is at an end," he said.

"It is for you to decide whether you wish a change to be made before the conferences which are to settle the terms of peace have been held.

"It is yours to decide whether you wish another government to take over before there is brought into being the mighty instrument which now is being forged at San Francisco for the maintenance of world peace and security."

Mr. King warned it would be a mistake to decide the election on any single issue. The new parliament would have many problems including the Japanese war and the main task of the government from now on would be to maintain full employment and provide social security. To make the war against Japan or any other question a single issue would blind the country to the real issues of the post-war era.

More Announcements

"Until Japanese militarism has been defeated and destroyed this will remain our first objective," he declared. "The government's policy has already been announced in general terms. More specific announcements will be made in the next few days."

The people were entitled to ask who would be ministers if another party were returned to office, what their experience was, to look at the leaders of opposing parties, their experience and the extent to which they had participated in the proceedings of parliament.

"A leader's strength is bound up with the strength and representative character of his following," said Mr. King. "In leading the government of Canada I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"At the present time the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true. If you stop to examine the situation, you will,. I believe, soon discover that the Liberal party, in the present election, is the only party with any likelihood of having members elected in every province of Canada.. It is the only party with any chance of winning an over-all majority."

Issues Warning

Canadians should avoid, in times such as the present, a condition in which there was no working majority. Such conditions had prevailed in European counties before the war and made government business a matter of bargaining between minority parties. That condition contributed to the fall of France.

Two-thirds of the present ministers were men who had been tried in wartime administration. The other third were younger men with a fresh outlook and a new energy but experienced in service as parliamentary secretaries, and in other ways.

Mr. King ended his broadcast speech by saying he had passed 70 and had been prime minister for 18 years. His one remaining wish was to serve Canada as long as the people continued to honor him and he was able. He would not have appealed for another term had he not believed that he had gained a certain understanding of national and international problems which could be useful. Immediately ahead he saw great opportunities of advancing the main interests of his life, peace, human welfare and social reform.

1 of/de

Return of Party Is Asked by King

(Continued from Page 1)

was the government which managed and directed the war effort and would have been blamed had it not been a success.

In essence, Mr. King's speech was a question directed to the electors as to whether they wished to change a government of performance, of experienced men for one of untried men who had no record of performance. He said he intended to reserve for later speeches a discussion of the government's policies and program for the future.

Questioned Change

After recalling that during his long years of office, and particularly during the war, he had come to know the leaders of the other Allied nations intimately he asked if a change at this stage was advisable.

"It is for you to decide whether you wish this change from the known to the unknown to take place before the present world war is at an end," he said.

"It is for you to decide whether you wish a change to be made before the conferences which are to settle the terms of peace have been held.

"It is yours to decide whether you wish another government to take over before there is brought into being the mighty instrument which now is being forged at San Francisco for the maintenance of world peace and security."

Mr. King warned it would be a mistake to decide the election on any single issue. The new parliament would have many problems including the Japanese war and the main task of the government from now on would be to maintain full employment and provide social security. To make the war against Japan or any other question a single issue would blind the country to the real issues of the post-war era.

More Announcements

"Until Japanese militarism has been defeated and destroyed this will remain our first objective," he declared. "The government's policy has already been announced in general terms. More specific announcements will be made in the next few days."

The people were entitled to ask who would be ministers if another party were returned to office, what their experience was, to look at the leaders of opposing parties, their experience and the extent to which they had participated in the proceedings of parliament.

"A leader's strength is bound up with the strength and representative character of his following," said Mr. King. "In leading the government of Canada I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"At the present time the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true. If you stop to examine the situation, you will,, I believe, soon discover that the Liberal party, in the present election, is the only party with any likelihood of having members elected in every province of Canada.. It is the only party with any chance of winning an over-all majority."

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

2 of/de 2

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Full Text Prime Minister King's Vancouver Speech

SMITTY
a comic strip for young and old alike, appears daily on The Bulletin's comic page. Follow this "top flight" feature regularly in Alberta's First Newspaper,
The Edmonton Bulletin

Edmonton Bulletin
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Weather
Today and Friday—Fair and moderately warm Friday with fresh winds.
Sun rises Friday 5:30. Sets 9:32. Light up vehicles by 9:52; light up aircraft by 22:02 hours.
Edmonton Temperatures—Wednesday, maximum, 63; Thursday, minimum, 44. Estimated high today, 65; estimated overnight low, 42; estimated high tomorrow, 65.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR ★★ EDMONTON, ALBERTA—THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1945 Telephone 26121 PRICE 5 CENTS BY CARRIER 25 Cents A Week

Allies to Speed War Crime Trials

Opening Campaign Speech

Premier King Quotes Churchill In Supporting War Achievements Of Dominion Under His Govt.

VANCOUVER, May 17.—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his opening address in the Dominion election campaign here last night, appealed for return of his administration on the basis of past performance.

No other party, he said, could win an over-all majority in the next parliament, nor could any other party provide a government which would be representative of all parts of Canada.

Text of Mr. King's half-hour address is below:

As I now speak to my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, my thoughts go back to the morning of September 10, 1939. On that day a proclamation was issued by His Majesty the King declaring that a state of war existed between Canada and Germany. For months, indeed for years, prior to that day, the nations of the world had watched with increasing anxiety the outcome of efforts to preserve the world's peace. In those days, it was not easy to persuade the citizens of Canada, or their representatives in parliament, that all Europe might again be aflame with war. Nor was it easy to lead them to see that war, if it came, would threaten our freedom, and might even come to threaten the freedom of the world.

GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

In those years, it was my responsibility, along with the colleagues who were with me in the cabinet at that time, to decide on Canada's policy with respect to our country's participation in war. No greater responsibility can be placed upon the shoulders of any man, or any group of men, than to have to decide upon the course to be taken by their country in the event of war.

Continued on Page 8, Col. 1

Howe Announces:

Tire Rationing Will Be Eased Effective June 1

OTTAWA, May 17.—(CP)—Munitions Minister Howe announced the removal of rationing on automobile inner tubes, effective June 1, and a revision of tire rationing regulations bringing an estimated additional 35,000 vehicle owners into the category eligible for new tires.

The minister's announcement said that the output of civilian passenger tires will have to be increased this year to meet essential demands. When manufacturing facilities can be switched from military to civilian production a further increase may be expected.

Removal of rationing on inner tubes was possible because manufacturing capacity was greater than tire manufacturing capacity and because no natural rubber was required for inner tubes.

TWO PRIORITY CLASSES

Under the new order there are two classes of priority tire purchasers. Those in class "A" may, upon proof of necessity and the obtaining of a permit, buy new tires. Those in class "B" are eligible to buy retreaded or used tires.

Types of vehicles now in "A" priority—vehicles used 75 per cent or more in mileage:

To transport five or more employees to or from work in a war plant or essential industry in cases where other transportation facilities are not available; vehicles registered under the wartime industrial transit plan;

To transport workers engaged in munitions, the construction or maintenance of airports, ships, public highways or other facilities of the armed forces; carrying mail; official duties of members of the federal parliament and provincial

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Eden Is Confident Parley at 'Frisco Will Be Success

LONDON, May 17.—(CP)—Foreign Secretary Eden told the House of Commons today that the San Francisco world security conference was proceeding "better in many respects than we anticipated."

"I feel confident the remaining difficulties will be overcome and the charter agreed upon will be a better document than that of Dumbarton Oaks," he said.

Mr. Eden told the House, however, that "with regard to the general international situation

By Tory Chief

Manpower Policy For Pacific War Said Disgraceful

OSHAWA, Ont., May 17.—(CP)—The federal government policy with respect to the Pacific war is but another step in "its disgraceful record of indirect conscription throughout this conflict," John Bracken, national leader of the Progressive Conservative party said yesterday.

"Its policy is subject to the severest censure in two respects—it has drained many homes of every son, and it has left the people of Quebec misunderstood and misrepresented before the world.

Neither of these ill consequences was necessary, neither of them was desirable, neither of them is excusable, and both should have been corrected long ago."

SPEAKS AT RALLY

Mr. Bracken spoke at a political rally in support of Maj. James MacBrien, party candidate for the federal constituency of Ontario.

"The government now has announced that it will expect the war in the Pacific to be fought by those who volunteer," said Mr. Bracken. The government's policy in this respect is but another bid for Quebec support, and in that bid they are perpetuating the same two errors of the past. They are asking your sons to die in double the numbers of others, and they are asking Quebec to continue to be misrepresented before the world.

"They have drained your firesides of your sons and they have deceived Quebec in this war and they plan to do the same thing in their Japanese war policy."

The United States had announced they would not allow men who have fought one war to fight another. The Canadian authorities encouraged those who

Continued on Page 2, Col. 1

Power Will Run On Liberal Ticket

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WHEN VICTORY CAME—On their Bren carrier are written the words: "Germany Kaput . . . Italia Tutto Finito . . . Here We Come Canada". The time is shortly after 0800 hours when the "Cease Fire!" sounded. The jubilant Canadian soldiers are, left to right: Pte. Wilf Mombourquette, 1 Charles St., Halifax, N.S.; Sgt. Ross MacKay, 3421 Durocher St., Montreal, Que.; Pte. Hugh McErlain, 28 Moreland Rd., Toronto, Ont.; Pte. Lawrence Spence, Nelson House, Man.; Pte. Harvey Campbell, Kandahar, Sask.; Pte. "Dusty" Miller, Peace River, Alta., and Pte. Aubrey Bolitho, Victoria, B.C.

Flames Visible 150 Miles Away

Great Area of Industrial Nagoya Laid Waste in New Fire Raid

GUAM, May 17—(BUP)—The Japanese reported today that mine-laying Superfortresses and Iwo-based Mustang fighters attacked Tokyo and inland sea lanes several hours after 500 B-29's touched off huge fires, visible for 150 miles, in industrial Nagoya.

By WILLIAM F. TYREE
Exclusive to The Edmonton Bulletin

GUAM, May 17.—(BUP)—Sixteen more square miles of industrial Nagoya, Japan's third largest city, went up in flames visible 150 miles away today in the second 500-plane Superfortress raid in three days.

The huge American air armada, equalling and perhaps exceeding the record force which hit Nagoya Monday, crashed 575,000 fire bombs weighing 3,500 tons into the southern factory area in 90 minutes before dawn.

Cause Unknown

Fanned by Wind Fire Destroys St. Paul Store

Exclusive to The Edmonton Bulletin

ST. PAUL, May 17.—Fire of undetermined origin, fanned by a prevailing strong gale, at noon thursday had almost destroyed a main street drug store and was threatening other buildings along St. Paul's main thoroughfare.

The fire broke out shortly before noon in a warehouse behind the drug firm. Buildings threatened include a hotel, provincial government treasury branch, pool room, beauty parlor, provincial agricultural office and an auto wreckage plant. The treasury branch was

Minister Reports:

Crop Outlook This Province Rates as "Fair"

Despite a late spring and inclement weather that has hampered seeding operations, the crop outlook for Alberta is considered generally as fair, with the Edmonton district one of the most favored of all districts.

First crop report of the season issued under the direction of Hon. D. B. MacMillan, minister of agriculture, states that wheat is about 40 per cent sown on a general average with 60 per cent sown in the Edmonton district.

MOISTURE FAIR

Von Papen and Goering May Face Court Soon; Study Guilt of Doenitz

BERCHTESGADEN, May 17.—(AP)—An unrelenting search was being pressed today for Heinrich Himmler, Joachim Ribbentrop and the notorious anti-Semite Julius Streicher in the Alpine passes, villages and chalets of Bavaria and Austria.

From CP, AP and BUP Dispatches

LONDON, May 17.—Immediate speeding up of the plans to bring to trial the war criminals now in Allied hands, and to search out and arrest those who have been indicted but have not yet been apprehended is reported here.

Sources close to the Allied War Crimes Commission state that much of the work for bringing those now under arrest to trial in the immediate future has been completed, and teams of ten men each are now at work in Europe considering the evidence against others.

Indictment of Baron Franz von Papen as a German war criminal was reported to be virtually assured.

In the House of Commons Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, fresh from the San Francisco conference, told members that while unable to specify the date for the beginning of the trials of war criminals, the Allies were very busy with arrangements and that there would be no delay. He said he hoped swift justice would be visited upon Reichsmarshal Goering, former leader of the Luftwaffe, and No. 2 Nazi.

Sources close to the Allied War Crimes Commission revealed that it was investigating Von Papen, ace diplomat of Germany in both world wars. These sources said he already had been charged with complicity in systematic terrorism and other crimes.



Von Papen

The commission was disclosed to have indicted Hjalmar Schacht, German financial wizard, and Count Schwerin von Krosick, former Nazi finance minister, now designated as foreign minister by Admiral Karl Doenitz.

Eden told the Commons that the question of Doenitz' guilt in connection with war crimes is under investigation, and that according to newspaper reports he has been arrested. Supreme headquarters announced yesterday that Doenitz was under Allied orders and in effect an Allied prisoner.

Former German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop is missing, Eden said, adding that every effort is being made to arrest him and bring him to justice.

The status of other big names in the actual or potential field of war criminality included:

Heinrich Himmler—According to his wife who was found near Bol-

Routine Flight

Six Fliers Die In Plane Crash Close to Ponoka

CALGARY, May 17.—(CP)—Six airmen from No. 3 SFTS, Calgary, were killed at 3:30 p.m. yesterday when their Anson aircraft crashed near Ponoka. GC. W. R. Irwin, DFC and Bar, MBE, officer commanding No. 3 SFTS, said names of those killed could not be released until confirmation of notification of next-of-kin had been received. This might not be until tonight, he said.

By noon the next-of-kin of casualties in the immediate vicinity of Calgary had been notified, said GC. Irwin. He could not say whether the other men were British or Canadian.

ON ROUTINE FLIGHT

The aircraft was a large type of Anson, he stated, engaged on a routine training flight. Six was not an unusually large number of men for such a plane to be carrying, he said.

The plane crashed on the farm of Willoughby Mullins, 7½ miles north and 1½ miles west of Ponoka. Mr. Mullins was working in his fields at the time and hastened to the scene with Clifford Stretch, a nearby farmer.

Glen Parks, who farms 2½ miles east of the Mullins' farm, was one

Continued on Page 2, Col. 3

Premier Duplessis

1 of/de

tioning on automobile inner tubes, effective June 1, and a revision of tire rationing regulations bringing an estimated additional 35,000 vehicle owners into the category eligible for new tires.

The minister's announcement said that the output of civilian passenger tires will have to be increased this year to meet essential demands. When manufacturing facilities can be switched from military to civilian production a further increase may be expected.

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TWO PRIORITY CLASSES

Under the new order there are two classes of priority tire purchasers. Those in class "A" may, upon proof of necessity and the obtaining of a permit, buy new tires. Those in class "B" are eligible to buy retreaded or used tires.

Types of vehicles now in "A" priority—vehicles used 75 per cent or more in mileage:

To transport five or more employees to or from work in a war plant or essential industry in cases where other transportation facilities are not available; vehicles registered under the wartime industrial transit plan;

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Continued on Page 3, Col. 1

Sentence Charges Draw No Reply

HALIFAX, May 17.—(CP)—Court officials here yesterday had no comment to make on the statement last night by C. M. Fines, Saskatchewan provincial treasurer, that a Regina man had been sentenced to three years in prison for participation in the V-E Day riots "with no proper trial."

Since the start of prosecution following the raids here last week, seven men have been given penitentiary terms for breaking, entering and theft or for smashing plate glass windows.

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"I feel confident the remaining difficulties will be overcome and the charter agreed upon will be a better document than that of Dumbarton Oaks," he said.

Mr. Eden told the House, however, that "with regard to the general international situation there are a niumber of serious and disquieting issues, some of them urgent."

LONDON, May 17.—(CP)—The British government announced today that self-government would be granted to Burma as soon as war conditions permitted the holding of elections. Burma had a large measure of self-government before the war.

but another step in "its disgraceful record of indirect conscription throughout this conflict," John Bracken, national leader of the Progressive Conservative party said yesterday.

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The United States had announced they would not allow men who have fought one war to fight another. The Canadian authorities encouraged those who

Continued on Page 2, Col. 1

Power Will Run On Liberal Ticket

QUEBEC, May 17—(CP)—There are two new official Liberal candidates last night for Quebec district constituencies in the June 11 federal election.

One of them is former air minister C. G. Power, who, in the list of candidates issued by Jules Castonguay, chief electoral officer, had no political designation. The official Liberal list here included Mr. Power as a Liberal although Mr. Power previously had announced he was running as an Independent Liberal. He runs in Quebec South.

Mr. Power confirmed he was an official Liberal candidate in the Dominion election, saying he was "first of all Canadian and after that a Liberal."

The other is Wilfrid Lacroix, a former Liberal who split with the party on the conscription issue and sat in the House of Commons as a member of the Independents Group for Montmorency where he is again a candidate.

Liberal party support of Mr. Lacroix was announced after L. A. Plamondon, secretary of the Quebec district Liberal organization, said that Paul Lesage, Quebec lawyer, who had been Liberal nominee for Montmorency, had withdrawn before nomination day at the request of Senator J. Arthur Lesage, head of the Quebec District Liberal organization.

OTTAWA, May 17—(CP)—Hon. C. G. Power, who quit the cabinet last fall in protest against conscription for overseas service, today said he had not asked to be sponsored by the Liberal organization in Quebec South, where he is a candidate—and denied that he said he was official Liberal candidate.

Quake at 'Frisco

SAN FRANCISCO, May 17. — (AP)—A light earth tremor shook San Francisco at 8:08 a.m. today.

At Berkeley, Prof. Byerly said the University of California seismograph showed a slight quake centering about 60 miles away. The tremor began at 8:06 and lasted for three minutes, he said. There was no damage.

Probe For "Way Out"

Japs Seek Peace Loophole

By JAMES D. WHITE

WASHINGTON, May 17.—(AP)—Japanese diplomats and business men in neutral capitals are stepping up their efforts to find some loophole in the Allied formula of unconditional surrender.

Diplomatic quarters, emphasizing the unofficial nature of these activities, reported today that the number of individual and purely private peace feelers has grown markedly since the fall of Manila and the invasion of Okinawa.

The usual technique is for a Japanese to request a neutral to inquire around among Americans for their "real ideas" on peace terms. There is nothing definite about these inquiries except the suggestion that Japan might consider almost anything except unconditional surrender.

Not a word has been heard through official channels,

It Says Here

by Bob Hope

HOLLYWOOD, May 17.—American soldiers who have married foreign girls now total 65,000, according to latest statistics. Statistics . . . that's an old maid's term for "There's another mob of them that got away!" But you really can't blame the boys . . . one GI was in the African jungle so long, he almost married a cute little Ubangi girl . . . but he was afraid to have a mother-in-law with so much lip. I notice most of the Australian girls brought their boomerangs with them . . . that's a rolling pin that can make a round trip. One of them tossed one into a tavern the other night and the boomerang not only came back . . . it brought her husband with it. And that Corporal who brought home a little Eskimo princess is said to be happy . . . although he was a little surprised their first day back when she threw out the food and set the table in the refrigerator.



BOB HOPE



WHEN VICTORY CAME—On their Bren carrier are written the words: "Germany Kaput . . . Italia Tutto Finito . . . Here We Come Canada". The time is shortly after 0800 hours when the "Cease Fire!" sounded. The jubilant Canadian soldiers are, left to right: Pte. Wilf Mombourquette, 1 Charles St., Halifax, N.S.; Sgt. Ross MacKay, 3421 Durocher St., Montreal, Que.; Pte. Hugh McErlain, 28 Moreland Rd., Toronto, Ont.; Pte. Lawrence Spence, Nelson House, Man.; Pte. Harvey Campbell, Kandahar, Sask.; Pte. "Dusty" Miller, Peace River, Alta., and Pte. Aubrey Bolitho, Victoria, B.C.

Flames Visible 150 Miles Away

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The huge American air armada, equalling and perhaps exceeding the record force which hit Nagoya Monday, crashed 575,000 fire bombs weighing 3,500 tons into the southern factory area in 90 minutes before dawn.

(A Japanese Domei dispatch recorded by the FCC said 40 Iwo-based small Mustang fighters and two B-27 Marauders flew over the Tokyo area for a half hour today and strafed the Fujisawa district, just outside the capital's metropolitan area.)

FOURTH GREAT BLOW

The raid was the fourth large-scale blow in a campaign to wipe Nagoya, the enemy's largest aircraft manufacturing centre, off the

Continued on Page 2, Col. 7

Cause Unknown

Fanned by Wind Fire Destroys St. Paul Store

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ST. PAUL, May 17.—Fire of undetermined origin, fanned by a prevailing strong gale, at noon thursday had almost destroyed a main street drug store and was threatening other buildings along St. Paul's main thoroughfare.

The fire broke out shortly before noon in a warehouse behind the drug firm. Buildings threatened include a hotel, provincial government treasury branch, pool room, beauty parlor, provincial agricultural office and an auto wreckage plant. The treasury branch was occupying temporary quarters since last March, when fire destroyed the original building along with a foundry and government liquor vendors.

Flames were being fought by the St. Paul fire brigade, together with the bulk of the town's citizenry who turned out to assist the firemen. No one has been injured so far.

Arrest Suspect In Bank Robbery

WINDSOR, Ont., May 17.—(CP)—An escort of Ontario Provincial Police left today to bring back Joseph Peltier, 19, arrested in Winnipeg today in connection with an $18,000 armed robbery of a bank at Ayr, Ont., near Galt, May 9 and also wanted for jumping bail here Saturday on a charge of breaking, entering and theft.

V-Bomb Toll

LONDON, May 17.—(CP)—German V-weapons killed 5,000 persons, injured 21,000, and destroyed 10,000 homes in Antwerp during the German campaign to knock out the port city after it had been taken by the 1st Canadian Army, the Brussels radio said yesterday.

Minister Reports:

Crop Outlook This Province Rates as "Fair"

Despite a late spring and inclement weather that has hampered seeding operations, the crop outlook for Alberta is considered generally as fair, with the Edmonton district one of the most favored of all districts.

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MOISTURE FAIR

Soil moisture conditions are fair in the northern and central districts and dry in the south.

Acreage estimates indicate a general decrease in that sown to wheat and an increase in coarse grains.

Live stock prospered during the

Continued on Page 2, Col. 5

Open Investigation Into Nazi Killings

ST. ANNES, Alderney, May 17—An investigation was opened today into reports of mass killing and burial of Russians and Jews on this channel island during the Nazi occupation. Germans will be employed in excavating what witnesses in the investigation point out as mass graves, and also in the excavation of other suspicious looking spots on the island.

Strange Situation of War

400,000 Nazi Troops in Norway Take Orders from 'Few' Britons

From CP, AP and BUP Dispatches

OSLO, May 17.—Refusing to consider the 40,000-strong Norwegian Secret Army of the Home Front as anything but "partisans" because they did not wear uniforms, an estimated German army of 400,000 is today taking orders from a few thousand British troops in one of the strangest situations of the war.

It is all one big technical tangle. The German troops are not considered "prisoners-of-war," but rather members of a "surrendered army," and they are standing on their dignity as such.

Members of the Gestapo in Norway, however, have no such status and are regarded as straight military prisoners.

Meantime in order that the Norwegian authorities can take over, Norway is trying to find uniforms for the Homefronters who at present wear red and white arm bands and carry wicked looking automatic weapons.

The Germans are still in the majority, and the same harsh German military discipline that has ruled in Norway since the occupation still controls the German forces since the capitulation.

However, British military authorities state that the Allies are gradually strengthening their occupation force to protect the population from any possible action by the Nazis.

There has been no unrest among the Germans so far, but it will take months, rather than weeks, to complete shipping them back to their own country owing to shipping problems, and it is feared that a long delay might lead to some unpleasantness. It is to guard against this that the occupation army is to be reinforced.

Norwegian civilians do not have to worry about the Germans causing a food shortage, as both the Nazis and the Allied occupation troops are being fed from the large German food stocks which were taken over after the surrender.

For the most part Oslo is calm, but there are occasional affrays between Quislings and loyalists, and between collaborators and patriots.

Last night a gang of loyalists seized a number of women who had fraternized with German troops during the occupation and gave them a public hair-cut. Later, in retaliation, two cars carrying Quislings roared through a dark street and fired a few shots at the homefronters. Only one man was reported wounded.

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Former German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop is missing, Eden said, adding that every effort is being made to arrest him and bring him to justice.

The status of other big names in the actual or potential field of war criminality included:

Heinrich Himmler—According to his wife who was found near Bolzano, Italy, he was believed killed in Berlin with Adolf Hitler. This view lacked convincing support.

Frau Himmler and a 15-year-old daughter are to be treated as refugees, not political prisoners. They are being sent to a refugee camp.



Doenitz

Robert Ley — Leader of the Nazi labor front—captured by American airborne troops 40 miles south of Berchtesgaden. One report said he tried to poison himself after his capture.

Marshal Henri Philippe Petain—Tried at preliminary questioning to

Continued on Page 2, Col. 4

Britain and U.S. In Full Accord On Polish Issue

SAN FRANCISCO, May 17. — (AP) — State Secretary Stettinius declared today there is "no question of any differences" between the American and British viewpoint on the formation of a new Polish coalition government. The secretary of state made his statement in response to inquiries prompted by a New York Herald Tribune dispatch from San Francisco. It said the United States' position on the Polish dispute, as defined by President Roosevelt before his death in an exchange of letters with Prime Minister Churchill, differed from that of the British.

Prime Minister Is Due Here Tonight

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, prime minister of Canada, will stop over here until Friday evening.

He will address a dinner meeting at the Macdonald hotel to be held Friday evening. He will leave Edmonton Friday evening for Prince Albert.

Routine Flight

Six Fliers Die In Plane Crash Close to Ponoka

CALGARY, May 17.—(CP)—Six airmen from No. 3 SFTS, Calgary, were killed at 3:30 p.m. yesterday when their Anson aircraft crashed near Ponoka. GC. W. R. Irwin, DFC and Bar, MBE, officer commanding No. 3 SFTS, said names of those killed could not be released until confirmation of notification of next-of-kin had been received. This might not be until tonight, he said.

By noon the next-of-kin of casualties in the immediate vicinity of Calgary had been notified, said GC. Irwin. He could not say whether the other men were British or Canadian.

ON ROUTINE FLIGHT

The aircraft was a large type of Anson, he stated, engaged on a routine training flight. Six was not an unusually large number of men for such a plane to be carrying, he said.

The plane crashed on the farm of Willoughby Mullins, 7½ miles north and 1½ miles west of Ponoka. Mr. Mullins was working in his fields at the time and hastened to the scene with Clifford Stretch, a nearby farmer.

Glen Parks, who farms 2½ miles east of the Mullins' farm, was one

Continued on Page 2, Col. 3

Premier Duplessis Opposed to King, Bracken, Coldwell

QUEBEC, May 17.—(CP)—Premier Duplessis said in the Quebec Legislature yesterday that he was opposed to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party; John Bracken, national leader of the Progressive-Conservative Party, and James Coldwell, national lead of the CCF in the June 11 election.

He made the statement while the assembly was discussing members' motions, which are taken up every Wednesday in the Quebec Legislature.

Mr. Duplessis said he was not interested in Federal politics, but that he was supporting "men who have the courage to stand up." He did not elaborate.

NEWS IN TODAY'S WANT ADS

(See Pages 14 and 15)

CARPENTERS and Builders' business for sale, size of shop 24x60, two stories; equipped with machinery, motor driven. Good location. Present owners retiring. (Bus. Chances).

• • •

470 ACRES, one quarter fenced, 12 acres hay, house, barn, well, garden, creek, two horses, harness, machinery, household goods. $2,500 cash. (Farms for Sale).

• • •

FAIRVIEW, 94 St., 6 room modern house, hardwood floors and gas heated. (Houses for Sale).

• • •

IMMEDIATE possession, good home, 7 room house, fully modern; 3-room suite, private bath upstairs; 4 rooms downstairs; ½ block from street car. Close schools. $5,000 cash. (Houses for Sale).

• • •

SALE Northern Electric frigidaire and washing machine, both electric. (Art. for Sale).

• • •

FOR SERVICE AND RESULTS PHONE 26121.

Deaths Recorded Today

Colbert, Mr. William E.
Hagen, Mrs. Olive Martha.
McMullen, Mrs. Emma Cleghorn.
McFadden, Mr. Samuel John.
Orr, Miss Eileen Louise.
Thompson, Mrs. Margaret.

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At Vancouver

Premier King Gives Opening Address in Vote Campaign

Continued from Page One

A responsibility equally great, but carrying an even heavier burden, is that of leading one's country into war and continuing that leadership throughout the entire period of war.

That double responsibility, shared with earnest and devoted colleagues, has been mine. The responsibility of leadership for nearly six years of war was preceded by years of responsibility for leading our country through a dark period of growing international tension and external danger. Going back only to the days of Munich, it is a responsibility which I have borne, without a day's freedom from anxiety, for over seven years.

I mention this, at the outset of my remarks, for three reasons. The first is that it helps to explain why, over so long a period of time, it has not been possible for me to visit, as often as I should have liked, all parts of Canada, as I found so much pleasure in doing in earlier years in office. I have felt it to be my duty to be on the bridge of the ship of state as much as possible when rough weather threatened, and, particularly, while we were in the midst of the storm. There I have remained, almost continuously, save for visits to Britain and the United States, visits intimately connected with the prosecution of the war, and preparations for the coming of peace.

"INSIDE" WAR SITUATION

Another reason I speak of this unbroken stretch of public duty is, what those years have afforded me of opportunity of coming to know, more intimately, I believe, than any other man in Canada, the inside of the whole war situation, and the problems to which the war has given rise.

Because of the position I have occupied, I have become intimately acquainted with most of the leading personalities in the Allied countries whose duties have placed them in positions of responsibility and power. That has been a valuable experience. Experience will be more necessary than ever in the solution of the problems which will arise in the post-war era.

The third reason is perhaps the most important of all. It is that in appealing to you for a renewed expression of your confidence, I am able to do so in terms, not of promise, but of performance.

During the past ten days, we have all been rejoicing that the war in Europe has been brought to a victorious close. As citizens of Canada, we have held our heads proudly erect at the part which the armed forces of Canada abroad, and the people of Canada at home, have taken in the overthrow of Nazi tyranny which aimed at the domination of the world.

PROUD OF CANADA'S PART

We have been justly proud of the part taken by Canada in the liberation of nation after nation in Europe from the yoke of the oppressor. We may be proud, as well, of the manner in which from the beginning of the war to this hour, the government and people of Canada have co-operated with the governments and peoples of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and with all our Allies of the United Nations. That co-operation has been without unpleasant incident, or friction of any kind.

This is the stage at which Canada has arrived at the end of the war in Europe, under the government which has been in office throughout the entire war, and the years immediately preceding. If anything could do so, that surely speaks of the measure in which the present government has discharged the trust which you, the people of Canada, reposed in it at the time of the last general election, and which it is now being forged at San Francisco for the maintenance of world security and peace.

This is a mighty decision for you to be called upon to make. There is not one of you whose future interests will not be affected by it. In reaching a decision, it would be well for you to remember the problems which Canada is facing at the moment, and which will have to be faced during the next few years. In many respects there problems will be more baffling and difficult of solution than thus far has been the problem of the winning of the war.

REFUSED EXTEND PARLIAMENT

Just here let me say, it is because the fate of our country is so completely bound up with the solution of these baffling problems, that I resisted so strongly every suggestion to extend the life of parliament. I was determined that the people should not be denied their constitutional right of electing a new parliament which would be responsible for dealing with these new problems. For the same reasons, I was determined, if at all possible, not to have the elections brought on while our men were fighting at the front.

Above all else, I have sought to see that the men who were fighting our battles on land, at sea and in the air should be afforded the best possible opportunity to weigh the issues in the election, and calmly, wisely and dispassionately choose those to whose care, their future and the future of our country would be so largely entrusted.

In a nationwide broadcast on March 2nd, I said: "It is perhaps not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

"If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs."

CLAIMS CREDIT

I think I may claim some credit for having held firmly to a position which has made this possible.

Let me draw to your attention a very significant fact. You cannot separate the future from the past. In looking to the solution of the new problems with which we are faced, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

Over the years of war, associations—intimate and far-reaching associations—have been formed not only between nations, but between the men who have been directing the nations. We have been working together, meeting most critical situations as they have arisen, month by month, day by day—yes, in many cases, hour by hour.

The men who have been directing the governments of the Allied nations have come to know each other, to share each other's confidences and to trust one another. In our relations with our closest Allies, particularly with the United Kingdom and the United States, this has been specially true of the men who have been administering Canada's affairs throughout the war.

At this of all times, when Canada's future so largely depends on our relations with other countries, are you going to sever relationships between these governments and between the past and the future? Are you going to substitute for the present, which has been forged in the fires of war, a future which will be a return to the conditions of the past

and the problems to which the war has given rise.

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This is the stage at which Canada has arrived at the end of the war in Europe, under the government which has been in office throughout the entire war, and the years immediately preceding. If anything could do so, that surely speaks of the measure in which the present government has discharged the trust which you, the people of Canada, reposed in it at the time of the last general election.

It is now apparent that when, in 1940, you renewed your confidence in our management of the nation's affairs, it was for years which have proven to be the most difficult, the most terrible, and the most momentous in the history of the world.

I have said that this is the stage at which Canada has now arrived. I have used the word "stage" advisedly. For while the war in Europe is over, the war itself is not yet at an end. The fact that in my opening address of the present political campaign, I am speaking to you from the shores of the Pacific ocean is not without symbolic significance.

From now on, till militarist Japan shares the fate of Nazi Germany, Canada's war effort will be directed with unremitting energy, across that ocean to where the final stage of the great world conflict is now being fought.

DECISION FOR PEOPLE

And that brings me at once to the decision which you have now to make. It is not a decision to be made by the government or by parliament.

It is for you the people of Canada to decide, in the light of the manner in which the present administration has discharged the trust you placed in its hands whether you wish to have the affairs of our country in its national and international relations—your affairs—carried on by the tried and trusted administration which you know, or whether you wish from now on to have the administration of your affairs, turned over to unknown and untried hands.

It is for you to decide whether you wish this change from the known to the unknown to take place before the present world war is at its end. It is for you to decide whether you wish a change to be made before the conferences which are to settle the terms of peace have been held. It is yours to decide whether you wish another government to take over before there is brought into being the mighty instrument which not going too far to express the hope that before the close of the San Francisco conference, organized resistance in Germany will have been crushed.

"If the holding of a general election can be delayed until the decisive battles in the war in Europe have been fought, then the whole of Canada, and, in particular, the members of Canada's armed forces, will be in a better position to decide who, over the next five years, should be entrusted with the administration of our country's affairs."

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At this of all times, when Canada's future so largely depends on our relations with other countries, are you going to sever relationships between these governments and between the past and the future? Are you going to substitute for the present administration whose members and policies you know, an entirely new administration, whose members are unknown, and whose policies are untried?

ASKS TWO QUESTIONS

Here let me ask and answer two important questions. The first question is: What was the mandate given by you to the present government when it was returned to power in the general election of 1940? There can be no doubt as to what that mandate was. It was a mandate to carry on Canada's war effort till victory was achieved over Nazi Germany. It was a mandate to share in the war effort of the Allied powers to the utmost of our strength. In so many words, it was to oppose total war by total effort. Above all, it was to make Canada's war effort, in its organization, its scope and its effectiveness, worthy of Canada and the Canadian people.

The second question is: How



LIFE'S LIKE THAT—"Never mind . . . ten years will soon pass . . . maybe then we'll like ice cream sodas even better than we do now."

of Canada; a message of thanks to the people of Canada on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom, sent at the moment of the world's deliverance from the scourge of Nazi Germany.

That message contains my answer to the question: How has the present government fulfilled the trust reposed in it by you, the people of Canada, in the general election of 1940? How have we carried out the mandate you gave us at that time?

Before I read Mr. Churchill's message, let me make one thing perfectly clear. I have never sought to claim for the government what belongs to the people themselves. I have never claimed that Canada's war effort was the effort of the government and not the effort of the Canadian people. I know, of course, full well, who would have been blamed had Canada's war effort been inadequate; had it been a failure instead of the magnificent success it has been. Canada's war effort was not unplanned and not unorganized.

All that I have claimed and all that I claim now, is that the direction, the planning and the organization of Canada's war effort was the responsibility and the work of the present government. As to how we have discharged that great responsibility, here is my answer, given to you, not in my words but in the words used by Mr. Churchill on V-E Day.

CHURCHILL MESSAGE

"On this historic day when the forces of tyranny in Europe have met their final doom, I send on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom to the government and people of Canada our heartfelt congratulations on Canada's magnificent contribution to our common victory. For nearly six long years we have marched together in a common crusade against an enemy who twice in our generation has sought to dominate and enslave the free nations of the world.

Canada may well be proud of the glorious deeds of her sons in arms. On land, on the sea and in the air she has played a nation's part. Her valiant army was the sure shield of this country during its darkest days and has now contributed powerfully to the liberation of western Eurorpe. At sea, in the battle of the Atlantic, and in the air, over Europe, the Canadians have ever been to the fore.

The immense achievement of the British Commonwealth air training plan under Canadian administration has provided the solid foundation for air supremacy without which victory could not have been won. We remember, too, the aid so generously accorded in the sphere of finance, in the production of munitions of every kind and of the naval and merchant vessels urgently needed to meet the peril of U-boat warfare and in the sup- [illegible] happily they are already well known.

No greater mistake could be made than to decide the elections on any single issue. The new parliament will have many problems to face. Among the number will be that of continuing Canada's war effort against Japan. Until Japan militarism has been defeated and destroyed, this will remain our first objective. The government's policy has already been announced in general terms. More specific announcements will be made in the next few days.

It will be well to remember that the prosecution of the war against Japan will be only one of the pressing problems which have immediately to be faced. Any attempt to make an issue of the war effort against Japan, or any other single question would but serve to blind the country to the real issues which have to be faced in the post-war era.

A main task of the Canadian government from now on will be to maintain full employment and to provide social security for the people of our country.

POLICIES IN OPERATION

I am happy to be able to say that the present government did not leave these problems to be solved after the end of the war. We made our plans while the war itself was on, and most of these plans have been translated into action. The necessary laws are on the statute books; the necessary departments of government have been established; and our policies are in actual operation. You do not need to judge the present government on its promises. You can judge us by what we have already accomplished.

You are being appealed to, to change the leader of the government. You are being asked to replace by others, the present ministers of the crown. There is a question or two which you are entitled to ask, and which, in your own interests, you ought to ask of each of the parties that is making these requests of you.

First of all, you might ask: who is its leader? What experience has he had in national and international affairs? To what extent has he participated in the proceedings of the Canadian parliament? You might also ask: who would be the ministers in a cabinet to be formed by each of the parties seeking office?

It is very important you should know this, in advance of the day of polling. It is the only way in which you can be at all sure of how your affairs are likely to be managed during the next five years. Once you know who are to be the members of the proposed new cabinet, you will be able to see how far the general interest, as contrasted with special interests, is likely to be served should any one of these parties come into office.

KNOW PRESENT CABINET

You know who the members of the present cabinet are. You know what experience and training they have had in public and parliamentary affairs. If a change is to be made, at this time, you are at least entitled to know who are to be the members of any new administration.

It has often been said that Canada is a difficult country to govern. If any of you had my job even for 24 hours, I think you would begin to see how difficult the problems of government in Canada are. If you could take my place for a week or a month I am sure you would have no doubt left in your mind.

A leader's strength is bound up with the strength and representative character of his following. In leading the government of Canada, I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the present time, the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true.

If you stop to examine the situation, you will, I believe, soon discover that the Liberal party is, in the present election, the only party with any likelihood of having mem- [illegible] I ask you to look over the ministry as it is constituted today at Ottawa. It represents as fortunate a combination of mature experience and youthful vision as there has ever been in a Canadian cabinet.

For about two-thirds of its members, the ministry is composed of men who have been tried in the fires of wartime administration; men who have helped to organize and direct Canada's magnificent contribution to victory over Nazi Germany. The other third of the members of the cabinet are younger men, bringing a fresh outlook and new energy to the tasks ahead. But they are not untried, or without experience. As parliamentary assistants to the ministers or in other ways, most of them have served a valuable apprenticeship in the work of government.

QUESTION LEADERSHIP

My leadership is, of course, being called into question by some who desire to see the government of our country in their own hands. This is no new experience for me. It has happened in every election since I was chosen leader of my party—twenty-six years ago.

In all the years since 1921 the Canadian people, by their votes, have only once expressed a preference for a government of another party under another leader. Five years after that vote they returned to office the party I continued to lead with an overwhelming majority.

For 18 years I have had the high honor of serving my country as its prime minister. That is a long time. What more could I personally wish for myself? I have now passed my 70th year. So far as public life is concerned I have but one remaining wish.

That is to serve the people of Canada as long as they continue to honor me with their confidence and I remain equal to the task. If I did not believe that, out of my long experience, I have gained a certain knowledge and understanding of national and international problems which can be useful to my country at this very critical period in world affairs, I should not be appealing for your support today.

INTEREST OF PEACE

My life's interests, I need not tell you, have been with the cause of peace—and the promotion of human welfare and social reform. It is because I see so close at hand unparalleled opportunities to further these great ends that I would like to serve in another parliament.

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

Speaking extemporaneously following his broadcast address, Mr. King said that "if we ever forget our debt . . . to those who brought the Germans down to defeat . . . we are not worthy of their sacrifice."

"Indeed," he added, "we are not worthy of anything."

The prime minister told more than 4,000 persons in the main ballroom of the Hotel Vancouver that "Our first thought for all time, government or opposition, must be of the men who fought on land, sea and air, and the women who co-operated with them in such a splendid way."

VICTORY LOAN RESULTS

Speaking of Canada's achievement in going over the top again in the Eighth Victory loan, Mr. King said, "Our country has great reason for gratitude for the individual contributions to the war."

"It is a note of encouragement for what is to come."

In wartime, the prime minister stated, everyone is keyed up to play his part and "if you had the experience I had in the last two weeks you would view much more seriously the problems ahead."

"As we change from war to peace it is inevitable that men will find difficulty in finding a new calling. lems that will be are going to be solved. . . .

"You would wonder how the hatred that has been stirred up by the war is ever going to be solved."

MUST RESTORE EUROPE

He stated further that "unless we can help bring about the restoration of Europe, we will not have a market for our goods."

"But," he continued, "all the work of drawing up peace treaties lies ahead and it is going to be difficult work — very difficult indeed. . . .

"Something in the nature of a world organization to preserve world peace will be necessary, but no organization will be effective unless it is backed by a spirit of kindliness and peace and sincerity in the hearts of men."

Govt. Advisers Made Delegates At 'Frisco Parley

By C. R. BLACKBURN

SAN FRANCISCO, May 17.—(CP)—Canada's delegation to the United Nations Security Conference has been strengthened by the elevation of seven senior advisers to the status of alternate delegates. This step was taken by Prime Minister Mackenzie King before he left Monday to open his election campaign in Vancouver but was announced only yesterday.

The seven advisers are Norman Robertson, under-secretary for external affairs; Hume Wrong, associate under-secretary; L. B. Pearson, ambassador to the United States; L. D. Wilgress, ambassador to Russia; Warwick Chipman, ambassador to Chile; Jean Desy, ambassador to Brazil, and Maj.-Gen. M. A. Pope, secretary of the cabinet war committee.

Russians Warn Against Views Captured Nazis

LONDON, May 17.—(CP)—A Moscow radio commentator declared yesterday that Nazi bigwigs being held in Allied custody "are spreading propaganda whose purpose is to break the unity among the three great powers that defeated Hitler's army."

Reichsmarshal Goering and Field Marshals Von Rundstedt and Keselring were referred to specifically as "disciples of Goebbels."

The commentator charged that British and United States war correspondents have been "only too eager to take down and disseminate whatever stuff" Goering, Gen. Nikolaus Von Falkenhorst, Nazi commander in Norway, or Karl Hermann Frank, German "protector" of Bohemia-Moravia, wanted to be disseminated.

Disclose Secrets Huge Flying Boat Built by Britain

LONDON, May 17—(CP)—Britain's biggest airplane—the 58-ton Shetland with a 110-foot hull—emerged from wartime secrecy yesterday.

The huge flying boat, designed for world-wide patrol and reconnaissance, was described by Sir John Buchanan of Short Brothers as faster than the United States air giant, Mars, although "not quite so big."

It was disclosed that one Shetland had been completed and successfully flown. A second, still under construction, is being re-designed into a 70-passenger trans-Atlantic airliner—a two-decked cruiser with a promenade and a cocktail bar among its features.

RCAF Hero Home

MONTREAL, May 17.—(CP)—Group Capt. E. A. McNab, DFC, first member of the Royal Canadian Air Force to be decorated and said by RCAF officials to have been the first to participate in aerial conflict in this war, has returned to Canada with the latest draft of RCAF repatriated personnel.



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Orchard City Tomatoes

Limit one 28-oz. tin to a customer **14c**

AYLMER FANCY CORN, limit 1 to a customer, 20-oz. tin	16c	KELLOGG'S ALL-BRAN, 14-oz. pkg.	21c
MY LADDIE PEAS, 20-oz. tin	2 for 29c	LUNCHOUR PEARS, 20-oz. tin	19c
ALLEN'S APPLE JUICE, 20-oz. tin ..	17c	WAGSTAFFE'S LOGANBERRY JAM, 24-oz. jar	37c
CAMPBELL'S VEGETABLE SOUP, 10-oz. tin	2 for 21c	UTILITY PEACH JAM, 24-oz. jar	33c
VICTORY TOMATO JUICE, 20-oz. tin	10c	OXYDOL, pkt.	24c
AYLMER VEGETABLE JUICE, 20-oz. tin	19c	CHIPSO, pkt.	24c
KELLOGG'S CORN FLAKES, 12-oz. pkg....	2 for 21c	FAIRHAVEN SARDINES, 3½-oz. tin	2 for 19c
		MRS. LIEKE'S PICKLES, 25-oz. jar	31c

—Lower Street Floor at The BAY



YOU'RE IN THE ARMY NOW—"I'm glad you got that PFC stripe instead of me—when these Japs capture prisoners with any rank—they torture 'em."

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

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D48755

Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada - Edmonton, May 18, 1945

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I need not say to you how delighted I am to be again in the Province of Alberta. I should like my first words to you to be words of warmest praise and sincerest congratulations upon the splendid share the people of Alberta have had in the Victory in which today we are all so greatly rejoicing. The young men of Alberta have served, in thousands, in the army, the navy and the air force. The farmers, the men, the women, yes and also the children of this province, have laboured, long and hard, to produce more foodstuffs than Alberta ever produced before. Your natural resources of coal and oil have contributed mightily to the strength of Canada's industrial war effort. In every Victory Loan, and in every other appeal for war services, the people of this province have played a part of which all Canada is proud.

Alberta has been much closer to the war itself than might, at first, appear. The ideal conditions of climate and topography ~~of this province~~ were responsible for attracting to this province a large number of the air training establishments in which the United Nations developed their overwhelming air power. The Nazis themselves admit that the superiority in air power of the Allies was their undoing. This city of Edmonton — the capital of the province was the base for the construction of the great Alaska highway

D 48736

and the whole military development of the northwest. This city is the starting point of the great air ferry route to Soviet Russia. I do not, therefore, need to tell the people of Edmonton or the people of Alberta that we are living today in a rapidly shrinking world. I need not tell you that each and every country is becoming day by day a nearer neighbour of all other countries. I need not tell you that ~~more and more increasingly~~ more and more every country is becoming/dependent for its future development and, indeed, its continued existence upon the maintenance of peace and the ~~development~~ furtherance of friendly relations with all other nations. While attending the recent Conference at San Francisco, I heard Mr. Eden say that at the time of the American Revolution it took about as long to reach Washington from New York as it takes today to reach San Francisco from London.

Should war ever come again on a global scale - which God grant may never be the case - there is not the slightest doubt that our country would soon be subject to direct attack. From now on, no areas will be more vulnerable than those which lie along the great new air highways of the world.

D 48757

In opening the present election campaign at Vancouver, on Wednesday last, I felt that in seeking a renewal of the support of the Canadian people for the present administration, my first duty was to speak of the manner in which we had carried out the trust which was reposed in us in 1940 at the time of the last general elections. In the record of the government throughout the years of war, there will, I believe, be found the surest of all guarantees of how, if it is again entrusted with the management of the country's affairs, the present administration may be expected to discharge that trust. I need not repeat here what I said at Vancouver. The people of Alberta know that record. I believe that Canada's war effort, as directed, planned and organized by the present government is, to you of this province, as to the citizens of Canada generally, a source of the highest satisfaction and pride.

There are, however, two grounds on which a government or a political party should make its appeal to the electorate. One is its record in the past; the other is its program for the future. I am prepared to allow the past to speak for itself. From now on I am desirous that the people of Canada should have the fullest opportunity of knowing our programme. I am especially anxious that all should see the bearing of our policies on the solution of the great problems of the future.

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~~This is one reason why I wish,~~ Speaking in Edmonton tonight, I wish to do so more particularly with reference to the subject of international co-operation. In so doing I have, I believe, a special message for the people of this province. There are no questions in the present general election campaign with which the people of ~~this province~~ Alberta should be more profoundly concerned than those which relate to international trade and to world security and peace.

It is to the policies of the Liberal party on these ~~all-important~~ aspects of our national life, that I now ~~wish more specially to~~ invite your attention ~~tonight.~~ I hope that in your own interests and in the interests of all Canada you will give them your most earnest consideration between now and the day of polling. It is perhaps not going to far to say that the immediate prosperity of our country and, indeed, the whole future of Canada will depend more than all else upon our international outlook over the next five years. From now on, Canada's prosperity and security will depend upon the ~~our country~~ and ~~to~~ advance the high place ~~she~~ our country has won among the nations of the world by her magnificent record of world service throughout the years of war.

Let me repeat, the maintenance of international peace and security is ~~a~~ vital interest of every part of Canada. But apart from our coastal regions, there, is, perhaps, no area which is more vitally concerned than the whole of Alberta. There is certainly no part of Canada more vitally concerned with international co-operation as a means to achieve prosperity than the prairie provinces. Without the widest possible exchange

D 48759

of surpluses products on a world-wide scale, Canada - and especially western Canada - cannot hope for lasting prosperity and for the maintenance of a high standard of living.

Let me begin at once to illustrate how true this is, and how immediate the problem is. There is much more to the establishment of a secure peace than military victory. If a durable place is to be made, the sufferings of the liberated peoples must be relieved, and their countries restored. In the period of transition from war to peace on which we are now entering, it is the policy of the present government and of the Liberal party to have Canada give what assistance we can in the great task of relief and restoration of the liberated countries of Europe. International relief will be provided, in part, in the form of mutual aid. That is to say, out of our abundance, we shall seek to supply as rapidly as we can, food, clothing and shelter and other necessaries for the people whose homes and lands have been ravished, and who themselves are suffering from exposure and starvation. This policy is one which, because it is a policy of mercy, is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. Moreover, for Canada, it will have a two-fold benefit. The restoration of the liberated countries will ultimately constitute for Canadian producers, a restoration of peace time markets. While we are waiting for markets to be restored, the provision of relief will help to maintain the incomes of our farmers and other primary producers.

D 48760

But the restoration of the liberated countries is only one stage in the establishment of a secure peace. It is a necessary first stage. Peace, however, can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations.

Throughout the war, the government has striven to do all in its power to make sure that the nations which were united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. This is an objective we have kept constantly to the fore. We welcomed the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world security organization. We acclaimed the agreement of the great powers reached at the Crimea Conference. We accepted with enthusiasm the invitation to the Conference at San Francisco which Mrs. Casselman and I, along with other representatives of both Houses of our Parliament, — representatives of the opposition as well as of the government — have been attending for the past few weeks. The San Francisco Conference is not the ~~making of peace~~ peace conference which will have to do with the peace settlement. Let me make that clear. The ~~making of peace is a task which~~ conference could not be started until the fighting was over. Perhaps I should remind you that one of the great decisions you will have to make in the present campaign, is to decide which of the parties that are now appealing to you for their support is to be the one to

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semi its leader and other representatives to the peace conferences ~~that~~. In all probability, a preliminary conference will ~~will begin to~~ be held later on in the present year. The Canadian electorate has seldom, if ever, been called upon to make a more important decision ~~than that~~. On the terms of the peace settlements will depend much of the future ~~of the~~ peace of the world. Please keep this in mind as you weigh the issues that are before you in the present campaign and seek to ~~size up your mind as to~~ decide what in your own interests and in the highest interests of Canada, it may be best for you to do.

The objective at San Francisco is the creation of an organization which, once the peace terms have been settled, will ~~serve~~ help to maintain peace and security in the world. To further that end, the Canadian delegation has been labouring unitedly at San Francisco. I have the highest hopes for the success of the Conference.

D 48762

I wish time would permit me to tell you about the conference, and, even more, about some of the provisions of the charter which it will be necessary for the nations to agree upon if the United Nations organization is to achieve the end for which it is being brought into existence. The most important perhaps of these provisions is the one which ensures that so far as possible there will always be a preponderance of force on the side of peace.

Canada, along with other countries, that may become members of the new organization, will have to be prepared to make its contribution to the collective power which in this way will be available to secure the peace. At San Francisco, Canada's delegates have been using their influence among the countries there represented to ensure that the lesser nations, as well as the great powers, will be certain of having their voices heard and respected in all decisions which vitally affect their own interests and the employment of their forces. Real progress has already been made in that direction. I feel confident that the views expressed by our delegation have already helped to ensure a favourable outcome. Before the charter itself and its several provisions become binding upon Canada, they will have to be approved by our Parliament. That fact should remove all fear as to any commitments being made at

D 48763

San Francisco which will not meet with the approval of the Canadian people.

In the shadow of this great war, no one can afford to minimize the importance of organizing an international force to restrain and, if need be, to resist aggression. International security demands the maintenance of an overwhelming force on the side of peace. I think we all realize that lasting peace depends above all else on the unity of purpose of the great powers. Unless the great powers are willing to work together, no international organization, however perfect, can hope to keep the peace. That is why the first and most important consideration in the establishment of the present world organization is to keep the greatest powers all working together in a single organization. The more thoroughly the nations develop the habit of consultation, the greater is the hope that all differences will be settled by peaceful means.

The successful drafting of a charter for world security and its acceptance by Parliament are only the more steps in the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of prosperity. It will not be enough to organize international force on the side of peace. The present government believes that co-operation in many fields will be needed if peace is to endure. It is our policy to do all we can,

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in the name of Canada, to see that the strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation developed under the stress of war are made stronger than ever in the making of peace.

We believe that, for our own and other countries, world security is the only basis of lasting prosperity and social security. As Liberals, we maintain that prosperity, like security, cannot be the possession of any nation in isolation. We believe that lasting prosperity will come only through international co-operation. In particular, we are convinced that Canada's prosperity and the well-being of our people, in all regions, and among all classes, are bound up with the restoration and expansion of peacetime world trade.

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

In other ways, our government has recognized the vital importance of our export trade in keeping up employment in Canada. Under the able direction of my colleague, the Honourable James MacKinnon, Alberta's own Minister in the

D 48765

government at Ottawa, the trade commissioner service has recently been expanded and the headquarters of the Department of Trade and Commerce strengthened to cope with its post-war task.

During the weeks I was at San Francisco, few incidents afforded me more pleasure than the many enquiries concerning Mr. MacKinnon made of me by representatives from the South American Republics. Over and over again, mention was made both in public and in private conversation of the good-will which his mission of a few years ago had served to foster between Canada and the nations of South America. A general interest was manifest of their desire to further closer commercial/ and cultural relations with us.

Provision was made at the 1944 session of Parliament for the insurance and guarantee of export credits, and a government corporation established for this purpose is already doing business.

During the same session, all customs duties on farm implements were removed. By helping to keep down production costs on the farm, the removal of the tariff on farm implements will benefit alike the farmers and the consumers of farm products. The government believes that its action in taking off these duties will have yet another advantage.

D 48766

It gives to other countries concrete proof of the readiness of the present administration to promote international trade by the reduction of tariff barriers.

Need I remind you that the first major achievement of the present administration when it was returned to office in 1935 was the conclusion of a far-reaching reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. That agreement was renewed on a still more far-reaching basis in 1938. These agreements have been of inestimable value to all Canada. Particularly have they been of advantage to leading industries in this province. In speaking to the people of Western Canada at this time, it gives me very happy to recall that the successful negotiation of these agreements - from which we are still benefitting - was in a very direct way furthered by the close personal relationships I enjoyed with the late President Roosevelt, and with Mr. Cordell Hull, with both of whom I personally discussed these agreements. I am not without the belief that I may yet be able to make some further contribution to the friendly relations which, over many years, I have sought so earnestly to maintain and strengthen between Canada and her immediate neighbour, and to further between the British Commonwealth and the United States and which have meant so much to us all and to the world throughout this war.

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I hope I may live to see, so far as Canada is concerned, the extension to all nations of the kind of relationship which exists between Canada and the United States and which also exists among the nations of the British Commonwealth. I believe there is nothing truer than that the welfare of each nation and its people increasingly depends upon the common welfare of all. That common welfare must be promoted through international co-operation in the fields of trade, labour relations, agriculture, monetary policy, nutrition, health, education and culture. The ultimate goal is a genuine society or community of nations for the improvement of the lot of mankind.

To the realization of that aim, Canada can, and should, make an exceptional contribution. No nation is better fitted to understand all of the five greatest powers. We have special links with each. Canada is a nation of the British Commonwealth. As such we appreciate that unique association among nations which is, in itself, a model of the wider association we hope to see established. Canada is the closest neighbour of the United States. Our mutual relations are without parallel in their extent and their intimacy. Canada is a nation based on the partnership of the English and French races who together

D 48768

laid our national foundations. That relationship gives us a special link with France. Canada is a nation of the Pacific. As such we have, with China, a long tradition of unbroken friendship. Canada, like the Soviet Union, is a great trans-continental and Arctic nation. You, in Edmonton, are particularly conscious of our growing concern. Common problems of geography and climate will, we trust, draw us into ever friendlier relations in the years to come.

It cannot, I think, be questioned that no other country has similar advantages and like opportunities to understand and to contribute to the mutual understanding of the greatest powers. But those advantages and that opportunity will count for nothing unless we have a government which is determined to make the best possible use of them.

I have already indicated why I believe no province in Canada has more to gain than Alberta from the establishment of lasting peace and prosperity in the world. I wish I could feel that all the representatives from Alberta in the Parliament of Canada were certain to be in entire sympathy with the government's policies of co-operation for world security and international trade. Obviously, there is no province where the political issue has been more sharply drawn

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between those who advocate, and those who would resist, the international co-operation without which there is no hope of world security or enduring prosperity.

Everyone is agreed that so far as Alberta is concerned, the main contest in the present election is between the Liberal candidates and the Social Credit candidates. Competent observers already report that in this province, the other parties simply do not count. Please remember that I am speaking only of federal issues. I do not wish to have it thought that, in any way, I am seeking to interfere in purely provincial affairs. Moreover so far as federal affairs are concerned, I am speaking only of differences in policy with respect to External Affairs.

What, then, is the main issue between the candidates of the Liberal party and those of the Social Credit group? The main issue between them, it seems to me, is very simple and very clear. The Liberals believe in and are determined to work to their utmost for the greatest possible measure of effective co-operation among nations to keep the peace, and to promote trade and prosperity. On the other hand, members of the Social Credit group seem determined to uphold what they describe as national sovereignty in its most extreme form. In the years they have been in Parliament, the Social Credit members have

consistently opposed

D 48770

consistently ignored - I might go so far as to say they have steadily denied - the vital necessity of external trade to the prosperity and welfare of Canada and particularly of Alberta. In a world that is steadily shrinking and where the interests of nations are becoming increasingly one, they continue to preach national self-sufficiency and economic isolation. In their attitude to trade, the Social Crediters are no less protectionist than the most old-fashioned Tories. In their opposition to co-operation in monetary policy, which is intended to increase the trade and welfare of all nations, they found themselves on the same side as the most reactionary of the international bankers. I do not hesitate to say that the policies of the Social Credit group, if followed by any government, would, in no time whatever, lead to a worse depression than we had in the 1930s. So much for trade and economic co-operation. Let me now say a word of co-operation in the cause of peace.

[redacted]

Upon the great objective of promoting world security, I had hoped there might have been unanimous agreement in Parliament. It is true that the Social Credit members voted with the majority of other members on the resolution respecting Canada's acceptance of the invitation to the San Francisco Conference. But I regret to have to say their

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position regarding international co-operation for world security was so hedged about with qualifications as to weaken the effect of their vote. If you doubt my words as to this, I would refer you to the statement made by the leader of the Social Credit group, my friend, Mr. Blackmore, in the House of Commons on April the 9th when the announcement of the membership of the Canadian delegation was made. He then said;

> "Up to the present time, the only voices that have been raised in this Parliament in opposition to the general proposals upon which the San Francisco Conference is founded have been those of the Social Credit members."

Personally, I am very fond of Mr. Blackmore. But sometimes I find it very difficult to understand just what he is driving at. In that attitude, he was, I am sure, perfectly honest, but I am equally sure he was not reflecting the wishes of the great majority of the people of this province. It is impossible for me to believe that the Social Credit members, in their international policies and views on international affairs, speak with the true voice of Alberta. The people of this province, who have taken so large a part in the achievement of victory, do not, I am sure, want the fruits of victory thrown away in political isolationism and economic nationalism.

In conclusion, I appeal to the people of Alberta to elect to the next Parliament, members who will be in a position to take a positive share in the government of their country; members who

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have a large vision; members who will seek to shape Canada's future in the direction of co-operation for peace and prosperity among all the nations. In that direction and in that alone, lies the guarantee in the international arena of world security and world prosperity. In that direction, and in that alone will be found the path to full employment and social security in our own land.

as delivered

D 48773

Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada--- Edmonton, May 18, 1945.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I need not say to you how delighted I am to be again in the Province of Alberta. I should like my first words to you to be words of warmest praise and sincerest congratulations upon the splendid share the people of Alberta have had in the Victory in which today we are all so greatly rejoicing. The young men of Alberta have served, in thousands, in the army, the navy and the airforce. The farmers, the men, the women, yes and also the children of this province, have laboured, long and hard, to produce more foodstuffs than Alberta ever produced before. Your natural resources of coal and oil have contributed mightily to the strength of Canada's industrial war effort. In every Victory Loan, and in every other appeal for war services, the people of this province have played a part of which all Canada is proud.

Alberta has been much closer to the war itself than might, at first, appear. The ideal conditions of climate and topography ~~of this province~~ to this province were respons ible for attracting a large number of the air training establishments in which the United Nations developed their overwhelming air power. The Nazis themselves admit that the superiority in air power of the Allies was their undoing. This city of Edmonton the capital of the Province was the base for the construction of the great Alaska Highway and the whole

D 48774

military development of the northwest. This city is the starting point of the great air ferry route to Soviet Russia. I do not, therefore, need to tell the people of Edmonton or the people of Alberta that we are living today in a rapidly shrinking world. I need not tell you that each and every country is becoming day by day a nearer neighbour of all other countries. I need not tell you that ~~more and more~~ every country is becoming ~~increasingly~~ more and more dependent for its future development and, indeed, its continued existence upon the maintenance of peace and the ~~development~~ furtherance of friendly relations with all other nations. While attending the recent Conference at San Francisco, I heard Mr. Eden say that at the time of the American Revolution it took about as long to reach Washington from New York as it takes today to reach San Francisco from London.

Should war ever come again on a global scale - which God grant may never be the case - there is not the slightest doubt that our country would soon be subject to direct attack. From now on, no areas will be more vulnerable than those which lie along the great new air highways of the world.

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In opening the present election campaign at Vancouver, on Wednesday last, I felt that in seeking a renewal of the support of the Canadian people for the present administration, my first duty was to speak of the manner in which we had carried out the trust which was reposed in us in 1940 at the time of the last general elections. In the record of the government throughout the years of war, there will, I believe, be found the surest of all guarantees of how, if it is again entrusted with the management of the country's affairs, the present administration may be expected to discharge that trust. I need not repeat here what I said at Vancouver. The people of Alberta know that record. I believe that Canada's war effort, as directed, planned and organized by the present government is, to you of this province, as to the citizens of Canada generally, a source of the highest satisfaction and pride.

There are, however, two grounds on which a government or a political party should make its appeal to the electorate. One is its record in the past; the other is its program for the future. I am prepared to allow the past to speak for itself. From now on I am desirous that the people of Canada should have the fullest opportunity of knowing our programme for the future. I am especially anxious that all should see the bearing of our policies on the solution of the great problems ~~of the future~~ that from now on will confront us.

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Speaking in Edmonton tonight, I wish to ~~do so more particularly with reference~~ deal with to the all-important subject of international co-operation. In so doing I have, I believe, a special message for the people of this province. There are no questions, in the present general election campaign, with which the people of Alberta should be more profoundly concerned than those which relate to international trade and to world security and peace.

It is to the policies of the Liberal party on these aspects of our national life, that I now invite your attention. I hope that in your own interests and in the interests of all Canada you will give them your most earnest consideration between now and the day of polling. It is perhaps not going to far to say that the immediate prosperity of our country and, indeed, the whole future of Canada will depend more than all else upon our international outlook over the next five years. From now on, Canada's prosperity and security will depend upon the policies we adopt to maintain and advance the high place our country has won among the nations of the world by her magnificent record of world service throughout the years of war.

~~Let me repeat,~~ The maintenance of international peace and security is a vital interest of every part of Canada. But apart from our coastal regions, there, is, perhaps, no area which is more vitally concerned than the whole of Alberta. There is certainly no part of Canada more vitally concerned with international co-operation as a means to achieve prosperity than the prairie provinces. Without the widest possible exchange

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of surplus products on a world-wide scale, Canada - and especially western Canada - cannot hope for lasting prosperity and for the maintenance of a high standard of living.

Let me begin at once to illustrate how true this is, and how immediate the problem is. To the establishment of a secure peace there is much more than military victory. If a durable peace is to be made, the sufferings of the liberated peoples must be relieved, and their countries restored. In the period of transition from war to peace on which we are now entering, it is the policy of the present government and of the Liberal party to have Canada give what assistance we can in the great task of relief and restoration of the liberated countries of Europe. International relief will be provided, in part, in the form of mutual aid. That is to say, out of our abundance, we shall seek to supply, as rapidly as we can, food, clothing and shelter and other necessaries, for the peoples whose homes and lands have been ravished, and who themselves are suffering from exposure and starvation. This policy is one which, because it is a policy of mercy, is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. Moreover, for Canada, it will have a two-fold benefit. The restoration of the liberated countries will ultimately constitute for Canadian producers, a restoration of peace-time markets. While we are waiting for markets to be restored, the provision of relief will help to maintain the incomes of our farmers and other primary producers.

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But the restoration of the liberated countries is only one stage in the establishment of a secure peace. It is a necessary first stage. Peace, however, can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations.

Throughout the war, the government has striven to do all in its power to make sure that the nations which were united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. This is an objective we have kept constantly to the fore. We welcomed the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world security organization. We acclaimed the agreement of the great powers reached at the Crimea Conference. We accepted with enthusiasm the invitation to the Conference at San Francisco which Mrs. Casse lman and I, alon g with other representatives of both Houses of our Parliament, and representatives of the opposition as well as of the government have been attending for the past few weeks.

The purpose of the San Francisco Conference is not the making of peace. Let m e make that clear. The making of peace is a task which could not be started until the fighting was over . Perhaps I should remind you that one of the great decisions you will have to make in the present campaign, is that to decide which of the parties that are now appealing to you for their support is to be the one to .

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send its leader and other representatives to the peace conferences that, in all probability, will begin to be held later on in the present year. The Canadian electorate has seldom, if ever, been called upon to make a more important decision. On the terms of the peace settlements will depend much of the future peace of the world. Please keep this in mind as you weigh the issues that are before you in the present campaign and seek to decide what in your own interests and in the highest interests of Canada it may be best for you to do.

Omit

The objective at San Francisco is the creation of an organization which, once the peace terms have been settled, will serve to maintain peace and security in the world. To further that end, the Canadian delegation has been labouring unitedly at San Francisco. For the success of the Conference I have the highest hopes.

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I wish time would permit me to tell you about the conference, and, even more, about some of the provisions of the charter which it will be necessary for the nations to agree upon if the United Nations organization is to achieve the end for which it is being brought into existence. The most important perhaps of these provisions is the one which ensures that so far as possible there will always be a preponderance of force on the side of peace.

Canada, along with other countries, that may become members of the new organization, will have to be prepared to make its contribution to the collective power which in this way will be available to secure the peace. At San Francisco, Canada's delegates have been using their influence among the countries there represented to ensure that the lesser nations, as well as the great powers, will be certain of having their voices heard and respected in all decisions which vitally affect their own interests and the employment of their forces. Real progress has already been made in that direction. I feel confident that the views expressed by our delegation have already helped to ensure a favourable outcome. Before the charter itself and its several provisions become binding upon Canada, they will have to be approved by our Parliament. That fact should remove all fear as to any commitments being made at

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San Francisco which will not meet with the approval of the Canadian people.

In the shadow of this great war, no one can afford to minimize the importance of organizing an international force to restrain and, if need be, to resist aggression. International security demands the maintenance of an overwhelming force on the side of peace. I think we all realize that lasting peace depends above all else on the unity of purpose of the great powers. Unless the great powers are willing to work together, no international organization, however perfect, can hope to keep the peace. That is why the first and most important consideration in the establishment of the present world organization is to keep the greatest powers all working together in a single organization. The more thoroughly the nations develop the habit of consultation, the greater is the hope that all differences will be settled by peaceful means.

Omit

The successful drafting of a charter for world security and its acceptance by Parliament are only two more steps in the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of prosperity. It will not be enough to organize international force on the side of peace. The present government believes that co-operation in many fields will be needed if peace is to endure. It is our policy to do all we can,

in the name of Canada, to see that the strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation developed under the stress of war are made stronger than ever in the making of peace.

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We believe that, for our own and other countries, world security is the only basis of lasting prosperity and social security. As Liberals, we maintain that prosperity, like security, cannot be the possession of any nation in isolation. We believe that lasting prosperity will com e only through international co-operation. In particular, we are convinced that Canada's prosperity and the well-being of our people, in all regions, and among all classes, are bound up with the restoration and expansion of peace-time world trade.

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

In other ways, our government has recognized the vital importance of our export trade in keeping up employment in Canada. Under the able direction of my colleague, the Honourable James MacKinnon, Alberta's own Minister in the government at Ottawa, the trade commissioner service has recently been expanded and the headquarters of the Department of Trade and

Commerce strengthened to cope with its post-war task.

During the weeks I was at San Francisco, few things D 48783 afforded me more pleasure than the many enquiries concerning Mr. MacKinnon made of me by representatives from the South American Republics. Over and over again, mention was made both in public and in private conversation of the good-will which his mission of a few years ago had served to foster between Canada and the nations of South America. A general interest was manifest of their desire to further closer commercial and cultural relations with us.

Provision was made at the 1944 session of Parliament for the insurance and guarantee of export credits, and a government corporation established for this purpose is already doing business.

During the same session, all customs duties on farm implements were removed. By helping to keep down production costs on the farm, the removal of the tariff on farm implements will benefit alike the farmers and the consumers of farm products. The government believes that its action in taking off these duties will have yet another advantage. It gives to other countries concrete proof of the readiness of the present administration to promote international trade by the reduction of tariff barriers.

D 48784

Need I remind you that the first major achievement of the present administration when it was returned to office in 1935 was the conclusion of a far-reaching reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. That agreement was renewed on a still more far-reaching basis in 1938. These agreements have been of inestimable value to all Canada. Particularly have they been of advantage to leading industries and interests in this province. In speaking to the people of Western Canada at this time, it makes me very happy to recall that the successful negotiation of these agreements - from which we are still benefitting - was in a very direct way furthered by the close personal relationships I enjoyed with the late President Roosevelt, and with Mr. Cordell Hull, with both of whom I personally discussed these agreements. I am not without the belief that I may yet be able to make some further contribution to the friendly relations which, over many years, I have sought so earnestly to maintain and strengthen between Canada and her immediate neighbour, and which I have also sought to further between the British Commonwealth and the United States and which have meant so much to us all and to the world throughout this war.

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I hope I may live to see, so far as Canada is concerned, the extension to all nations of the kind of relationship which exists between Canada and the United States and which also exists among the nations of the British Commonwealth. I believe there is nothing truer than that the welfare of each nation and its people increasingly depends upon the common welfare of all. That common welfare must be promoted through international co-operation in the fields of trade, labour relations, agriculture monetary policy, nutrition, health, education and culture. The ultimate goal is a genuine society or community of nations for the improvement of the lot of mankind.

To the realization of that aim, Canada can, and should, make an exceptional contribution. No nation is better fitted to understand all of the five greatest powers. We have special links with each. Canada is a nation of the British Commonwealth. As such we appreciate that unique association among nations which is, in itself, a model of the wider association we hope to see established. Canada is the closest neighbour of the United States. Our mutual relations are without parallel in their extent and their intimacy. Canada is a nation based on the partnership of the English and French races who together laid our national foundations. That relationship gives us a special link with France. Canada is a nation of the Pacific. As such we have, with China,

D 48786

a long tradition of unbroken friendship. Canada, like the Soviet Union, is a great trans-continental and Arctic nation. You, in Edmonton, are particularly conscious of our growing nearness. Common problems of geography and climate will, we trust, draw us into even friendlier relations in the years to come.

It cannot, I think, be questioned that no other country has similar advantages and like opportunities to understand and to contribute to the mutual understanding of the greatest powers. But those advantages and that opportunity will count for nothing unless we have a government which is determined to make the best possible use of them.

I have already indicated why I believe no province in Canada has more to gain than Alberta from the establishment of lasting peace and prosperity in the world. I wish I could feel that all the representatives from Alberta in the Parliament of Canada were certain to be in entire sympathy with the government's policies of co-operation for world security and international trade. Unhappily, there is no province where the political issue has been more sharply drawn between those who

D 48787

advocate, and those who would resist, the international co-operation without which there is no hope of world security or enduring prosperity.

Everyone is agreed that so far as Alberta is concerned, the main contest in the present election is between the Liberal candidates and the Social Credit candidates. Competent observers already report that in this province, the other parties simply do not count. Please remember that I am speaking only of federal issues. I do n ot wish to have it thought that, in any way, I am seeking to interfere in purely provincial affairs. Moreover so far as federal affairs are concerned, I am speaking only of differences in policy with respect to External Affairs.

What, then, is the main issue between the candidates of the Liberal party and those of the Social Credit group? The main issue between them, it seems to me, is very simple and very clear. The Liberals believe in and are determined to work to their utmost for the greatest possible measure of effective co-operation among nations to keep the peace, and to promote trade and prosperity. On the other hand, members of the Social Credit group seem determined to uphold what they describe as national sovereignty in its most extreme form. In the years they have been in Parliament, the Social Credit members have

D 48788

consistently ignored - I might go so far as to say they have steadily denied - the vital necessity of external trade to the prosperity and welfare of Canada and particularly of Alberta. In a world that is steadily shrinking and where the interests of nations are becoming increasingly one, they continue to preach national self-sufficiency and economic isolation. In their attitude to trade, the Social Crediters are no less protectionist than the most old-fashioned Tories. ~~In their~~ opposition to co-operation in ~~monetary~~ policy, which is intended to increase ~~the~~ trade and welfare of all nations, they found ~~themselves~~ on the same side as the most reactionary of ~~the international bankers~~. I do not hesitate to say that the policies of the Social Credit group, if followed by any government, would, in no time whatever, lead to a worse depression than we had in the 1930s. So much for trade and economic co-operation. Let me now say a word of co-operation in the cause of peace.

Upon the great objective of promoting world security, I had hoped there might have been unanimous agreement in Parliament. It is true that the Social Credit members voted with the majority of other members on the resolution respecting Canada's acceptance of the invitation to the San Francisco Conference. But I regret to have to say their position regarding international co-operation for world security was so hedged about with qualifications as to

D 48789

weaken the effect of their vote. If you doubt my words as to this, I would refer you to the statement made by the leader of the Social Credit group, my friend, Mr. Blackmore, in the House of Commons on April the 9th when the announcement of the membership of the Canadian delegation was made. He then said:

> "Up to the present time, the only voices that have been raised in this Parliament in opposition to the general proposals upon which the San Francisco Conference is founded have been those of the Social Credit members."

Personally, I am very fond of Mr. Blackmore. But sometimes I find it very difficult to understand just what he is driving at. In that attitude, he was, I am sure, perfectly honest, but I am equally sure he was not reflecting the wishes of the great majority of the people of this province. It is impossible for me to believe that the Social Credit members, in their international policies and views on international affairs, speak with the true voice of Alberta. The people of this province, who have taken so large a part in the achievement of victory, do not, I am sure, want the fruits of victory thrown away in political isolationism and economic nationalism.

In conclusion, I appeal to the people of Alberta to elect to the next Parliament, members who will be in a position to take a positive share in the government of their country; members who have a large vision; members who will seek to shape Canada's future in the direction of co-operation for peace and prosperity

D 48790

among all the nations. In that direction, and in that alone, lies the guarantee in the international arena of world security and world prosperity. In that direction, and in that alone will be found the path to full employment and social security in our own land.

as delivered

D 48791

Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada--- Edmonton, May 18, 1945.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I need not say to you how delighted I am to be again in the Province of Alberta. I should like my first words to you to be words of warmest praise and sincerest congratulations upon the splendid share the people of Alberta have had in the Victory in which today we are all so greatly rejoicing. The young men of Alberta have served, in thousands, in the army, the navy and the airforce. The farmers, the men, the women, yes and also the children of this province, have laboured, long and hard, to produce more foodstuffs than Alberta ever produced before. Your natural resources of coal and oil have contributed mightily to the strength of Canada's industrial war effort. In every Victory Loan, and in every other appeal for war services, the people of this province have played a part of which all Canada is proud.

Alberta has been much closer to the war itself than might, at first, appear. The ideal conditions of climate and topography ~~of this province~~ to this province were respons ible for attracting a large number of the air training establishments in which the United Nations developed their overwhelming air power. The Nazis themselves admit that the superiority in air power of the Allies was their undoing. This city of Edmonton the capital of the Province was the base for the construction of the great Alaska Highway and the whole

D 48792

military development of the northwest. This city is the starting point of the great air ferry route to Soviet Russia. I do not, therefore, need to tell the people of Edmonton or the people of Alberta that we are living today in a rapidly shrinking world. I need not tell you that each and every country is becoming day by day a nearer neighbour of all other countries. I need not tell you that ~~more and more~~ every country is becoming more and more ~~increasingly~~ dependent for its future development and, indeed, its continued existence upon the maintenance of peace and the furtherance ~~development~~ of friendly relations with all other nations. While attending the recent Conference at San Francisco, I heard Mr. Eden say that at the time of the American Revolution it took about as long to reach Washington from New York as it takes today to reach San Francisco from London.

Should war ever come again on a global scale - which God grant may never be the case - there is not the slightest doubt that our country would soon be subject to direct attack. From now on, no areas will be more vulnerable than those which lie along the great new air highways of the world.

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In opening the present election campaign at Vancouver, on Wednesday last, I felt that in seeking a renewal of the support of the Canadian people for the present administration, my first duty was to speak of the manner in which we had carried out the trust which was reposed in us in 1940 at the time of the last general elections. In the record of the government throughout the years of war, there will, I believe, be found the surest of all guarantees of how, if it is again entrusted with the management of the country's affairs, the present administration may be expected to discharge that trust. I need not repeat here what I said at Vancouver. The people of Alberta know that record. I believe that Canada's war effort, as directed, planned and organized by the present government is, to you of this province, as to the citizens of Canada generally, a source of the highest satisfaction and pride.

There are, however, two grounds on which a government or a political party should make its appeal to the electorate. One is its record in the past; the other is its program for the future. I am prepared to allow the past to speak for itself. From now on I am desirous that the people of Canada should have the fullest opportunity of knowing our programme for the future. I am especially anxious that all should see the bearing of our policies on the solution of the great problems ~~of the future.~~ that from now on will confront us.

D 48794

Speaking in Edmonton tonight, I wish to ~~do so more particularly with reference to the~~ deal with the all-important subject of international co-operation. In so doing I have, I believe, a special message for the people of this province. There are no questions, in the present general election campaign, with which the people of Alberta should be more profoundly concerned than those which relate to international trade and to world security and peace.

It is to the policies of the Liberal party on these aspects of our national life, that I now invite your attention. I hope that in your own interests and in the interests of all Canada you will give them your most earnest consideration between now and the day of polling. It is perhaps not going to far to say that the immediate prosperity of our country and, indeed, the whole future of Canada will depend more than all else upon our international outlook over the next five years. From now on, Canada's prosperity and security will depend upon the policies we adopt to maintain and advance the high place our country has won among the nations of the world by her magnificent record of world service throughout the years of war.

~~Let me repeat,~~ The maintenance of international peace and security is a vital interest of every part of Canada. But apart from our coastal regions, there, is, perhaps,no area which is more vitally concerned than the whole of Alberta. There is certainly no part of Canada more vitally concerned with international co-operation as a means to achieve prosperity than the prairie provinces. Without the widest possible exchange

D 48795

of surplus products on a world-wide scale, Canada - and especially western Canada - cannot hope for lasting prosperity and for the maintenance of a high standard of living.

Let me begin at once to illustrate how true this is, and how immediate the problem is. To the establishment of a secure peace there is much more than military victory. If a durable peace is to be made, the sufferings of the liberated peoples must be relieved, and their countries restored. In the period of transition from war to peace on which we are now entering, it is the policy of the present government and of the Liberal party to have Canada give what assistance we can in the great task of relief and restoration of the liberated countries of Europe. International relief will be provided, in part, in the form of mutual aid. That is to say, out of our abundance, we shall seek to supply, as rapidly as we can, food, clothing and shelter and other necessaries, for the peoples whose homes and lands have been ravished, and who themselves are suffering from exposure and starvation. This policy is one which, because it is a policy of mercy, is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. Moreover, for Canada, it will have a two-fold benefit. The restoration of the liberated countries will ultimately constitute for Canadian producers, a restoration of peace-time markets. While we are waiting for markets to be restored, the provision of relief will help to maintain the incomes of our farmers and other primary producers.

D 48796

But the restoration of the liberated countries is only one stage in the establishment of a secure peace. It is a necessary first stage. Peace, however, can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations.

Throughout the war, the government has striven to do all in its power to make sure that the nations which were united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. This is an objective we have kept constantly to the fore. We welcomed the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world security organization. We acclaimed the agreement of the great powers reached at the Crimea Conference. We accepted with enthusiasm the invitation to the Conference at San Francisco which Mrs. Casse lman and I, alon g with other representatives of both Houses of our Parliament, and representatives of the opposition as well as of the government have been attending for the past few weeks.

The purpose of the San Francisco Conference is not the making of peace. Let m e make that clear. The making of peace is a task which could not be started until the fighting was over . Perhaps I should remind you that one of the great decisions you will have to make in the present campaign, is that to decide which of the parties that are now appealing to you for their support is to be the one to

D48797

send its leader and other representatives to the peace conferences that, in all probability, will begin to be held later on in the present year. The Canadian electorate has seldom, if ever, been called upon to make a more important decision. On the terms of the peace settlements will depend much of the future peace of the world. Please keep this in mind as you weigh the issues that are before you in the present campaign and seek to decide what in your own interests and in the highest interests of Canada it may be best for you to do.

Omit

The objective at San Francisco is the creation of an organization which, once the peace terms have been settled, will serve to maintain peace and security in the world. To further that end, the Canadian delegation has been labouring unitedly at San Francisco. For the success of the Conference I have the highest hopes.

D48798

I wish time would permit me to tell you about the conference, and, even more, about some of the provisions of the charter which it will be necessary for the nations to agree upon if the United Nations organization is to achieve the end for which it is being brought into existence. The most important perhaps of these provisions is the one which ensures that so far as possible there will always be a preponderance of force on the side of peace.

Canada, along with other countries, that may become members of the new organization, will have to be prepared to make its contribution to the collective power which in this way will be available to secure the peace. At San Francisco, Canada's delegates have been using their influence among the countries there represented to ensure that the lesser nations, as well as the great powers, will be certain of having their voices heard and respected in all decisions which vitally affect their own interests and the employment of their forces. Real progress has already been made in that direction. I feel confident that the views expressed by our delegation have already helped to ensure a favourable outcome. Before the charter itself and its several provisions become binding upon Canada, they will have to be approved by our Parliament. That fact should remove all fear as to any commitments being made at

D 48799

San Francisco which will not meet with the approval of the Canadian people.

In the shadow of this great war, no one can afford to minimize the importance of organizing an international force to restrain and, if need be, to resist aggression. International security demands the maintenance of an overwhelming force on the side of peace. I think we all realize that lasting peace depends above all else on the unity of purpose of the great powers. Unless the great powers are willing to work together, no international organization, however perfect, can hope to keep the peace. That is why the first and most important consideration in the establishment of the present world organization is to keep the greatest powers all working together in a single organization. The more thoroughly the nations develop the habit of consultation, the greater is the hope that all differences will be settled by peaceful means.

The successful drafting of a charter for world security and its acceptance by Parliament are only two more steps in the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of prosperity. It will not be enough to organize international force on the side of peace. The present government believes that co-operation in many fields will be needed if peace is to endure. It is our policy to do all we can,

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in the name of Canada, to see that the strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation developed under the stress of war are made stronger than ever in the making of peace.

We believe that, for our own and other countries, world security is the only basis of lasting prosperity and social security. As Liberals, we maintain that prosperity, like security, cannot be the possession of any nation in isolation. We believe that lasting prosperity will com e only through international co-operation. In particular, we are convinced that Canada's prosperity and the well-being of our people, in all regions, and among all classes, are bound up with the restoration and expansion of peace-time world trade.

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

In other ways, our government has recognized the vital importance of our export trade in keeping up employment in Canada. Under the able direction of my colleague, the Honourable James MacKinnon, Alberta's own Minister in the government at Ottawa, the trade commissioner service has recently been expanded and the headquarters of the Department of Trade and

D 48801

Commerce strengthened to cope with its post-war task.

During the weeks I was at San Francisco, few ~~incidents~~ afforded me more pleasure than the many enquiries concerning Mr. MacKinnon made of me by representatives from the South American Republics. Over and over again, mention was made both in public and in private conversation of the good-will which his mission of a few years ago had served to foster between Canada and the nations of South America. A general interest was manifest of their desire to further closer commercial and cultural relations with us.

Provision was made at the 1944 session of Parliament for the insurance and guarantee of export credits, and a government corporation established for this purpose is already doing business.

During the same session, all customs duties on farm implements were removed. By helping to keep down production costs on the farm, the removal of the tariff on farm implements will benefit alike the farmers and the consumers of farm products. The government believes that its action in taking off these duties will have yet another advantage. It gives to other countries concrete proof of the readiness of the present administration to promote international trade by the reduction of tariff barriers.

D 48802

Need I remind you that the first major achievement of the present administration when it was returned to office in 1935 was the conclusion of a far-reaching reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. That agreement was renewed on a still more far-reaching basis in 1938. These agreements have been of inestimable value to all Canada. Particularly have they been of advantage to leading industries and interests in this province. In speaking to the people of Western Canada at this time, it makes me very happy to recall that the successful negotiation of these agreements - from which we are still benefitting - was in a very direct way furthered by the close personal relationships I enjoyed with the late President Roosevelt, and with Mr. Cordell Hull, with both of whom I personally discussed these agreements. I am not without the belief that I may yet be able to make some further contribution to the friendly relations which, over many years, I have sought so earnestly to maintain and strengthen between Canada and her immediate neighbour, and which I have also sought to further between the British Commonwealth and the United States and which have meant so much to us all and to the world throughout this war.

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I hope I may live to see, so far as Canada is concerned, the extension to all nations of the kind of relationship which exists between Canada and the United States and which also exists among the nations of the British Commonwealth. I believe there is nothing truer than that the welfare of each nation and its people increasingly depends upon the common welfare of all. That common welfare must be promoted through international co-operation in the fields of trade, labour relations, agriculture monetary policy, nutrition, health, education and culture. The ultimate goal is a genuine society or community of nations for the improvement of the lot of mankind.

To the realization of that aim, Canada can, and should, make an exceptional contribution. No nation is better fitted to understand all of the five greatest powers. We have special links with each. Canada is a nation of the British Commonwealth. As such we appreciate that unique association among nations which is, in itself, a model of the wider association we hope to see established. Canada is the closest neighbour of the United States. Our mutual relations are without parallel in their extent and their intimacy. Canada is a nation based on the partnership of the English and French races who together laid our national foundations. That relationship gives us a special link with France. Canada is a nation of the Pacific. As such we have, with China,

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a long tradition of unbroken friendship. Canada, like the Soviet Union, is a great trans-continental and Arctic nation. You, in Edmonton, are particularly conscious of our growing nearness. Common problems of geography and climate will, we trust, draw us into even friendlier relations in the years to come.

It cannot, I think, be questioned that no other country has similar advantages and like opportunities to understand and to contribute to the mutual understanding of the greatest powers. But those advantages and that opportunity will count for nothing unless we have a government which is determined to make the best possible use of them.

I have already indicated why I believe no province in Canada has more to gain than Alberta from the establishment of lasting peace and prosperity in the world. I wish I could feel that all the representatives from Alberta in the Parliament of Canada were certain to be in entire sympathy with the ~~governments~~ policies of co-operation for world security and international trade. Unhappily, there is no province where the political issue has been more sharply drawn between those who

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advocate, and those who would resist, the international co-operation without which there is no hope of world security or enduring prosperity.

Everyone is agreed that so far as Alberta is concerned, the main contest in the present election is between the Liberal candidates and the Social Credit candidates. Competent observers already report that in this province, the other parties simply do not count. Please remember that I am speaking only of federal issues. I do n ot wish to have it thought that, in any way, I am seeking to interfere in purely provincial affairs. Moreover so far as federal affairs are concerned, I am speaking only of differences in policy with respect to External Affairs.

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D 48807

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> "Up to the present time, the only voices that have been raised in this Parliament in opposition to the general proposals upon which the San Francisco Conference is founded have been those of the Social Credit members."

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		San Francisco. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Apr. 1945	D 48601 - D 48607	
77		The Liberal Programme. Speech outside Parliament	May 1945	D 48608 - D 48633	
77		Future of Canada Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	5 May 1945	D 48634 - D 48655	
77		Victory in Europe, Radio (San Francisco). Speeches outside Parliament	8 May 1945	D 48656 - D 48664	
77		The End of the War in Europe, Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1945	D 48665 - D 48730	
77		The Establishment of World Peace, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	14 May 1945	D 48731 - D 48742	
77		Nationwide Broadcast, Vancouver. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1945	D 48743 - D 48754	
77		Address in Edmonton. Speeches outside Parliament	18 May 1945	D 48755 - D 48808	
77		Broadcast message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert. Speech outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48809 - D 48812	

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May 22, 1945

Broadcast Message of Farewell to the People of Prince Albert

by the Prime Minister of Canada

Fellow citizens of Prince Albert Constituency:

I am speaking to you at the close of a four-day visit to Prince Albert and surrounding communities. In that short period, I have met many old friends, and have made, I trust, many new ones. I regret there has not been an opportunity to meet or talk to all of you. However, I am particularly pleased to have this chance to say just a word to every one - a word which is very close to my heart.

My present visit to Prince Albert has been made under happier circumstances than any which have existed in the past seven years. We are all rejoicing together in a victory over the greatest military power the world has ever known. We are now seeking a victory over Japan - a complete victory for the cause of freedom to which our country and our people have already contributed so much. I wish I could have been here in Prince Albert on the day of Victory to rejoice with you and to pay special tribute to the war effort of the people of the constituency. As member for Prince Albert and as Prime Minister, I have been very proud of the war record of this constituency, of its war production, of its response to victory loans and to all appeals

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for service and, above all, of the splendid contribution made to victory by the brave young fighting men in the armed forces, on land, at sea and in the air.

May 22, 1945 D 48811

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

Prime Minister Gives Address at Prince Albert

43813

Special to the Star-Phoenix

PRINCE ALBERT, May 22.—Prime Minister Mackenzie King is "heart and soul" in this general election but, he confided to 2,500 or more of his Prince Albert constituents Saturday, this was to be his last general election battle.

"HEART AND SOUL"

He declared, "I don't intend to undertake another general election, but I am heart and soul in this election because I believe there has never been a time in the history of Canada when it meant so much to a country to have returned to power while the country is still at war and when great social reforms are being worked out, the men who have conducted the affairs of the country as successfully as our Government has conducted them through the whole period of the European war, and who have placed on the statutes of our country the laws regarding social reforms."

But of the immediate future, the Prime Minister had a word. He declared that his Government, if elected, would hold a Dominion-Provincial conference to see "if we can not with different Provinces of Canada make an agreement whereby the matters pertaining to the health of the people, the two governments will be able to do what will be the means of establishing some minimum contribution which the state will be prepared to make toward the security of health and well-being of the population."

For an hour and a quarter, Mr. King spoke in the Armories, a speech that was barely a campaign speech but more like a confidential talk to the friends in his riding which had sent him to Parliament for 19 years.

True, he did not forget he was fighting an election battle. But the tone and the shape of his address made it a heart to heart discussion with his constituents—of what he had been able to do for Canada and of his ambitions for his Government and Canada.

He was reminiscent when he spoke of his youthful days as a social reformer. He looked, too, into the future, with hope as when he spoke of the program of social legislation which his Government had already cemented into the statutes of the nation. There was pride, too, in his voice as he talked about his record as the founder and shaper of much of the early social legislation of his country in the days when he was deputy

PRIME MINISTER
Page 2, Column 1

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

PRIME MINISTER

labor minister and later labor minister.

The Prime Minister, only a few days away from the globe-affecting discussions of San Francisco, was in a vigorous speaking mood.

At times he was energetic, demonstrating his points by swinging his arms. Sometimes, at more sober moments, he stood quietly clutching his coat lapels. But in vigorous points or at sober moment, the Prime Minister pushed home the main point. His program, the Liberal program, was no thing of promises. The program was one of doing, of achievement, of things that already were laws, not just blueprints for a new Parliament.

Long before Mr. King arrived Prince Albert citizens had packed their way into the Armories. Seats were filled, 2,500 or more, in a vast semi-circle that enclosed the platform. There they listened to the lively music of the Prince Albert red-coated City Band.

The meeting attracted hundreds of Liberals — men and women anxious to hear their chief. But as well, it drew scores of C.C.F. supporters, a block of whom sat at one side of the hall.

OPPONENT AT MEETING

Progressive Conservatives were there, too, among them the party's opponent to Mr. King, Sqdn. Ldr. W. H. Nelson, Prince Albet lawyer back home to battle the Prime Minister.

By 8.30 the platform was filling. There were Harry Klasen, Young Liberals president; Mrs. G. Sherman, Women Liberals' president; Miss Elizabeth Van Ryswyk, Young Liberals' vice-president; Thomas Fear and Pat McGrath, Federal Liberal Association vice-presidents; J. H. Fraser, former M.L.A., and Mrs. M. I. Humphries.

Soon afterwards in came Mr. King and Dr. M. I. Humphries, Federal Liberal Association president, the chairman. People stood with a spontaneous burst of applause as the blue-suited chief of the Government climbed the steps to take his chair. There he sat quietly while Doctor Humphries lauded him and his work, declaring, "Canada has become one of the great nations of the world under the guidance of this peerless leader.'

When Doctor Humphries introduced the Prime Minister, there mushroomed up a burst of applause, which echoed and re-echoed through the structure, and was cleaved by the shrill whistles of the more enthusiastic. Applause interjected Mr. King's address, and it had a trigger-like touch.

CHEERS FOR KING

When the meeting wound up the Prime Minister stood forward and shouted, "three cheers for His Majesty The King." A suggestion that was responded to with gusto by the audience. Then some one deep down in the crowd yelled "three cheers for Mr. King" and a fresh volume of cheers came from hundreds.

The Prime Minister had no notes, which added to the informality of the address. He knew what he wanted to say and his emphasis bore on the record, the accomplishments and program of himself and his Government in the field of social legislation.

But he examined, sometimes casually, sometimes more thoroughly, other matters.

There was the sober note, as though the Prime Minister was conscious of the years, which at 70, became an avalanche, as though he felt the little time that was left.

"I do not know how much more time it may be my privilege to serve in the Parliament, things pass rapidly, and it is difficult for me to appreciate the fact that I have passed my 70th year and for that reason at least there is a certain handwriting on the wall and that tells us that one's time is getting shorter, and that no matter how desirous and anxious one may be to serve one's fellow men, there is only a limited time left."

There was the wondering note, of the doubt that sometimes must eat at the hearts of men in public life.

"Sometimes when one is working away in Ottawa on the duties that confront us from hour to hour and from day to day, one begins to wonder whether after all what one is attempting to do is really understood by the people of the country."

There was the tribute to Saskatchewan of pride in the Province, a part of which he represents in Commons.

"From this Province has gone forth some of the bravest men who have taken part in the battles of Europe."

"EVERY NEW BROOM"

"There's always something fascinating about a new movement or party, every new broom sweeps very smoothly at the start."

But he added: "There's an awful lot to be said about the record of a party over many years." And peering into the future, "We are now at a period in the history of this country where vast changes are taking place and where great problems remain to be solved."

The Prime Minister's visit to Prince Albert continues until this evening, when he entrains for Winnipeg. On Monday, he heard delegations at Prince Albert City Hall in the morning, in the afternoon he motored to Shellbrook where he made an address in the evening, the second in his constituency. Today he will tour a portion of the riding, travelling by car to Paddockwood and Meath Park, and returning by Albertville and Henribourg.

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BAILEY

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King Tells Young Grits About UNCIO

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Canadian delegation to the world security conference at San Francisco, spoke of the conference when addressing the Young Liberals at luncheon yesterday.

Introduced by Harry Klasen, president of the Young Liberals, Mr. King told of the work of the conference and to what it would lead, comparing it with the old world organization, the League of Nations.

The League of Nations had failed in its task of keeping world peace because some of the big powers had not been members and were not bound by its rules. Other nations had gradually dropped out and had prepared to arm themselves. No force was left in the league and few nations had arms. As an example of unpreparedness, the island of Malta had one anti-aircraft gun with which to defend itself, Mr. King said.

The big nations felt the need of a central pool of power and an organization to replace the old league.

Mr. King pointed out that whatever steps the conference takes will have to be approved by the legislatures of each country before they can become law. A security council, consisting of five big powers, the United States, Great Britain, China, France and Russia, as well as six lesser nations, had been proposed. It will be responsible for the settling of disputes.

In addition to this council, there is to be an assembly on which all countries will be represented and will have a voice, an executive council in charge of all business and an international court to settle disputes by judicial methods.

The chief objective of the conference was to maintain a preponderance of forces to keep the peace. Mr. King said that even more important than force is the council for dealing with social and economic problems of the world in an attempt to have every country on the same standard.

The big powers will be responsible for the policing and control of Germany "taking the claws from the paws of Germany," Mr. King said. There should be no trouble for some years to come with Germany and Japan if this course is followed.

Expressing the thought that there is a real hope for maintenance of peace in the future, Mr. King said it is not so much the organization as the spirit which animates it which counts. "We must try to encourage friendship and see the good in others so that we may help them to improve their lot," he declared.

"It is because I believe in these things that I have been a Liberal all my life," Mr. King said. We must try to give wider opportunities to those who have none. That, Mr. King said, is the true meaning of Liberalism.

Family allowances, put into effect by his government, would insure proper nourishment, clothing and education for Canadian children, he declared.

Mr. King said he felt that his fate was in the hands of the Young Liberals and that he was pleased at the enthusiasm of the numbers attending the luncheon. The thanks of the audience were expressed by Miss Elizabeth Van Rysyk, vice-president of the Young Liberals.

George Langlais, a member of the Canadian newspapermen who reported the San Francisco conference, gave his impressions of the conference. Mr. Langlais said that he felt that after the five big nations, Canada stood next in line of importance, but he believed there was much Canada could do to improve her position.

D-4815

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

D 43816

Mr. King's Address

PRIME MINISTER KING'S speech of Saturday night was not a campaign speech, replete with forensic displays and other attributes which most persons attach to campaign platform performances. Rather it was a heart to heart talk with as many of Mr. King's constituents as could be crowded into the available seating accommodation of the Armory.

Mr. King did not speak from manuscript nor from notes. He advanced toward the microphones of the public address system following his introduction, smiling and nodding to acknowledge the ovation which was given him by the audience. And then, for about an hour and a quarter, with a vigor which belied his 70 years and the tremendous burdens of war which he had carried for almost six years, he held the unflagging attention of his audience.

We have heard Mr. King speak on numerous occasions during the past 15 years, many of these occasions in Prince Albert in previous election campaigns. Never, as we recall the previous appearances, has Mr. King spoken so effectively as he did Saturday evening.

We do not use the word "effectively" from the point of view of the number of votes Mr. King may have won by his speech but from the impressions that he left with his hearers, the impression that he was deeply sincere in his gratitude to the electors of Prince Albert whom he has represented in the House of Commons for 19 years, during 14 years of which he has been prime minister; the impression that he was sincere in his stand that "those who had served, those who had suffered and those who had lost" must be the nation's first consideration and the impression that he was sincere in believing that Liberalism and the great Liberal post-war program offers to Canada this great nation's best hope for the future.

There was not one word of criticism of his opponents in Mr. King's speech. Mr. King simply told his audience what Liberalism stands for, what it has done for the people of Canada in the past and what it hopes to do for the people of Canada in the future.

The aims of Liberalism, Mr. King made it apparent, are the aims which are common to the people of the world everywhere, security, security that comes with assurance that work will be available for all who want to work and security that comes from such great reforms as family allowances which are designed to improve the general standard of living and equalize the opportunities for the enjoyment of life by individual Canadians.

Mr. King emphasized that the Liberal reform program is not a promise but an actuality. It is on the statute books of Canada to be brought into effect progressively as the war situation permits. There are gaps to be filled before health services and other reforms can be made general across Canada but these gaps cannot be filled until after a Dominion-provincial conference straightens out the tangle of divided jurisdictions.

Liberalism has a purpose, which coincides with the views of the average Canadian as to what kind of a nation he wants after peace opens the opportunity to build, instead of destroy as we have been forced to do since 1939. That is the message which Mr. King sought to leave with his hearers and his efforts, we believe, were most successful. The ballots on June 11 will give the final verdict.

D 43817









An enthusiastic welcome was given Prime Minister Mackenzie King on his arrival at the Union Depot here on Saturday. In the crowd of supporters and admirers at the left he is shaking hands with Lance Corporal Jim Sanderson. At the public reception in the afternoon Mr. King is chatting (second photo) with his old college friend, Dr. R. G. Scott of Wakaw. Two Prince Albert school girls, Shirley and Bobbie Dougherty are shown meeting the Prime Minister in the third picture. In the fourth view, also taken at the reception, Mr. King is having tea with (left to right) Miss Elizabeth Van Ryswyk, Mrs. M. I. Humphries and Dr. Humphries, president of the Prince Albert Federal Liberal association.

D 43818

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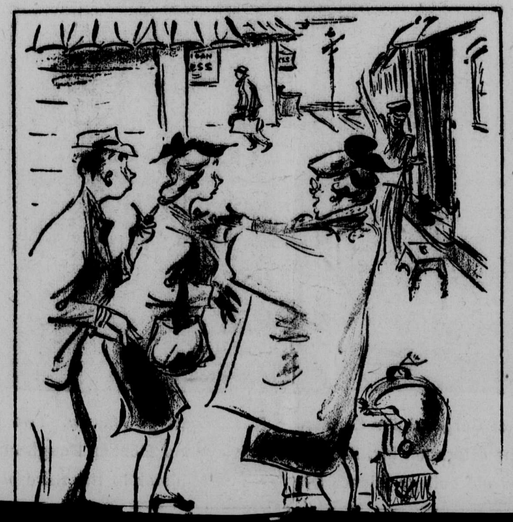
SIDE GLANCES



P.C.'s Supporting Some Independent Que. Candidates

BRANDON, Man. May 21.-(CP) — John Bracken, national Progressive Conservative leader, indicated yesterday that his party will support some independent members in Quebec even though the members are not in agreement with the Progressive Conservative manpower policy.

In a prepared statement, Mr. Bracken said there were some constituencies in Quebec where no Progressive Conservative candidate has been nominated. It did not follow that the party supported any candidate who had been nominated in those constituencies—the fact was that in five of them the party did not.

"With respect to certain independents in other Quebec constituencies whom one of our officials stated would be supporting, the party organization in Quebec has been frank and honest in stating its position," said Mr. Bracken. "If in these latter constituencies there are candidates who support us on our policies of national unity and of economic and social reform, so much the better. If they differ with us in certain matters, such

Justice Interfered With at Redberry, Douglas Declares

NORTH BATTLEFORD, Sask., May 21.-(CP)—Premier T. C. Douglas of Saskatchewan, in a federal election campaign address at a C.C.F. rally here Saturday night, charged that "even established justice can be interfered with to serve political ends."

Mr. Douglas said that Mike J. Bodnarchuk of Redberry, Sask., had been released by the federal authorities without the knowledge of the Saskatchewan attorney-general's department after serving only five months of a 15-months jail term. The premier said Bodnarchuk was one of two persons convicted at Hafford, Sask., last Nov. 6 on a charge of stealing $1,000 from the clothing of a dead person.

"He (Bodnarchuk) now is free to continue his political activities in Redberry," said Mr. Douglas.

The premier also said that just before the 1940 federal election Aloysius Schneider of St. Walburg, Sask., had been released from an internment camp and he subsequently campaigned for the Liberal candidate in North Battleford constituency. "It may have been a

notified of Bodnarchuk's release by the department of justice nor was it given the reason of his release nor the name of the person recommending it."

Mr. Douglas then said "even established justice can be interfered with to serve political ends."

PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE
BROADCAST
Listen tonight to
Sqdn. Ldr.
W. H.
Nelson

Prime Minister Asks Opportunity To Serve Again

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King declared here Saturday night that he did not intend to contest another general election but that he had entered heart and soul into the present campaign because he would like to hold office until the war against Japan is successfully concluded and the great Liberal program of social reform is well under way.

In the first of two public campaign meetings in the Prince Albert constituency in which he is standing for re-election to the House of Commons June 11, Mr. King said there was great work to be done in the next parliament.

"If my hopes of re-election should be realized, I shall owe greater obligations than ever to the electors of Prince Albert who have placed their trust in me for the past 19 years," Mr. King declared.

In introducing Mr. King to the audience of between 2,500 and 3,000 in the Armory, Dr. M. I. Humphries, president of the Prince Albert Federal Liberal association, said that Mr. King with his intimate knowledge of the needs of the common man and his vigor in advancing their lot was fitted by tradition, education and training for the great task of leadership of the Canadian nation.

"It is not surprising that Canada has become one of the great nations of the world under Mr. King's leadership," declared Dr. Humphries, chairman. Dr. Humphries quoted Prime Minister Churchill's words that Canada had reached the peak of her greatness under Mr. King's leadership.

Under wise and able leadership during the war years, Canada has made the greatest per capita contribution in men and materials to the cause of freedom, the chairman declared.

The government under Mr. King's leadership had provided for the difficult transition from war to peace with the most comprehensive reconstruction and rehabilitation program of any nation.

"No other Canadian possesses the breadth of view or the social vision of Mr. King," declared Dr. Humphries. "These qualities were never more needed than in the period ahead."

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"I will always look back upon tonight as one of the most momentous occasions in my public career," declared the Prime Minister. "To the electors of Prince Albert I owe the greatest debt a man could owe —the opportunity of serving a country in its parliament."

Mr. King said that if he had been able to accomplish anything in the realms of social reforms and international affairs it was due to the support and understanding of his Prince Albert constituents and the assistance of loyal and devoted colleagues and able counsellors.

Mr. King paid warm tribute to Saskatchewan's contribution to the fighting services and her role on the production front. "The people of this province have made a contribution of which the people of any province could be proud."

Regiments have been recruited in Saskatchewan which have done honor to the name of freedom, Mr. King said, and one of the great wonders of the war has been that the prairie provinces could produce so many sailors and naval officers who have done so splendidly on the high seas.

"Captured German officers have admitted the great bearing on their defeat of Allied air power, some of which was developed on fields within sight of our own vision," said the Prime Minister.

He praised too the contribution of shop, factory, forest and farm workers to Allied victory.

Mr. King complimented Prince Albert citizens on their loyal response to Victory loan, Red Cross and other public spirited causes throughout the war years. He mentioned particularly the work of R. Rae Manville, chairman of the Prince Albert war finance committee and his opponent in the 1940 federal election, and those who cooperated in Victory loan campaigns as workers and as contributors.

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"The success of the Canadian war effort is due to the people of Canada — not the government of

led by Mackenzie King?"

"I submit that the present government directed the planning and organization of the war effort along a course which has helped bring about the splendid result in which we all rejoice," said Mr. King.

With European affairs to settle, the war against Japan still to be brought to a successful conclusion and important problems of demobilization and re-establishment still to be settled here at home, Canada will need the wisest and best members in the House of Commons, he said. Already the Liberal government had introduced measures which if sympathetically carried out will assist in meeting the problems ahead and making the country more prosperous than ever.

"We must never forget," said Mr. King, "that we owe all that has been won to those who have gone forth to risk their lives. We must above all regard those who have served, those who have suffered and those who have lost as the members of this nation worthy of first consideration."

"We must remember those who have died," said Mr. King. "If we forget them we are not worthy to call ourselves citizens of a free country."

"The legislation now on the statutes to provide for returned men and the dependents of those who have gone is a finer body of legislation than exists in any other

(Continued on Page Two)
See—King

King Meets Representative P.A. Citizens

After having devoted the five years since the last election to leading Canada toward maximum effectiveness in the destruction of war, Prime Minister Mackenzie King is looking forward to another five years to lead Canada along the road of reconstruction, Mr. King told the City Council and representatives of the Board of Trade, Young Men's Chamber of Commerce, and Prince Albert Reconstruction and Rehabilitation council at an informal meeting in the council chamber this morning.

Prince Albert's rehabilitation and reconstruction plans were presented to Mr. King. Mayor G. E. Brock presided.

"Believe me," said Mr. King, "a great burden has been lifted from me by the coming of peace in Europe and the opening up of the opportunity for Canada to advance in a world at peace as the nation advanced to fulfill its role of destruction in the war. These subjects which we have discussed today are very dear to my heart."

After the informal discussion of an hour, Mr. King left to meet the young Liberals at the War Services club. He left by car at three o'clock en route to Shellbroo where he was to address a meetin at nine o'clock this evening. A swing around the northern part of the riding, with visits to Pad dockwood, Meath Park, Henribour and Albertville will take up most of tomorrow. Mr. King is scheduled to resume his journey east on tomorrow evening's Canadian National train.

Mr. King attended yesterday morning's service at St. Paul's

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To Serve Again

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Mr. King attended yesterday morning's service at St. Paul's Presbyterian church. He devoted the rest of the day to resting and meeting friends.

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Lieut.	4.25	3.40	.75	.60
...O. 1	3.90	3.35	.65	.50
WO. 2	3.00	2.40	.55	.45
QMS	2.50	2.00	.50	.40
Staff Sgt.	2.50	1.75	.50	.40
Sgt.	2.20	1.75	.45	.35
L. Sgt.	1.90	1.50	.35	.30
Cpl.	1.70	1.35	.35	.30
L. Cpl.	1.60	1.30	.35	.30
Pte.	1.50	1.20	.30	.25

King

Continued from Page One

country in the world," declared the Prime Minister. "That statement cannot be challenged. But that does not mean we have done all we must."

Thought must be given too to the young people now coming into maturity and to those who served in Canada, he said.

Mr. King declared that he believed national growth could best be achieved when there existed two great parties reflecting the broad tendencies of liberalism and conservatism. He pointed to the danger of a minority vote when three or four or five candidates were contesting one constituency.

New political "brooms" which "sweep smoothly" in the beginning have an appeal, the Prime Minister declared, but there was much to be said for a record which had proved itself in the past. From the earliest history of Canada, men and women interested in general progress had been drawn into the Liberal party.

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Mr. King said his sympathies had been with labor in the broad sense, not from this occasion but from his student days. He referred to the fact that he had drafted the first federal minimum wage and maximum hours legislation in Canada and on his recommendation a federal labor department was established. He served as first deputy minister of the department for eight years and after his election to parliament, until the Laurier government was defeated on the reciprocity issue he was Canada's first minister of a separate labor portfolio.

"Reciprocity which we could not accomplish in 1911 was since achieved in the agreements with the United States under the late President Roosevelt which brought considerable relaxation of the tariff barriers between Canada and the United States," said Mr. King.

The Industrial Disputes act, the Combines Investigation act and the re-establishment of pension rights for the 1910 railway strikers had all come at his instigation, Mr. King said. The first old age pension legislation to which Saskatchewan was the first province to offer support, and the unemployment insurance measure was also authored by himself. Both of these more recent social reforms were outlined years previously in his "Industry and Humanity," a book dealing with problems facing Canada after the First World War, Mr. King pointed out.

The government was prepared to call a Dominion-provincial conference as soon as the election was over to set minimum state contributions toward the health and well-being of the nation, the Prime Minister said.

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Family allowances which come into effect July 1 will accomplish more for the future of Canada than any measure has done for many, many years, Mr. King said.

The Prime Minister declared that Liberalism had always aimed at increasing opportunities for the great mass of the Canadian people. Family allowances would more equally divide returns of Canada's resources and fruits of the nation's labor so that Canadian children would be afforded the fullest opportunity in the battle of life.

"The home is the nursery of the nation," declared Mr. King. "A strong vigorous population is essential to the future of this ocuntry. Family allowances entailing a direct grant from the state is a just method of guaranteeing this future."

Along with provision for family security, family allowances would increase purchasing power through the creation of new demands for manufactured goods and agricultural products, Mr. King said.

"The great problem of the future is to see that there are jobs for everyone willing to work," declared the Prime Minister. "No government can guarantee that everyone will be employed at all times but measures can be introduced which will maintain employment generally."

Provision of aid to Europe will help ensure full employment in Canada, Mr. King said. While it is Canada's duty to assist in the re-establishment of Europe, Canada herself would benefit since supplies would be purchased from Canadian farms and factories.

To accomplish for the farmer what minimum wage legislation had accomplished for labor, floor prices on agricultural products had been inaugurated, Mr. King said. If there is a sudden slump, farm incomes will not drop to the low levels of the past.

Federal loans for farm housing, export credit measures and reduced tariffs on agricultural implements were other measures introduced by the government for the benefit of the farmers.

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"Extended markets are essential to Canadian prosperity and to the prosperity of this province, Mr. King declared. The government was seeking to establish trade agreements in all parts of the world and to enlarge the trade commissioner service. A rehabilitated Europe would also help maintain Canadian markets, he said.

Mr. King said he believed his intimate association through the years with Prime Minister Churchill, the late President Roosevelt, Cordell Hull and with men prominent in public life in other countries had been instrumental in achieving Canada's splendid relations abroad.

"The Liberal government stands for the extension of trade and the widest possible exchange of commodities," declared the Prime Minister. "Only as we begin to exchange commodities with other parts of the world can we ever hope for world security and world peace. We must change our attitude toward our fellowmen in other parts of the world if the ideals of the San Francisco conference are to be realized."

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Mr. King said his great interests were industrial and international peace and social reform. He said that he hoped to leave Canada a little better place than he had found it inasmuch as it was within the power of any man to accomplish this. If he succeeded, Mr. King said, he owed it to the people of Saskatchewan more than to any other group in the Dominion.

He had been leader of the Liberal party for 26 years, 18 of them as prime minister and for all but four of those 18 years he had represented Prince Albert, Mr. King said.

"You have placed your trust in me for 19 years and I thank you for that trust. It is worthwhile coming many thousands of miles to feel at home among those who trust one as you have trusted me," the Minister said.

"There is certain handwriting on the wall telling that one's time is getting short," said Mr. King, "but I hope I may be spared during the next few years to serve in the Canadian parliament."

Mr. King said he did not intend to undertake another election campaign but that he had entered heart and soul into the present contest. He said he believed there was great work to be done in the next parliament and he said he would like to hold office until the war against Japan is successfully concluded and a great program of social reforms is well under way.

"If my hopes should be realized, I shall owe greater obligations than ever to the electors of the Prince Albert constituency," declared Mr. King.

On the platform were: A. Duncan, Mrs. Humphries, Mrs. George Sherman, president of the Prince Albert Women's Liberal association; Miss Elizabeth Van Ryswyk, vice-president, Young Liberals' association; Harry Klasen, president, Young Liberals association; Tom Fear, president, Prince Albert Provincial Liberal association; Pat McGrath, H. J. Fraser, and Paul Prince, North Battleford, president, Saskatchewan Liberal association.

...was burning.
...at on speed drove for six blocks with the tank flaming and turned into a field. He tried to break the burning trailer from the truck cab by driving fast around the field but failed. He left the cab when the tank explosion showered it with burning gasoline.



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Dairy ...
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Just-Rite Pet Foods

Best for Your Birds

Bird Seed
Silver Bird Gravel
Song Restorer
Vitamin Health Food
Bird Charcoal
Canary Treats
Nesting Food

BRADBURY'S HARDWARE

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

W.L.M.K. May 23,1945

Outline of Winnipeg Address

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Introduction:

Review of speeches up to present

Policy of full employment and social security
(see Speech from Throne for exact words)

World Unity

National Unity
(from part held over)

Impressions gathered in Saskatchewan

Canadian citizenship

The Flag

Message of Carillon

Re full employment to be treated as follows:

1) government's appeal to electors on two grounds:

a) its record
b) its programme

re a) - fortunate in having war record speak for itself
b) - fortunate in being able to set forth programme already largely in existence

not having to rely on promises but on performances

develop this thought:

It is admitted on all sides that Canada's war record is surpassed by no other country - this due to the people. At the same time not a matter of chance but of the most careful planning organization and direction.

Audience will recall how continually fault has been found with not proceeding fast enough or in certain ways, etc. but

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result as a whole speaks for itself.

The period of the war - the most prosperous Canada has known. Question: How is this to be explained at a time when the energies of the people were directed to production of instruments of destruction munitions, etc.

Answer: In a word, is that the war effort was so planned as to be a maximum effort in the way of production - which meant a maximum effort in employment, in the factories for munitions, guns, etc. primary industries for minerals; on farms for food, in transportation, etc.

With everyone employed there has been more money in circulation than at any other time. Money buying purchasing power, so much that persons were able to save largely and invest in wartime certificates, bonds, etc.

The main question is if this can be done in war, cannit not be done in peace. The answer is YES. If we will also adopt wise methods of planning and organisation. This the government has done by not waiting till the war was over but by beginning early.

Means whereby purchasing power is got into circulation.

1) Mutual aid - providing munitions for other countries, etc. helping allies to destroy enemy; furnishing purchasing power to our own people

2) Buy food to send abroad, etc. In other words, set out here the sources of national income during the war and show how they cill continue during peace or stbstitutes be made for them.

3) Quantity of work after the war re building houses, extension of factories, etc. and facilities to aid government advancing

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4) Supplying quantities of commodities which were restricted during the war.

5) Unemployment insurance - payments there.

6) Family allowances - show how these supply

7) MATERIALS REQUIRED FOR WAR WITH JAPAN
to other countries as well as our own

8) Categories:

Continuance of supplying munitions for war with Japan and other countries as well as our own.

The continuance of mutual aid, UNRRA

Supplying food and supplies to Europe

Monies paid out in pensions, gratuities, etc.

Family allowances and other social security payments.

Housing

Manufacturing of commodities that will be needed

Export markets gained

Floor under prices.

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78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

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Address by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister of Canada,

Winnipeg, May 24, 1945

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I need not say what a great pleasure it is for me to be once more in the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba. I feel that my first words to all assembled in this great auditorium, ~~and to the unseen radio audience beyond,~~ should be words of warmest thanks and highest praise. To the people of Manitoba in all parts of the province, I extend sincerest congratulations upon their splendid contribution to the Victory in which we rejoice so greatly today, and which has given us fresh hopes and new energies for the tasks ahead.

You, I know, would wish me, on your behalf, and on behalf of our country, to pay special tribute to the thousands of young men and women of Manitoba who have served in Canada's armed forces - the army, the navy and the air force. Theirs is the highest honour; we owe them - one and all - a debt we can never repay.

But I wish, as well, to thank the people of Manitoba, men, women, yes, and children too, who, in other ways, have also done their full part in helping to win the great victory over Nazi Germany. Although the young men

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of this province left the farms in the thousands to fight for their country, the farmers of Manitoba, by long, hard work, produced more food during the war than this province ever did before. The great mines of your northland, and your varied industries were all high geared for war, and all made a great contribution. In this important railway centre, I should like to say a special word about the contribution of the railway workers. If we would understand their part in victory, we have only to stop and ask ourselves what Canada's war effort would have been if, throughout the years of war, the railways had not been kept running as they were throughout at a high peak of efficiency.

I wish also to congratulate the people of Manitoba on the splendid record of this province in every Victory Loan, and in every other appeal for war services. I should like to express a special word of thanks for the splendid way in which the citizens of Winnipeg, and indeed the citizens of all other communities in the Province, ministered to the comfort of members of the fighting forces who, from time to time, in such numbers, were in their midst. Your abounding hospitality has become known from one end of Canada to the other.

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For nearly six years, the thoughts and energies of the present government, as also of the people of our country, have been directed continuously to waging war. In 1940, in the midst of war, we sought from the people of the Dominion an expression of their confidence. Well do I remember the general election campaign of that year. It was opened here in this city of Winnipeg, by my late colleague, the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, and myself. The opening meeting, if I am not mistaken, was held here in this very Auditorium. We promised the people of Canada, at that time, that, if returned to power, the administration would see that, in association with our allies, Canada would put forth an utmost effort toward the winning of the war. We were given a mandate to wage war to the utmost of C anada's strength. Now at last total victory has been won over Nazi Germany. Accordingly, today, we are reporting to the people on our management of the nation's affairs throughout the years of war. We are seeking a new mandate for the tasks ahead.

And just here, may I pause to say that I think personally I may lay claim to some credit for having firmly refused to yield to any kind of pressure to allow a general election to be brought on while our men in so many parts of the world, were fighting at the front; and before decisive battles in Europe had been fought and won. I think I may also

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claim some credit for refusing to yield to the demand which was made from time to time over the past two years for an extension of the term of Parliament. What is the result today? Today the war in Europe is over, our soldiers, sailors and airmen who are still on the continent of Europe or in other distant lands, and who begin to cast their ballots on Monday next, are able to do so under conditions more favourable to themselves, and to their study of the issues in the campaign, than has been possible at any time in the past five years. Today, with the war in Europe over, the Canadian people have not been denied their constitutional right to elect their representatives to Parliament at least once in every five years.

But with victory over Nazi Germany achieved, they have been given the earliest possible opportunity to say to what administration they wish to entrust the task of seeing the victory over all our enemies achieved, and peace fully restored. They have the opportunity to say what administration they desire to have represent Canada at the conferences which will finally draw up and settle the terms of peace, and to what administration they wish to entrust the great task of reconstruction and the solution of those problems which will arise in the period of transition, and in the building of the new world order. Upon the successful outcome of these tasks, the fate of our own and future generations will very largely depend.

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Fortunately it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the manner in which we have carried out the trust reposed in us five years ago. The government's record over that period of time speaks for itself. We believe that record is the best of all proofs of our competence to continue to direct the nation's affairs, especially at a time when bringing to a close the war against Japan remains a foremost task of our country.

An all important part of our present day program and of our plans for the future is the return to a peace-time economy of the industrial and social life of our country from the economy which, for more than five years, has been fitted and fashioned for war. What we are now seeking, what we are asking of the people in the present election campaign, is a mandate to carry our full program to completion. We wish immediately to get underway with the measures which we have worked out to bridge the period of transition from war to peace; and to establish, on a firm foundation, those social reforms, many of which have already been enacted, and which we believe are essential if the people and, in particular, the members of the armed forces, are to find in the fruits of victory, the opportunity for a more abundant life.

I cannot hope in a single speech to outline the whole policy of the government to meet the many baffling and

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difficult problems which will confront us in the next five years. At Vancouver, I spoke of the future in the light of the past. I spoke of the value of knowledge and experience, and established contacts, in the direction of a nation's affairs especially at a time of war, and in a period of transition. At Edmonton, I spoke more particularly of the government's policy to seek the furtherance of world security and our own prosperity in co-operation with other nations, and in the expansion of world trade. At Prince Albert, I spoke of the changing social order, and of measures taken, over the years, by successive Liberal administrations, and the present government in particular, to widen opportunities for those who, in the struggle for existence, are among the less fortunately situated. I spoke, too, of the program of social legislation by which, if continued in office, we hope to further national health and welfare, and to secure more in the way of social security for all.

I wish, here in Winnipeg, today, to speak particularly of what I regard as the most important of all, namely, the government's policy of maintaining full employment. Of course, none of the policies I have referred to are to be thought of as being in so many separate water-tight compartments. The truth is quite the opposite. Every part of the program of the Liberal Party is intimately related to every other part.

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It is not a jumble of competing, and often conflicting, policies. It is not a mixture of generalities and promises. It is a carefully thought out, constructive, comprehensive programme, related to all aspects of our national life and to the place Canada enjoys in the world today.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, I have been careful, on all occasions, to make clear that it was the war effort of the Canadian people, not the war effort of the government. It is to the people of Canada as a whole that credit is due for what I firmly believe, taking account of our numbers, has been a contribution to victory not surpassed by any country in the world. All I claim for the government, and this I do claim with equal firmness, is that Canada's war effort never would have been, never could have been the magnificent success it has been, had that effort not been carefully planned, skilfully organized, and wisely directed throughout. The planning, the organizing and the directing of our war effort has been the work of the present administration. I need not tell you that if there had been failure, instead of success, it is not the people but the government, and myself in particular, who would have been receiving criticism, not praise today. It would have been the government that would have been blamed, and blamed in unmeasured terms.

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If we would have been blamed for failure, where happily today there is none, we are surely entitled to some measure of credit where success has been as general and as complete as, up to this very hour, it has been.

The point, however, which I wish to make is this. The success of Canada's war effort has not been a matter of chance; it has not just come about. It has been the success it has because the zeal, the energy, the contributions made by the armed forces abroad and the zeal, the energy, the contributions made by all on the home front, have been fitted into careful plans, skillfully organized, and wisely directed, so that our effort has been a balanced effort, and every part related in due proportion to the whole.

You will recall how we were criticized from day to day, by the opposition in Parliament, and by the opposition forces outside of Parliament, for not doing enough, for not going fast enough, for not doing things just the way they thought they should be done. The answer to all this is that the wisdom of our course speaks for itself in the result achieved.

What I have just said of the success achieved by Canada's armed forces in their contribution to victory is true of the prosperity which Canada has enjoyed throughout these years of war, and which has reached heights never before

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attained, and I might truly say, never before regarded as capable of being achieved. No one will deny that, during the war, there has been prosperity in Canada. Our war-time prosperity has not just come about. It has been no accident or matter of chance. The Canadian people have been prosperous because we have approached full employment in larger measure than ever before; and because the benefits of full employment were not eaten up by steadily rising prices. That, too, has been the result of careful planning, skilful organization and wise direction. Unhappily, that planning and organization has had to be directed in largest measure to the work of destruction. It has involved spending by the government on a huge scale. But what the government has spent of the people's money for purposes of war, has found its way for the most part into the pockets of the people in the form of purchasing power, which has created and provided employment on a scale never before known.

We cannot expect, and we do not want to continue in peace-time, government spending on a war-time scale or anything approaching it. Neither do we want to go on spending public money on those things that work for death and destruction. If, however, it is possible to become prosperous in a time of war, through the employment war affords by the demand it creates for those things which serve the ends of death and desolation

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surely it should be possible, by a demand for those things which serve the ends of life and happiness, to achieve a like or even greater prosperity. What we want for all who have served in this war, whether on the fields of battle or in humble and unseen ways at home, is that, from now on, they may have life, and have it more abundantly. This, I believe, can be achieved by measures that serve to create and to maintain prosperity through full employment. This, I believe, with proper planning, organization and direction, should be even more readily attainable in times of peace than in those of war. It will require, however, no less foresight, no less vigilance, no less constant effort than that of which we have shown ourselves so capable over the past six years.

And here let me begin at once to illustrate what I mean: and what so far as the government itself is concerned, we have already done, and if given the opportunity, will continue to do to make possible this very necessary and most desirable result. The government has foreseen that when war-time spending stopped, something must take its place if depression and mass unemployment were not again to follow in the wake of war. We have seen that once spending for war stopped, purchasing power must be provided in other ways; that money must be kept in circulation if full employment were to be kept up and prosperity maintained.

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Until Japan is totally defeated, spending for purposes of war will, of course, continue. It will continue not only to support Canada's contribution toward the winning of the war in the Far East, but to help in furnishing further munitions of war which may be required by the United States, the other nations of the Commonwealth, and other of the allied powers - China among the number.

During the war itself, our total war effort was greatly increased and employment and prosperity raised to undreamed of heights through mutual aid in the form of arms, munitions and supplies for our allies. We are continuing mutual aid into the peace. Through UNRRA and in other ways, we are helping to relieve starving and destitution, and to restore the liberated countries of Europe. This mutual aid is provided out of the Canadian treasury, but do not forget that it puts money in the pockets of the people, keeps up employment, and helps to restore foreign markets -- all at the same time.

Foreign markets are absolutely essential to the prosperity of Canada in the long run. The present government believes that meanwhile, it is good business for the government, through mutual aid, to help provide those markets itself.

Of course, we are not relying altogether or even mainly on exports to provide employment and prosperity.

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Through the newly created Department of Reconstruction and in other ways, the government is doing everything possible to encourage, just as rapidly as possible, the conversion of war industries not needed for the war effort against Japan. We are encouraging investment in new industries and the expansion of existing industries to provide for an expanding domestic market.

Just as the present administration carefully planned, organized and directed the change over of our national economy, in furtherance of Canada's war effort, from a peace-time to a wartime basis, so, for some time past, we have been planning and organizing the transition back from a wartime to a peace-time economy. We believe that for some time to come, there will be an expanding domestic market to consume all that we are able to produce. Let me give you the reason why we believe this to be the case.

During the war when the bulk of our production was needed for the task of destruction, the government did all in its power to encourage saving. By means of the price ceiling, we have kept the value of those savings steady. As a consequence, there is, in the country, a vast hoard of savings waiting to be spent on repairs, on new construction and on clothing, furniture, motor cars, household appliances, and a host of other things as soon as they come on the market.

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This pent-up demand for goods will mean, I believe, a greater demand than we can hope to satisfy in the next two or three years. War Service gratuities, war pensions, social security payments, will also mean money in circulation, purchasing power and employment. By family allowances which the government has made provision to pay in July, the home market for goods and services of all kinds will be permanently increased. I hope you have caught the force of the word "permanently" in reference to the significant part family allowances will play in maintaining employment year in and year out. Observe this too: the employment provided in satisfying these and other demands will help to keep up wages, farm prices and all incomes and, thereby, provide still further employment.

Let me here say just a word about the criticism sometimes heard that social security payments which redistribute the national income do not really increase purchasing power, because the money is merely taken from one man's pocket and put in the pocket of another. I shall illustrate what I wish to say from family allowances. We can be practically sure that the money paid out in family allowances will be spent at once, or almost at once. Certainly it will not be withheld from circulation. It will, of course, have to come in to the treasury from taxes. But taxes - and particularly those we intend to keep on collecting - are

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based on ability to pay. The money to pay family allowances will be collected in large part from those who might otherwise have retained it to augment their fortunes. Suppose, for example, it is paid by a well-to-do manufacturer. It may well be that it will come back to him again in increased demand for his goods, in increased employment in his plants, and consequently in increased income for himself. Let me put it in another way. Family allowances, by keeping up the level of consumption will help to keep up everybody's income and, in that way, keep down the real burden of taxation.

Finally, of course, where foreign markets, investment in industry and private spending do not provide full employment, the government is prepared to fill the gap with public investment in national development and public works. Public works will, of course, continue to be required to meet in increasing measure the needs of an expanding country. We do not look on this type of spending as the main way of achieving full employment. Rather it is an ever-present form of insurance to be used as necessary, and to the extent necessary to keep up a high level of employment and income.

In the immediate future, as rapidly as labour and materials can be secured, the government looks to housing as one of the largest sources of employment. The need is there, the demand is everywhere apparent. Only a week ago, my

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colleagues, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Reconstruction issued a joint statement at Ottawa announcing the speeding up of the housing programme. The statement concluded with these words: "Everything possible will be done, consistent with the active prosecution of the war against Japan, to get houses built and built quickly."

The housing programme is, of course, only one part of the many-sided programme, now in operation, to ensure full employment in the years of peace.

A main task of the Canadian government from now on will be to maintain full employment and to provide social security for the people of our country.

I am happy to be able to say that the present government did not leave these problems to be solved after the end of the war. We made our plans while the war itself was on, and most of these plans have been translated into action. The necessary laws are on the statute books; the necessary departments of government have been established; and our policies are in actual operation. You do not need to judge the present government on its promises. You can judge us by what we have already accomplished.

Did time permit, I should like to pursue still further this subject of the measures we are taking to ensure full employment, and in particular to supplement it by

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an account of the measures we have already taken and others we intend to take to further social security, and to establish a national minimum standard of living. That, however, I shall have to reserve for another occasion. I do not wish to let today go by without saying something to you on the all-important subject of national unity. What I have seen in the course of my present tour of Western Canada, has impressed me more than ever with the great importance of the preservation of national unity, if the policies we are so anxious to further are to have a chance of succeeding. If we fail in preserving national unity, we shall fail in all else that we undertake, for in the preservation of national unity lies our very existence as a nation.

Of all problems a government is called upon to face in Canada, the greatest and the gravest is the preservation of national unity. In the years that I have been in public life in Canada, there is no objective which I have kept so constantly before me. I have made of it the guiding star of the several administrations of which I have been the head. Without national unity, a country cannot successfully defend itself; without national unity a country can have no influence in the world; without national unity, a country cannot hope to promote the prosperity and well-being of its people. National unity, in other words, is the foundation of all that makes for the true greatness of a nation.

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Our opponents would have you believe that the present administration has not always succeeded in preserving national unity. That may be so if we seek to view this vast undertaking in a piecemeal and short-sighted way. But I should like to ask what administration, confronted with the problems with which we have been faced in this war, would have been as successful as the present government have been in keeping Canada united. I do not deny that, at times, there have been evidences of division between race and race, and between creed and creed. It is true that class interests, geographical divisions and economic cleavages have also asserted themselves. If these divisions have existed to any appreciable degree, where may I ask does the fault lie for creating them? Surely the blame is not with those who, by word and deed, in season and out of season, year after year, have striven to reconcile differences, and to stress the great truth that what all Canadians have in common, is vastly more important than the things which, at times, may serve to divide. It is well to remember that unity and uniformity are by no means the same thing. We may be all the richer for some of our differences. There is such a thing as unity in diversity. Nature herself delights in variety.

For whatever lack of national unity there may be in Canada - and the united response of our people to the recent Victory Loan is hardly the action of a divided country -

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for whatever appearances of division there may be, the blame surely rests with the small but powerful minority of those who, for their own ends, continually seek to arouse and play upon prejudices and to foment strife and bitterness between races and regions, classes and creeds. All such, I personally consider as not only false to the highest interests of their own country, but as enemies of all countries.

This terrible war, in which humanity has been crucified, owed its origin to racial, religious and class hatreds engendered against men and women of other races, of other creeds and of other lands. In Canada, our people are of many races, of many creeds, with origins in many lands. In a world which unhappily will long remain a seething cauldron of enmity and bitterness, any man who lends his voice or his pen to the stirring up of racial, religious or sectional strife should be regarded as a common enemy of mankind.

I have no apology to make for continuing to advocate national unity as the first of all objectives. It is because the Liberal Party embraces within its ranks such substantial numbers from every section, every race, every creed and every social class, that, at this hour, it is, I believe, in a better position to serve the interests of Canada as a whole than any other political party in our country.

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The greatest of all wrongs against national unity of which any citizen of Canada can be guilty is, I believe, that of seeking to prejudice one part of Canada against some other part, to set province over against province. For years, as you know, my opponents have tried to have the country believe that in my actions in public life, I was influenced in the main by the support I received from the Province of Quebec. Today they are doing their utmost to have the people of Quebec believe that I have been their enemy, not their friend. No kind of political warfare could be more contemptible. It may, if it succeeds, do me some harm for a day, but the harm it will do me for a day will be as nothing as compared to the injury it may do our country for a generation. Speaking here in Manitoba, may I say I have long known that Mr. Bracken had little or no experience in federal affairs. I hardly believed, however, that he would lend himself in his first appeal to the people for support in the federal arena, to this business of seeking to arouse prejudice against myself in Quebec by seeking to have it appear that I have not been true to the highest interests of that province, while at the same time he would have it appear in the rest of Canada that I have not been true to the highest interests of Canada because I have so greatly favoured Quebec.

The other day at Oshawa, Mr. Bracken is quoted by the Canadian Press as saying : "it" - meaning the present

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government - "has left the people of Quebec misunderstood and misrepresented before the world."

I wish to examine that statement for a moment. You all remember how, at the beginning of the war, the then provincial government of Quebec, the government headed then as at present by Mr. Duplessis, challenged the war policy of the present government, challenged our country's participation in war, and fought an election on that issue. Who, I ask Mr. Bracken, took up that challenge and fought and defeated the provincial administration of Mr. Duplessis in 1939? Who maintained the unity of Canada behind the war effort of our country? Who, but myself and the leaders of the Liberal party in the province of Quebec with my late colleague the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, at their head. Who was working then for national unity, and who was trying to destroy it?

When, last November and December, Parliament was faced with a grave issue which threatened to divide the whole of Canada and to weaken its war effort, while our men in Europe were facing the most perilous hours in their campaign, who then put the unity and the future of the whole of Canada above the immediate interests of party, of province or of popularity? It was not Mr. Bracken nor Mr. Bracken's friends in the province of Quebec. Of all, they were the most vigorous in their opposition tothe policies Mr. Bracken's friends.

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in Ontario were the loudest in supporting. The men who had the courage to put first the unity of their country, and the long run interests of all its people, French-speaking as well as English-speaking, were the men who were being most vigorously denounced at that time.

By the action of the French-speaking Liberal Ministers from Quebec in their support of the administration in meeting the situation in the only way in which a condition of chaos in Canada could have been avoided at the time, Canada's unity was preserved before the enemy and before the world. What is the result today? Despite all the charges and counter-charges of a general election campaign, the country is united and is rejoicing today as it has not rejoiced since the visit of the King and Queen, six years ago.

The Liberal Party stands before the country today as an undivided national party. In all but five or six constituencies, the Liberal party has a full slate of candidates in every province running under the party name and pledged to support the known principles and policies of the present Liberal administration.

Until the day of official nominations, Mr. Bracken's party, the Progressive-Conservative party, had only three or four candidates in the province of Quebec. Suddenly, on nomination day, twenty-seven candidates were produced, like

rabbits out of a hat, by Mr. Paul Lafontaine, Mr. Bracken's organizer in Quebec. The Conservatives in the constituencies - if there were any visible - had nothing to do with choosing these candidates, they did not even know who they would be until they appeared, at the last moment, as it seemed from nowhere.

But that is the least extraordinary part of the story. In announcing the names of the 27 Conservative candidates, this is what, according to the Montreal Gazette of May 15th, Mr. Lafontaine said:

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Paul E. Lafontaine
Progressive Conservative Provincial Organizer
Montreal Gazette, May 15, 1945

"The Progressive Conservative party will support 60 candidates in the Province of Quebec. Twenty-seven of these will be straight party candidates, carrying the party name, and the rest will be independents. In five counties we will not oppose certain candidates who run there. For several weeks we have received delegations from all counties and have discovered that popular opinion is for the election of Camillien Houde, P. J. A. Cardin, Liguori Lacombe, Sasseville Roy and Frederic Dorion. The Progressive Conservative party will respect this popular opinion and will not oppose these gentlemen."

. . . . . .

"We want to be fair, too, to certain Independents who make some reserve on points of our program that are not essential," Mr. Lafontaine declared, "and these candidates will so advise their electors.

"This is in line," he said, "with freedom of thought and of action, and I know that John Bracken, the great Canadian conciliator, will, in the Federal field as he did in Manitoba, get fromthese Quebec men the best qualities and advantages each has to offer to the administration of the affairs of this country."

D 48847

What does that mean? Who are the men who according to Mr. Bracken's official organizer, the Conservative party will not oppose, because the party respects popular opinion in their constituencies. Some of them, at least, have been the most extreme opponents of Canada's war effort.

But who are the 33 other Independent candidates the Progressive-Conservative party is going to support in the province of Quebec? I venture to say that, if you will look over their records, you will find that most, if not all of them, were supporters of Mr. Duplessis' government in 1939, when that government challenged the war effort of Canada.

And what are the points of Mr. Bracken's programme which in the words of his organizer, Mr. Lafontaine, "<u>are not essential</u>".

I am willing to let Mr. Bracken speak for himself on that point. Here is his statement made at Brandon as quoted by the Canadian Press:

D 48848

Mr. John Bracken
at Brandon, May 21, 1945
Canadian Press

"There are some constituencies in the province of Quebec where, as has been announced, no Progressive Conservative candidate has been nominated. It does not follow that we support any candidate who has been nominated in those constituencies -- the fact is that, in five of them, we do not.

"With respect to certain Independents in other Quebec constituencies whom one of our officials stated we would be supporting, the party organization in Quebec has been frank and honest in stating its position. If in these latter constituencies there are candidates who support us on our policies of national unity and of economic and social reform, so much the better. If they differ with us in certain matters -- such as, for example, our manpower policy -- that is their privilege, and they will no doubt make their position clear to their electors."

D 48849

In Ontario and in the West, Mr. Bracken's party says the manpower policy is the one important question in this election, yet in Quebec his organizer described the same question as a point which is "not essential".

On that record, I am willing to leave it to the people of Canada to decide who is misrepresenting Quebec - the party which is running its own candidates under its own name in support of an administration with policies and programmes which are known, or the party which can only find 27 candidates who dare to use its name, but which is supporting 33 others who call themsleves independents, and who advocate policies directly opposed to those advocated ~~xxxM~~ by Mr. Bracken in the other eight provinces.

Ladies and Gemtlemen:

Today is Victoria Day. Let me say a further word about unity, the larger unity of which we are so proud, the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the unity today of the United Nations, the unity that alone can make for world security,

By their common efforts in the achievement of victory over Nazi Germany, the nations of the British Commonwealth have given the world a striking demonstration of their unity and their strength, It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest

D 48850

possible co-operation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importande to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

By our co-operation in war, the nations of the Commonwealth have made one other thing perfectly clear. We have shown that the strength of the Commonwealth is increased as the national strength of each of its members increases; and that the unity of the Commonwealth becomes stronger as the national unity of each of its member nations is strengthened.

The development of Canada's nationhood is not, and has never been, a source of division within the Commonwealth. On the contrary, the more self reliant our country has become, the more completely our equality of status has been recognized and accepted, the firmer the bonds of Commonwealth have been.

The reality of Canadian nationhood has long been achieved; but certain of the appearances, the outward symbols, of nationhood are still lacking. One of the symbols lacking is a clear definition of Canadian citizenship. Our people today are prouder than ever of being Canadians. I believe they wish to be able to proclaim their citizenship before their neighbours and before the world. To make this possible, it would, I believe, be most desirable to have

D 48851

incorporated in the laws of Canada, a clear and comprehensive definition of what constitutes a Canadian citizen. The present laws governing nationality and citizenship in Canada are in a somewhat confused and uncertain state. I should like to have an opportunity to help in having this situation corrected.

Another of the symbols we lack is a distinctive national flag. We have a flag - a distinctive flag - which has long been used on our merchant ships at sea. It is the flag which is flown at international conferences and over Canadian diplomatic missions abroad. But, what is of the greatest significance for us today, it is the flag which our Canadian troops carried into battle. It is the flag under whose folds great areas of Europe were liberated. That flag is the Canadian Red Ensign.

At my suggestion, the government directed that, in honour of our fighting men, the Red Ensign should be flown from the Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa from sunrise on V-E Day to sunset on the following Sunday which was the day of thanksgiving for Victory. That recognition has, I believe, been greatly appreciated throughout Canada.

D 48852

I recall all this because I believe the time has come when Canada, like Australia, like New Zealand and like South Africa, should have a distinctive national flag. The need for a distinctive flag is all the greater when we reflect that the Canadian troops who are to serve against Japan are to serve with the forces of the United States. They will wish to carry into battle in the Orient the flag they have fought under in Europe.

We shall, of course, always honour the Union Jack as the symbol of the British Commonwealth and Empire. What Canada's distinctive national flag should be, what its design should be is, I believe, a matter which the people themselves, through their representatives in Parliament should decide. I feel, however, the decision is one that should not be delayed. May I, therefore, say at once that if on June 11th, the present government is continued in office, and I am myself still a member of the House of Commons, I shall, at the first session of the next Parliament, ask Parliament to approve and authorize a distinctive Canadian flag.

It is a particular satisfaction to me to make these announcements at the close of my visit to the West.

D 48853

In the past few days, I have been visiting the constituency of Prince Albert which has elected me to Parliament over so many years. Prince Albert, like Winnipeg, like the whole of the West, is peopled by those of different creeds and of diverse racial origins. Yet, in these days of rejoicing over the Victory to which our country contributed so much, I have been conscious, as never before, of the deep pride which all, but especially the young, feel and express in being Canadians. By strengthening that pride in our common Canadianism, we shall, I believe, be strengthening our position in the British Commonwealth and our influence in the world.

D 48854

LONDON - For Additional Remarks

Mr. Bracken says: Mr. King permits Washington to conduct Canada's external affairs.

Only two comments to make:

1. Remember 1940 when Britain took full weight of Nazi onslaught.
Remember Ogdensburg, the destroyers, the bases, etc.
Prefer Mr. Churchill's judgment to Mr. Bracken's.

This is what Churchill said:

"I am very glad to have this "opportunity of thanking you personally "for all you have done for the common "cause and especially in promoting a "harmony of sentiment throughout the new "world. This deep understanding will "be a dominant factor in the rescue "of Europe from a relapse into the dark "ages."

2. Farmers of Western Ont. know what Reciprocal Agreements of 1935 and 1938 have meant. Relations with Roosevelt and Hull and personal share in negotiation. Value of experience and friendships in reaching post-war trade agreements.

D 48855

Speaking in London - great railway centre - tribute to railway workers in war - Railways prospered in war because of heavy traffic. In peace, it is trade which makes traffic. Railway workers have direct interest in a government which really means to develop trade.

Mr. Bracken's hint of unfriendliness to U.S.A.-is he going back to the old Tory policy of "no truck or trade with the Yankees?

D 48856

September 17, 1940 - in the House of Lords, Lord Caldecote made the following reference:

"Perhaps the most striking development in recent weeks has been the coming together of the British Empire and the United States, as illustrated in the recent agreement for the grant of defence bases to the United States in certain British territories and the supply of American destroyers for our naval forces. But this is not all. It has been coupled with and indeed preceded by the agreement between the United States and Canada for the setting up of a joint defence board and perhaps I may be allowed to repeat the tribute which the Prime Minister paid in a recent message to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, for the great part which he has consistently played in promoting a harmony of sentiment between the British Empire and the United States of America. I need not remind your lordships how pregnant with possibilities this new development may well be for peace and freedom in the years to come."

(13)

Industrial Fears

D 48857

Arise out of conditions as they have developed in modern industry under the stress of ~~unregulated~~ competition.

Inevitable in lives of multitudes of men and women -

no fault of employer or employee

Social fears bred of social conditions

So far as voluntary effort - cannot meet the need - the State must.

Effect of existing Industrial Order

Everywhere vast inequalities of circumstances and opportunities.

While wealth of world vastly increased its distribution has become increasingly disproportionate.

Community considerations afford opportunities to some, and impose handicaps on others -

economically strong become stronger
" weak " weaker

True basis of industrial policy.

Industrial policy must be founded upon recognition of human personality and " " " community well-being.

(1)

Social Fears

D 48838

Fears occasioned by the organization of industrial society -
(or the unorganized condition)

1. Want (Starvation) sweated trades
destitution inadequate remuneration
e.g. sweating.

2. Unemployment - specialization in industry
financial - due to crisis.

depression
inventions
tariffs
foreign labour imported
crop failures

3. Sickness and invalidity

using up scanty savings

4. Old Age - alternative poverty or dependence

lessened power of earning
Old Age annuities and pensions.

5. Mothers unable to provide for children (death of breadwinner)

Widows' pensions
Mothers' allowances.

6. Extra outlays eg. birth of children
maternity benefit

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

Corrected

D 48859

Nation-wide broadcast by
The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
London, May 30, 1945

** ** ** ** ** ** **

I am speaking to you tonight from London in the centre of Western Ontario. On Monday of next week, the electors of Ontario will decide who, during the next four or five years, are to be their representatives in the Legislative Assembly of this province. A week from Monday, the electors in all parts of Canada will decide who, as members of the House of Commons, are to represent them over a similar period of time, in the Parliament of Canada.

During the years I have been Prime Minister, I have recognized my right, as a citizen, to participate in provincial elections, especially where issues of importance to the Dominion were being discussed. At the same time, I have felt that as one who was brought into immediate contact with the governments of all the provinces, irrespective of their political complexion, it was advisable for me to refrain from active participation in provincial campaigns. I have, therefore, restricted my speaking on the platform, as in Parliament, almost exclusively to a discussion of federal issues.

I mention this at the outset of my remarks, as I intend to confine what I have to say this evening to a consideration of questions, which affect the Dominion as a whole. The limited time at my disposal would, under any circumstances, render this advisable. I am particularly anxious, however, that no false construction should be placed on my limiting what I have to say tonight to national questions. In so doing, I am simply pursuing the course I have followed during the eighteen years I have been in office.

Please understand this does not mean that I am not supporting Liberal principles and policies in the provincial as well as in the federal arena -- for I am. I very strongly believe that at no time has there been greater need, than in the present, for the widest application of Liberal ideas and principles in all fields of government.

D 48860

You will not be surprised, therefore, when I tell you that few things have afforded me more satisfaction and pleasure, in both the provincial and federal campaigns in this province, than to see the Liberal Party so strongly united in support of liberal policies; and in opposition to the policies of their political opponents.

Coming, immediately, then to the campaign, as related to federal issues, may I say that the place and the time of the present meeting seem to me to be most opportune. The place is opportune because few localities could be more favourably situated than London from which to speak to the people of Canada as a whole. London is located in a province which lies midway between the four western provinces of Canada and the four eastern provinces. In a nation-wide broadcast, this compels consideration primarily of those problems which are of national as opposed to local or provincial concern. Moreover, being a centre in which industrial and agricultural communities are all so closely inter-related, it brings to the fore the many-sided character of our national economy.

A nation-wide broadcast has the advantage that it restricts the possibility of sectional appeals, whether they be on grounds of race or religion, or of class or economic interest. It compels a recognition of the fact that Canada is best served as we come to see in all our policies that the general interest, the interest of the people as a whole, is vastly more important to national well-being than any special interest or the interest of any particular group. In a general election, it is all-important that this should be kept constantly in mind.

The time, also, of the present meeting, as I have said, is indeed opportune. The Canadian people are being called upon to make a great decision. You cannot be made too conscious of the fact that the time within which this decision must be made is becoming short indeed.

D 43861

Throughout the past two years, you have heard constant talk about the date of the next general elections. You have seen the government's political opponents devoting their time and energies to political organization and the spread of political propaganda, while the government itself was giving its undivided attention to the prosecution of the war and to preparation for the problems of the post-war era. You were told, on the one hand, that the elections would come at any moment, and on the other, that it was the government's duty to extend the life of the present Parliament. As the head of the government, I steadily resisted all pressure in either of these directions. I said that until the decisive battles in Europe were fought, until victory crowned our efforts, no general election would be held, unless an election became necessary because of the expiration of the time fixed by the Constitution for the duration of Parliament. I promised, however, that once Nazi Germany was defeated, the people would be given the earliest possible opportunity to say to what government they wished to entrust the further conduct of the war, and the solution of the great problems which would confront Canada in the post-war years.

In the course I have pursued, I think I may claim to have protected the rights of the Canadian people and, in particular, the rights of the members of Canada's armed forces, to elect a new parliament, under the most favourable of all circumstances.

What has been the result of the care thus exercised? One result has been that before the government began its election campaign, the war in Europe had come to an end with the unconditional surrender of Germany. Meanwhile, here at home, undistracted by the turmoil of domestic political strife, you were able to follow the magnificent contribution of Canada's fighting forces in the liberation of one country after another in Europe. We were able, before the election campaign, to carry through another Victory Loan to which you subscribed in amounts surpassing all those of previous years. Another result is that to all of us is given the opportunity of making the great decision in this

D 48862

election under conditions less distressing and less distracting than any we have known since the beginning of the war. The fighting forces have been given time for reflection, and a better opportunity to understand the issues. They, like you, are making a decision which will affect their fortunes through the fateful years that lie immediately ahead.

I wonder if you realize that on Monday last the members of Canada's armed forces began to cast their ballots in this federal election. I wonder if you understand what it means that they have been secured in this right by the amplest provisions it was possible for Parliament to enact.

It is something to be able to say, as I can say today, that not one of that vast company, the bravest of our land, wherever he or she may be in any part of the wide world, will be deprived of this fundamental right of every citizen, because of undue haste on the part of the government, or through lack of adequate facilities in taking the vote. The right to vote should belong to those, above all others, who by their lives have helped to preserve their country's freedom.

I have seen it asserted that in this happy conjunction of events, we have, once more, an example of Mackenzie King's luck. After all, it is not a bad thing for a party leader to have luck always on his side. I wonder, however, whether those who today are making that assertion appreciate what it required apart from luck to assure Canada's entry into the war as a united nation. I wonder if they realize what it has taken of resolution and determination to keep our country as united as it has been throughout all the years of war. I ask what the record of Canada's war effort would have been today, if, on any issue, the people of Canada had become irreparably divided before the outbreak of war, or at any time during any of the years of war.

When we talk of "luck" in the conduct of national affairs, it is perhaps well that situations all too quickly forgotten should be looked at squarely

D 48863

in the face. If Canada's war effort has been the magnificent success it has, if every difficult situation which has arisen has been successfully surmounted, this has surely not been a matter merely of good fortune and, least of all, of luck. It has been because around the Council table there have been wise and able counsellors, and because every aspect of Canada's war effort has been carefully planned, organized, and directed.

But there was another reason why I strove so earnestly to have the general election held off until the war in Europe was over. I recognized that once unconditional surrender had become the lot of Nazi Germany, we would have reached the summit of our main endeavour, and that from the heights thus gained we would be able to obtain a clearer view of much that lay beyond; that from this point of vantage we would all the better be able to see and to plan for the future. Well, that is exactly where we are today. As between the past and the future, we have come to the Great Divide. The past we know, to it belongs an old order of things, which pray God may rapidly pass away. What the future holds in store, whether it is to be but a repetition of the old order, with inequalities increased, and things going generally from bad to worse, or a new order with more in the way of human well-being and social justice, is largely for us to determine.

All this could not have been seen while the war in Europe was on, and until the one great enemy of mankind had been vanquished for all time. We now know that the free nations of the world possess a power over evil forces which nothing can thwart if only we continue to work together, and work together for the good of our fellow-men.

What I want you to see, and see clearly tonight, is that all this is not mere rhetoric or allegory. It is the truth of things as it bears directly upon your future and upon mine. Remember, from now on, it is with the future, not with the past that you should be mainly concerned. It does not require much in the way of vision to perceive that, in the present campaign, great efforts

D48864

are being put forth to conceal from you the fact that it is the future with which you should, above all else, be concerned. Our political opponents, especially those of the Progressive-Conservative persuasion, would have the issue of the present campaign fought out not in relation to the future, for which they have nothing but vague promises to offer, but in relation to the past. All their criticisms about the details of policies in the past, all their harpings on alleged mistakes or shortcomings of the present government in the conduct of the war, all they have to say about what they call the man-power muddle, is just so much political dust thrown in your eyes to conceal their own very obvious limitations/~~and~~ to hide from you/ the provision already made by the government ~~in office~~ to cope with the colossal problems of the future. .It is all so much political dust the program of the govt. in office and

All this fuss and fury I answer in a single sentence. Granted there is room for criticism; that there have been shortcomings and mistakes, that differences have arisen as to the methods of doing things, do you think any other government could have established over the many years of war a better record in the management of your affairs?

As to the future, upon which it is now for you to decide, do you think that a government formed by any other political party in Canada is likely to be as favourably situated as the present administration to cope with ~~the~~ its problems ~~of the future?~~ If so, perhaps Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell, or some of the leaders of the other parties or groups, would tell you before June the 11th who its personnel is to be, and tell you in more specific terms than those thus far expressed, what its exact programme is to be.

D 48865

The coming years are going to be troubled and fateful years in which great questions will be decided for a generation or more. They are years which will determine whether the world is to have lasting peace, whether international trade is to be restored, whether full employment and social security are to become increasingly the common lot.

Here in London I wish to speak especially of social security and of what the present government has done and intends to do to help the people of Canada achieve a comprehensive programme of social insurance; what it is doing to secure a national minimum standard of living and human well-being for all.

We are all today rejoicing at the great victory won by Allied arms over Nazi Germany. We have always professed to regard the present war as a struggle for freedom and that, in truth, is what it is. But we would be wrong to believe that the war for freedom will be over when militarist Japan has met the fate of Nazi Germany. We hope and believe that day may not be long in coming. But the final defeat of the attempt by Germany and Japan to dominate and enslave the world will only be the end of another battle in the age-long struggle for man's freedom. It marks only the clearing of the ground on which we must seek to build a new social order based upon human freedom.

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The greatest of all fears in the minds of men today is the fear of war. The representatives of the allied nations are earnestly seeking at San Francisco to find the means of eliminating that fear. Next to the fear of war, the greatest fear for most men and women in modern industrial society is the fear of unemployment. There are men and women who have almost dreaded the coming of victory because they feared that depression and unemployment might follow in victory's train.

D 48866

The achievement of full employment and social security will require no less careful planning, skilful organization and wise direction than has been needed in achieving a maximum war effort. In peace-time, the planning and direction of government must be exercised in such a way as to increase, and not to decrease, the opportunities for individual freedom and initiative. At the same time, individual freedom and initiative must not be directed to purely selfish ends. These great qualities must be harnessed in the service of humanity. It is the aim of our policies of full employment and social security to reconcile the maximum of individual freedom with the greatest possible measure of mutual aid in the attainment of human welfare.

The achievement of security, whether on a personal, on a national or on a world scale, means the elimination of fear. World security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of war. National security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of external aggression and internal disunity. Social security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of unemployment and a host of other fears of misfortune or disaster.

Throughout my life, the enlargement of opportunities for those less fortunately situated in the struggle for existence has been an abiding interest. I believe I have a right to feel some pride in the part which I had, as long ago as 1900, in the establishment of a Department of Labour for Canada; in the part I have since had in the development of machinery for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes, in the introduction of old age pensions, of pensions for the blind, of veterans' pensions and gratuities of unemployment insurance, and of floors under farm and fish prices and in the battle against inflation. All these measures are designed to provide insurance against major social hazards and all of them represent Liberal achievements.

Today we face a greater opportunity than ever before to advance the cause of social reform.

D 48867

In that new advance in social progress, a great step forward has been taken with the enactment of family allowances.

The government recognizes that the family and the home are the foundation of national life, and that any measure which strengthens the family and the home will strengthen the nation. The experience of war has surely taught us that if we are to expect our citizens to share equally in the burdens and obligations of citizenship, we must first seek to give to them an equality of opportunity in the battle of life. These ends, and the desire to aid in ensuring for all children a minimum of well-being, were the basic reasons for the introduction of family allowances by the present government.

The children of Canada are the nation of tomorrow. ~~They are the greatest national asset.~~ Yet the burden of conserving and developing that asset is very unequally distributed today. The main burden of raising Canada's children falls upon one fifth of the working population. Since the future of the country depends upon these children, and since wage scales take no account of the number of children ~~a man has~~ in a family, it is surely no more than just that the financial cost of this national service should be shared by all in proportion to their ability to pay.

Since the larger number of children live on the farms, family allowances will help to distribute the national income more fairly between farmers and towns-people.

Family allowances will help greatly to remove existing inequalities between children in different families. They will give the great majority of children better nurture, better shelter, better health. Canada will come to have a finer citizenry and a healthier race.

So far as the treasury goes, the government is convinced that a large part, at least, of the cost of family allowances will be recovered in the more buoyant revenues resulting from keeping up the levels of production and employment and all without increasing the burden of taxation.

D48868

The Liberal programme looks beyond family allowances to the early establishment of ~~two~~ other great social measures. The Government is prepared to support a national scheme of contributory old age pensions on a basis more generous than that of the existing pensions. The government also believes that a substantial improvement in national health could be achieved through dominion-provincial co-operation. We have accordingly pledged ourselves to support a measure for federal assistance in a nation-wide system of health insurance, to include assistance to the provinces for preventive medicine. If the present government is returned to office, we shall proceed with these measures as soon as agreements with the provinces can be concluded.

Just a word in conclusion. It is perhaps not amiss that as we enter on an era which I trust may be devoted to the promotion of international peace and social reform that I should recall to the mind of the people of Canada, what my opponents had to say about my leadership in the early years of the war.

You have only to look up the debates in the House of Commons and the files of the newspapers which were attacking me then as they are attacking me again today to see how lavish some of them were at that time in their praise of me as one especially well qualified to be at the head of a government in times of peace. They said it was everywhere known that my interests were strongly on the side of peace and the preservation of peace, but they claimed that for this very reason I was anything but the right person to be at the head of a government at a time of war. Whether I have been equal to that responsibility, which happily now is so largely a matter of the past, I am only too ready to leave it to others to say. Particularly am I prepared to leave the final word to those great leaders of other parts of the British Commonwealth and of other of the United Nations, with whom that responsibility has been shared. What I am concerned about, now that we are entering upon an era of

D48868

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D48869

social change, is that the trend of the new era shall be in the right direction. The right direction I believe is towards the maintenance of world peace and securing for the men women and children of our own and other countries, a larger measure of social justice and social security, and more in the way of opportunity in the battle of life.

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

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

Nation-wide broadcast by
The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
London, May 30, 1945

D 48870

** ** ** ** ** ** **

I am speaking to you tonight from London in the centre of Western Ontario. On Monday of next week, the electors of Ontario will decide who, during the next four or five years, are to be their representatives in the Legislative Assembly of this province. A week from Monday, the electors in all parts of Canada will decide who, as members of the House of Commons, are to represent them over a similar period of time, in the Parliament of Canada.

During the years I have been Prime Minister, I have recognized my right, as a citizen, to participate in provincial elections, especially where issues of importance to the Dominion were being discussed. At the same time, I have felt that as one who was brought into immediate contact with the governments of all the provinces, irrespective of their political complexion, it was advisable for me to refrain from active participation in provincial campaigns. I have, therefore, restricted my speaking on the platform, as in Parliament, almost exclusively to a discussion of federal issues.

I mention this at the outset of my remarks, as I intend to confine what I have to say this evening to a consideration of questions, which affect the Dominion as a whole. The limited time at my disposal would, under any circumstances, render this advisable. I am particularly anxious, however, that no false construction should be placed on my limiting what I have to say tonight to national questions. In so doing, I am simply pursuing the course I have followed during the eighteen years I have been in office.

Please understand this does not mean that I am not supporting Liberal principles and policies in the provincial as well as in the federal arena -- for I am. I very strongly believe that at no time has there been greater need, than in the present, for the widest application of Liberal ideas and principles in all fields of government.

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You will not be surprised, therefore, when I tell you that few things have afforded me more satisfaction and pleasure, in both the provincial and federal campaigns in this province, than to see the Liberal Party so strongly united in support of liberal policies; and in opposition to the policies of their political opponents.

Coming, immediately, then to the campaign, as related to federal issues, may I say that the place and the time of the present meeting seem to me to be most opportune. The place is opportune because few localities could be more favourably situated than London from which to speak to the people of Canada as a whole. London is located in a province which lies midway between the four western provinces of Canada and the four eastern provinces. In a nation-wide broadcast, this compels consideration primarily of those problems which are of national as opposed to local or provincial concern. Moreover, being a centre in which industrial and agricultural communities are all so closely inter-related, it brings to the fore the many-sided character of our national economy.

A nation-wide broadcast has the advantage that it restricts the possibility of sectional appeals, whether they be on grounds of race or religion, or of class or economic interest. It compels a recognition of the fact that Canada is best served as we come to see in all our policies that the general interest, the interest of the people as a whole, is vastly more important to national well-being than any special interest or the interest of any particular group. In a general election, it is all-important that this should be kept constantly in mind.

The time, also, of the present meeting, as I have said, is indeed opportune. The Canadian people are being called upon to make a great decision. You cannot be made too conscious of the fact that the time within which this decision must be made is becoming short indeed.

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Throughout the past two years, you have heard constant talk about the date of the next general elections. You have seen the government's political opponents devoting their time and energies to political organization and the spread of political propaganda, while the government itself was giving its undivided attention to the prosecution of the war and to preparation for the problems of the post-war era. You were told, on the one hand, that the elections would come at any moment, and on the other, that it was the government's duty to extend the life of the present Parliament. As the head of the government, I steadily resisted all pressure in either of these directions. I said that until the decisive battles in Europe were fought, until victory crowned our efforts, no general election would be held, unless an election became necessary because of the expiration of the time fixed by the Constitution for the duration of Parliament. I promised, however, that once Nazi Germany ~~were~~ was defeated, the people would be given the earliest possible opportunity to say to what government they wished to entrust the further conduct of the war, and the solution of the great problems which would confront Canada in the post-war years.

In the course I have pursued, I think I may claim to have protected the rights of the Canadian people and, in particular, the rights of the members of Canada's armed forces, to elect a new parliament, under the most favourable of all circumstances.

What has been the result of the care thus exercised? One result has been that before the government began its election campaign, the war in Europe had come to an end with the unconditional surrender of Germany. Meanwhile, here at home, undistracted by the turmoil of domestic political strife, you were able to follow the magnificent contribution of Canada's fighting forces in the liberation of one country after another in Europe. We were able, before the election campaign, to carry through another Victory Loan to which you subscribed in amounts surpassing all those of previous years. Another result is that to all of us is given the opportunity of making the great decision in this

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election under conditions less distressing and less distracting than any we have known since the beginning of the war. The fighting forces have been given time for reflection, and a better opportunity to understand the issues. They, like you, are making a decision which will affect their fortunes through the fateful years that lie immediately ahead.

I wonder if you realize that on Monday last the members of Canada's armed forces began to cast their ballots in this federal election. I wonder if you understand what it means that they have been secured in this right by the amplest provisions it was possible for Parliament to enact.

It is something to be able to say, as I can say today, that not one of that vast company, the bravest of our land, wherever he or she may be in any part of the wide world, will be deprived of this fundamental right of every citizen, because of undue haste on the part of the government, or through lack of adequate facilities in taking the vote. The right to vote should belong to those, above all others, who by their lives have helped to preserve their country's freedom.

I have seen it asserted that in this happy conjunction of events, we have, once more, an example of Mackenzie King's luck. After all, it is not a bad thing for a party leader to have luck always on his side. I wonder, however, whether those who today are making that assertion appreciate what it required, apart from luck, to assure Canada's entry into the war as a united nation. I wonder if they realize what it has taken of resolution and determination to keep our country as united as it has been throughout all the years of war. I ask what the record of Canada's war effort would have been today, if, on any issue, the people of Canada had become irreparably divided before the outbreak of war, or at any time during any of the years of war.

When we talk of "luck" in the conduct of national affairs, it is perhaps well that situations all too quickly forgotten should be looked at squarely

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in the face. If Canada's war effort has been the magnificent success it has, if every difficult situation which has arisen has been successfully surmounted, this has surely not been a matter merely of good fortune and, least of all, of luck. It has been because around the Council table there have been wise and able counsellors, and because every aspect of Canada's war effort has been carefully planned, organized, and directed.

But there was another reason why I strove so earnestly to have the general election held off until the war in Europe was over. I recognized that once unconditional surrender had become the lot of Nazi Germany, we would have reached the summit of our main endeavour, and that from the heights thus gained we would be able to obtain a clearer view of much that lay beyond; that from this point of vantage we would all the better be able to see and to plan for the future. Well, that is exactly where we are today. As between the past and the future, we have come to the Great Divide. The past we know, to it belongs an old order of things, which pray God may rapidly pass away. What the future holds in store, whether it is to be but a repetition of the old order, with inequalities increased, and things going generally from bad to worse, or a new order with more in the way of human well-being and social justice, is largely for us to determine.

All this could not have been seen while the war in Europe was on, and until the one great enemy of mankind had been vanquished for all time. We now know that the free nations of the world possess a power over evil forces which nothing can thwart if only we continue to work together, and work together for the good of our fellow-men.

What I want you to see, and see clearly tonight, is that all this is not mere rhetoric or allegory. It is the truth of things as it bears directly upon your future and upon mine. Remember, from now on, it is with the future, not with the past that you should be mainly concerned. It does not require much in the way of vision to perceive that, in the present campaign, great efforts

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are being put forth to conceal from you the fact that it is the future with which you should, above all else, be concerned. Our political opponents, especially those of the Progressive-Conservative persuasion, would have the issue of the present campaign fought out not in relation to the future, for which they have nothing but vague promises to offer, but in relation to the past. All their criticisms about the details of policies in the past, all their harpings on alleged mistakes or shortcomings of the present government in the conduct of the war, all they have to say about what they call the man-power muddle, is just so much political dust thrown in your eyes to conceal their own very obvious limitations. ~~and~~ to hide from you the provision already made by the government in office to cope with the colossal problems of the future.

It is all so much political dust the programme of the government in office and

All this fuss and fury I answer in a single sentence. Granted there is room for criticism; that there have been shortcomings and mistakes, that differences have arisen as to the methods of doing things, do you think any other government could have established over the many years of war a better record in the management of your affairs?

As to the future, upon which it is now for you to decide, do you think that a government formed by any other political party in Canada is likely to be as favourably situated as the present administration to cope with ~~the~~ its problems ~~of the future~~? If so, perhaps Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell, or some of the leaders of the other parties or groups, would tell you before June the 11th who its personnel is to be, and tell you in more specific terms than thos thus far expressed, what its exact programme is to be.

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The coming years are going to be troubled and fateful years in which great questions will be decided for a generation or more. They are years which will determine whether the world is to have lasting peace, whether international trade is to be restored, whether full employment and social security are to become increasingly the common lot.

Here in London I wish to speak especially of social security and of what the present government has done and intends to do to help the people of Canada achieve a comprehensive programme of social insurance; what it is doing to secure a national minimum standard of living and human well-being for all.

We are all today rejoicing at the great victory won by Allied arms over Nazi Germany. We have always professed to regard the present war as a struggle for freedom and that, in truth, is what it is. But we would be wrong to believe that the war for freedom will be over when militarist Japan has met the fate of Nazi Germany. We hope and believe that day may not be long in coming. But the final defeat of the attempt by Germany and Japan to dominate and enslave the world will only be the end of another battle in the age-long struggle for man's freedom. It marks only the clearing of the ground on which we must seek to build a new social order based upon human freedom.

The greatest of all fears in the minds of men today is the fear of war. The representatives of the allied nations are earnestly seeking at San Francisco to find the means of eliminating that fear. Next to the fear of war, the greatest fear for most men and women in modern industrial society is the fear of unemployment. There are men and women who have almost dreaded the coming of victory because they feared that depression and unemployment might follow in victory's train.

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The achievement of full employment and social security will require no less careful planning, skilful organization and wise direction than has been needed in achieving a maximum war effort. In peace-time, the planning and direction of government must be exercised in such a way as to increase, and not to decrease, the opportunities for individual freedom and initiative. At the same time, individual freedom and initiative must not be directed to purely selfish ends. These great qualities must be harnessed in the service of humanity. It is the aim of our policies of full employment and social security to reconcile the maximum of individual freedom with the greatest possible measure of mutual aid in the attainment of human welfare.

The achievement of security, whether on a personal, on a national or on a world scale, means the elimination of fear. World security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of war. National security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of external aggression and internal disunity. Social security will have been achieved when we have eliminated the fear of unemployment and a host of other fears of misfortune or disaster.

Throughout my life, the enlargement of opportunities for those less fortunately situated in the struggle for existence has been an abiding interest. I believe I have a right to feel some pride in the part which I had, as long ago as 1900, in the establishment of a Department of Labour for Canada; in the part I have since had in the development of machinery for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes, in the introduction of old age pensions, of pensions for the blind, of veterans' pensions and gratuities of unemployment insurance, and of floor under farm and fish prices and in the battle against inflation. All these measures are designed to provide insurance against major social hazards and all of them represent Liberal achievements.

Today we face a greater opportunity than ever before to ad- the cause of social reform.

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In that new advance in social progress, a great step forward has been taken with the enactment of family allowances.

The government recognizes that the family and the home are the foundation of national life, and that any measure which strengthens the family and the home will strengthen the nation. The experience of war has surely taught us that if we are to expect our citizens to share equally in the burdens and obligations of citizenship, we must first seek to give to them an equality of opportunity in the battle of life. These ends, and the desire to aid in ensuring for all children a minimum of well-being, were the basic reasons for the introduction of family allowances by the present government.

The children of Canada are the greatest national asset. They are the nation of tomorrow. ~~They are the greatest national asset.~~ Yet the burden of conserving and developing that asset is very unequally distributed today. The main burden of raising Canada's children falls upon one fifth of the working population. Since the future of the country depends upon these children, and since wage scales take no account of the number of children in a family ~~a man has~~, it is surely no more than just that the financial cost of this national service should be shared by all in proportion to their ability to pay.

Since the larger number of children live on the farms, family allowances will help to distribute the national income more fairly between farmers and towns-people.

Family allowances will help greatly to remove existing inequalities between children in different families. They will give the great majority of children better nurture, better shelter, better health. Canada will come to have a finer citizenry and a healthier race.

So far as the treasury goes, the government is convinced that a large part, at least, of the cost of family allowances will be recovered in the more buoyant revenues resulting from keeping up the levels of production and employment and all without increasing the burden of taxation.

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The Liberal programme looks beyond family allowances to the early establishment of ~~two~~ other great social measures. The Government is prepared to support a national scheme of contributory old age pensions on a basis more generous than that of the existing pensions. The government also believes that a substantial improvement in national health could be achieved through dominion-provincial co-operation. We have accordingly pledged ourselves to support a measure for federal assistance in a nation-wide system of health insurance, to include assistance to the provinces for preventive medicine. If the present government is returned to office, we shall proceed with these measures as soon as agreements with the provinces can be concluded.

Just a word in conclusion. It is perhaps not amiss that as we enter on an era which I trust may be devoted to the promotion of international peace and social reform that I should recall to the mind of the people of Canada, what my opponents had to say about my leadership in the early years of the war.

You have only to look up the debates in the House of Commons and the files of the newspapers which were attacking me then as they are attacking me again today to see how lavish some of them were at that time in their praise of me as one especially well qualified to be at the head of a government in times of peace. They said it was everywhere known that my interests were strongly on the side of peace and the preservation of peace, but they claimed that for this very reason I was anything but the right person to be at the head of a government at a time of war. Whether I have been equal to that responsibility, which happily now is so largely a matter of the past, I am only too ready to leave it to others to say. Particularly am I prepared to leave the final word to those great leaders of other parts of the British Commonwealth and of other of the United Nations, with whom that responsibility has been shared. What I am concerned about, now that we are entering upon an era of

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social change, is that the trend of the new era shall be in the right direction. The right direction I believe is towards the maintenance of world peace and securing for the men women and children of our own and other countries, a larger measure of social justice and social security, and more in the way of opportunity in the battle of life.

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

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

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77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
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Draft.

The Prime Minister
29.V.45
D48881

Outline of Speech by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Montreal, June 2, 1945.

"The Future of Our Country"

1. Canada's place in the world -
    1. Victory in War
    2. Flying bombs and Rockets and the Myth of Isolation.
    3. Visit to West - a new vision of the prize Canada would be for an aggressor.
    4. San Francisco and the keeping of Peace.
    5. Canada's unique opportunity to conciliate the Nations (from Edmonton speech)
    6. Need of experience and contacts to meet baffling problems of the transition.

2. National unity essential to future of our country -
    1. National unity essential to defence; to influence in world affairs; to social progress.
    2. National political parties as instruments in preserving national unity.
    3. Liberal party's success in remaining a national party.
    4. Weakness of Progressive Conservative party - alliance with Independents - 1911 revived.

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5. Weakness of class or local or racial groups - CCF., Social Credit, Bloc Populaire.

6. In government today only the Liberal party can secure wide enough and large enough support.

7. Not asking for a perpetual mandate for the Liberal party but now, in this election, there is no practical alternative.

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Draft

Speech by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King
Montreal, June 2, 1945.

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1. Canada's place in the world.

Six years ago, I had the heavy responsibility, as head of the government of Canada, of leading our country into war. Five years ago, I appealed to the people of Canada for a mandate for the present government to direct Canada's war effort against Nazi Germany.

Our country has passed safely, indeed triumphantly, through a great ordeal. The nations of Europe have emerged from the dark night of war. The armed forces and the people of Canada have taken a significant part in their liberation. On the other side of the globe, brilliant and promising victories have been won against the military tyranny of Japan. The United Nations are already seeking to lay the foundations of a lasting peace in which the ordinary men and women of the world may reap the fruits of victory in increased welfare and happiness.

A new mandate.

With the victory over Germany, the mandate received by the government in 1940 has been discharged. As head of the administration, I am appealing to the people to renew the

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mandate of the present government. Because we believe our task is not yet completed, my colleagues and I are asking you to express anew your confidence in our administration. The war in Europe is over, but the whole war is not yet at an end. The peace terms have still to be settled. The organization is not yet fashioned to keep the peace, once it has been made. The problems of reconstruction, in our own country, and throughout the world, have still to be met. It is for you, the people, to decide what government you wish to entrust with the shaping of the future of our country in the next five years. These next five years may well prove no less troubled, no less difficult and no less fateful than the past five years. You are, therefore, being asked to make as most momentous a decision as the people of Canada have ever been called upon to make.

But before you make that decision there are one or two considerations as to the future of Canada which I should like to place before you. They deserve your most earnest consideration.

<u>The myth of isolation.</u>

During the present war, voices have been raised in this province, and elsewhere on this continent, who have told you that Canada, that North America, that the Western Hemisphere had no business in this war: that the war only mattered to the

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countries of Europe, to France, to Britain or to Russia. There have been men in our midst, intelligent and educated men who should have known better, who have told you that the army and the navy and the air force of Canada were fighting for Britain and not for Canada; that Canada was doing more than her share; that our country was being ruined to help other nations.

That was not my view, that was not the view of the government, that, happily, was never the view of the majority of the people in any part or any province of our country. There have at times been differences, even sharp differences, over the means or the methods by which Canada should wage the war, but the great mass of Canadians have remained steadfastly united in their determination to fight on to victory.

Why were our people united, why was their determination unshaken through these long, hard years? The answer is that all but the blind among us, or those who did not want to see, clearly saw that it was not for Britain, or for France or for Russia we were fighting, but for Canada itself and the freedom of our own people and, indeed, of all people. Is there a man or woman among us who honestly believes that, if Britain had gone down, or if Russia had been defeated, as France, unhappily, was defeated, Canada would not have been attacked?

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Canada, the prize.

And if that was true, as it has been true, of the present war what would be the fate of our country, if another world war should come? Before you answer that question I hope all of you will find out everything you can about the terrible damage which was done to Britain by flying bombs and rocket bombs in the last few months of the war with Nazi Germany. And do not forget that these terrible weapons are just in their infancy. The possibilities of death and destruction in another war are so appalling that they are beyond our imagination.

And, of all the countries in the world, what would be the greatest prize an aggressor would wish to take? In the past three weeks I have crossed our country from Vancouver on the Pacific coast. Every time I travel through the country I return to Ottawa with a deeper appreciation of its immense possibilities. There is no country in the world to compare with Canada. We are only on the threshold of our country's greatness. Is it likely that an aggressor would think of lesser prizes if there were any hope of conquering this country of ours? In this world of fighting aircraft and rocket-bombs, isolation for any country is completely impossible.

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Canada and the making of peace.

And no country has a greater interest than Canada in preventing aggression and maintaining peace. That is why the Canadian delegation at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco has been striving so earnestly for the success of its effort to establish an organization to maintain world peace and security. That organization has not yet been established; the conferences to settle the terms of peace have not yet been called into being; and both the making of peace and the keeping of peace are of the utmost importance to Canada.

Moreover, Canada is better fitted than almost any other nation to make an effective contribution to the development of understanding and co-operation among the great powers. We have special links with each. Canada is a nation of the British Commonwealth. As such we appreciate that unique association among nations which is, in itself, a model of the wider association we hope to see established. Canada is the closest neighbour of the United States. Our mutual relations are without parallel in their extent and their intimacy. Canada is a nation based on the partnership of the English and French races who together laid our national foundations. That relationship gives us a special link with France. Canada is a nation of the Pacific.

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As such we have, with China, a long tradition of unbroken friendship. Canada, like the Soviet Union, is a great trans-continental and Arctic nation. Common problems of geography and climate will, we trust, draw us into even friendlier relations in the years to come.

It cannot, I think, be questioned that no other country has similar advantages and like opportunities to understand and to contribute to the mutual understanding of the greatest powers. But those advantages and that opportunity will count for nothing unless we have a government which is determined to make the best possible use of them.

Value of experience.

Over the years of war, associations -- intimate and far-reaching associations -- have been formed not only between nations, but between the men who have been directing the nations. We have been working together, meeting most critical situations as they have arisen, month by month, day by day - yes, in many cases, hour by hour.

The men who have been directing the governments of the Allied nations have come to know each other, to share each other's confidences and to trust one another. In our relations with our closest Allies, particularly with the United Kingdom and the

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United States, this has been specially true of the men who have been administering Canada's affairs throughout the war. At this of all times, when Canada's future so largely depends on our relations with other countries, are you going to sever relationships between these governments and between the past and the future? Are you going to substitute for the present administration whose members and policies you know, an entirely new administration, whose members are unknown, and whose policies are untried?

Speaking of myself, I do not think even my bitterest opponents will deny that, because of the position I have occupied, I have become intimately acquainted with most of the leading personalities in the allied countries who have occupied positions of responsibility and power. That in itself represents valuable experience. And experience will be more necessary than ever in the next few years in the solution of the problems of establishing a durable peace, and of laying the foundations of employment and prosperity.

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2. National unity essential to future of Canada.

Before meeting the other difficult problems which face our country, there is one problem which must first be met. It is the greatest and gravest of all the problems a government is called upon to face in Canada. That problem is the preservation of national unity through the reconciliation of the differences which are bound to exist in so vast and varied a country. I have often been criticized, I have even been ridiculed, because I have stressed the importance of national unity, in season and out of season, throughout my public life.

I think we often fail to remember the reasons why national unity is so all-important. But, once we stop to think of it, the reason is very simple. Without national unity, a country cannot successfully defend itself; without national unity, a country can have no effective voice in world affairs; without national unity, there can be no social progress, no increase in the prosperity and well-being of the people. National unity is the foundation of the existence of a nation, and of all that makes for the true greatness of any country.

National parties promote national unity.

I have always believed that the first obligation of a truly national political party was to seek to strengthen national unity. There is one thing I first learned from Sir

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Wilfrid Laurier which I have always sought to remember. It is that, if Canada is to be kept united, full account must be taken of the different elements of which our country is composed. Canada's population is made up of people of different origins and traditions; it is made up in largest part of two great peoples differing in race, differing largely in creed; it is made up of people whose interests, economic and otherwise, lie in a variety of directions. Many have come to Canada from other lands to seek a new life and new freedom. What Laurier sought to impress on all his colleagues was that, in a country such as Canada, we must constantly keep the feelings of minorities in our thoughts, and that no section of the people should ever seek to dominate solely by virtue of having larger numbers. That does not mean, of course, that any minority should dominate or thwart the majority; what it does mean is that, in government, an effort should always be made to reconcile differences instead of riding rough-shod over minorities.

I am firmly convinced that the reason, above all others, for the success of the Liberal party, as a national political party, is that we have always sought to reconcile differences and to maintain the unity of our country. That has been the

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chief of all Liberal objectives. The unity of the party, the unity of the government were necessary means of the great end of preserving the unity of Canada.

Today, we hear a great deal about the old political parties, as though a party, because it happens to be old, is a menace to the country. Even the Tory party has repudiated its past. Since Mr. Bracken was chosen its leader he has everywhere proclaimed that the Progressive-Conservative party is a new party. It may well prove that in denying its past, the Conservative party has destroyed its future. As for the Liberal party it is proud, and I am proud, that it is an old party. The Liberal party can be proud of its age because it has never ceased to grow and develop.

Liberal party an instrument of national unity.

It is my conviction that an old party which is truly national in its scope and membership is one of the great instruments for binding together the widely separated parts of our country. In a country of vast distances, we need an instrument which serves the interests not of one class only, or one particular creed, or one section of the country, but, rather, an instrument which is large enough and strong enough

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to bring together those of different classes, of different creeds, of different sections and of different origins. The Liberal party has always accepted the principle that the things which unite us in Canada are far greater than those which divide. Liberals believe it is essential, in order that the several voices of our country may be duly harmonized, that there should be in government a blending of minds, begotten of the utmost confidence and the closest association.

Two great races must co-operate in government.

I wish to repeat tonight a statement I have frequently made in different parts of our country. It is my belief that a ministry which cannot bring to its council table, in close and intimate association, men of the two great races which have given our country its distinctive character and culture, cannot hope to govern Canada as it should be governed, if we are to maintain the unity and fulfil the destiny which is rightfully ours.

You all remember that, in November and December of last year, Parliament was faced with a grave issue which threatened to divide the whole of Canada and to weaken our war effort, at the very time our men in Europe were facing the greatest dangers. That was one of the greatest tests ever

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faced by a government and a political party in Canada. Who, at that time, I ask, put the unity and the future of Canada above all considerations of immediate popularity? The men who had the courage to put first the unity of their country and the permanent interests of all its people, French-speaking as well as English-speaking, were the men who were most vigorously denounced at that time. The action of the French-speaking Liberal Ministers in ~~supporting the present government~~ in meeting that situation avoided a condition of chaos in government at that time, and preserved the unity of Canada's government, and the unity of the country before the enemy and the world. What is the result today? Despite all the charges and counter-charges of a general election campaign, the country is united, and thoroughly prepared to move forward to meet the new problems which face us.

<u>An undivided national party.</u>

The Liberal party stands before the country in this election as an undivided national party. In all but five or six constituencies, the Liberal party has a full slate of candidates in every province -- and they are not ashamed to use the party name and to proclaim Liberal principles and policies. The party is supporting a government in which representatives of the two great races are serving in closest

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harmony and co-operation in promoting policies to serve the general good, rather than particular regions or special interests.

I have, therefore, no apology to make for continuing to advocate national unity as the first of all objectives. Because the Liberal party has been true to that objective, it is the only political party in Canada, today, which includes within its ranks substantial numbers from every section, every race, every creed, and every social class. It is the only party with the unity and the strength to maintain the unity of our country on which its future depends.

The Progressive Conservatives.

Let us look for a moment at the position of the other parties which are asking for the support of the people. First there is the Progressive Conservative party. In eight of the provinces, Mr. Bracken's party is openly appealing for support on the basis of stirring up prejudice against the province of Quebec. In more than half the constituencies in this province, the Conservatives did not even dare to nominate candidates to run under the party name; even the candidates, who are called Progressive Conservatives, were, in all but a few cases, chosen by the party organization without reference to the people of the constituency. I do not need to tell a Montreal audience what is going on in this province. It is the same old game

D 48896

that was played in 1911 when the Tories used Nationalist candidates to defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Today they are called Independents and Mr. Bracken's organizer says the Progressive Conservative party is supporting 33 of them. You know who they are: They are, for the most part, men who have opposed Canada's war effort; men who pretend to be opposed to the manpower policy which Mr. Bracken is talking about in the other provinces; men who are supported by Mr. Bracken's party and who undoubtedly would help to put Mr. Bracken and his Tory friends in office if they got the chance.

Here you have the spectacle of a once great political party appealing in the English provinces to prejudice against Quebec and, at the same time, supporting, in Quebec, the very men who are using the strongest racial appeals to create hostility against the other provinces. The party of Macdonald and Cartier has abandoned the cause of harmony between the races, it has discarded national unity. Is it any wonder that the party itself is discredited?

<u>Other Parties</u>.

What of the other parties? There is the C.C.F. Basically the C.C.F. is the party of a class rather than a national party. Its strength, moreover, is confined to a few provinces; and its

D 43897

leaders themselves have no hope of winning anything approaching a majority in Parliament. Then there is the Social Credit group. It has a number of candidates in this province, but none of them has any chance of election. What little strength this group has is in the province of Alberta. It is a local party, not a national party. For ten years the Social Credit group has had a few members in Parliament. They have sat in a corner and spoken from time to time about their own particular ideas. But so far as influencing the government of the country is concerned, they might almost as well have remained at home. Then there is the Bloc Populaire. Most of its programme is summed up in one word: NON. Well, you cannot govern a country merely by saying "No" to everything. Not only does the Bloc want to isolate Canada from the rest of the world, but it wants to isolate Quebec from the rest of Canada. It is making a purely racial appeal, a wholly negative appeal. It has nothing constructive to offer to meet the tremendous problems which face our country and the world. Finally, there are the so-called Independents. They, as you know, are merely the old Tory wolves in sheep's clothing. But there is one great danger to Canada in the existence of all these parties and groups. It is a danger which can only be met by the determined action of

D 48898

the men and women of vision and of good will who seek to promote the greatness and to ensure the future of Canada. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the future of Canada than that no party should have a representative working majority in the next House of Commons. In these perilous times, we must surely seek to avoid a condition such as prevailed in far too many of the countries of Europe where the business of government, before the war, had become a matter of rivalry and bargaining between minority groups. It was that condition which contributed as much as anything to the tragic collapse of France. We do not want our country to risk such a fate.

Liberals alone can win.

As head of the government, I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the present time, the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true. If you stop to examine the situation, you will, I believe, soon see that the Liberal party alone has any likelihood of having members elected in every province of Canada. It is the only party with a chance of winning an over-all majority. If you examine closely the statements of Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell you will soon discover that neither of them hopes or

D 48899

expects his party to have a majority. When there are so many vital decisions to be made in world affairs which will affect our future as a nation, we cannot afford to have a prolonged period of uncertainty as to what government can speak for Canada.

That alone would be reason enough to consider seriously supporting the present government. Add to that, the proof we have given in war of our ability to administer the country's affairs; ~~when you think~~ and that we have prepared so thoroughly for the post war that our opponents have so far found nothing serious to criticize. When you take all these things into account, can you hesitate longer about the decision as to what administration should be entrusted, for the next five years, with shaping the future of Canada?

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

D 48900

Mesdames et Messieurs:

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 chaleureux qui me rappelle celui que vous m'avez fait en d'autres occasions.

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'elle a fait entendre dans tout le pays et même au delà des mers lors des dernières élections générales.

Montreal
June 2/45

D 48901

(Translation)

The great pleasure which I experience in finding myself once again in the province of Quebec is accompanied by a deep sense of gratitude for your cordial welcome which recalls to my mind the ones you extended to me ~~in~~ on other occasions ~~1935~~.

In this election where questions of so great importance are at stake, I believe that the province of Quebec will speak with the same voice which was heard throughout the country and even beyond the seas, ~~on the 25th of October last~~ on March 26 1940.

Montreal,
June 2, 1945 D48902

Mesdames et Messieurs:

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 chaleureux qui me rappelle celui que vous m'avez fait en d'autres occasions.

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'elle a fait entendre dans tout le pays et même au delà des mers le vingt-six mars mil neuf cent quarante.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

FORUM

PARQUET

Entrée rue
Ste-Catherine
seulement

FLOOR

Entrance on
St. Catherine St.
only

D 903

2 JUIN 1945 ◆ JUNE 2nd 1945

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

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2 JUIN 1945 ◆ JUNE 2nd 1945

D 48903

REPEAT
REPETITION

Regards:
A A Beaubien
Brother of
Arthur L. Beaubien
Provencher

W & M King Prime Minister Good luck

Dear Mr King

Permit me to wish you as I do at the last election 50% of votes in all Dominion I think to me during the people will vote, I am working for Mr Ernest Berthaud in Sauris Good by M. Paul Aus.

5741 Edison Esplanade ave.

For release on delivery 9.30 p.m. E.D.T. June 2, 1945

D 48904

Broadcast by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister of Canada - Montreal, June 2, 1945

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is now more than five years since you were asked to decide to what leader and to what political party you wished to entrust the government of Canada. Those five years have been the most difficult and the most terrible in the history of the world. At that time, Canada was at war. In those early months of war, no one could foresee how far the conflagration which had been lighted in Europe might spread. It was a time of great uncertainty - a time full of all kinds of possible danger to you, to your homes, to your families, to our country, and, as we have since come to see, to the entire world.

You are now being called upon to make a similar decision: to decide to what leader, and to what political party, you wish to entrust the government of Canada during the next five years. There is no more important decision you could be called upon to make. On your decision will depend, during the next five years, in as great a measure, perhaps, as during the past five years, the security of your own lives, the happiness and well-being of your homes and families.

D 48905

As you are well aware, every kind of effort is being made by our political opponents to destroy the confidence which, through twenty-six years of my leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada, and my eighteen years in the office of Prime Minister, I have won in the minds of my fellow-countrymen. This effort to destroy confidence in my leadership is nothing new. It is something against which I have had to contend throughout the years I have been in public life. In these years of war, the attacks and misrepresentations have never ceased. Indeed, of late they have become more exaggerated and bitter than ever.

Let me recall one or two facts to your mind. The war had not begun before, in this province of Quebec, you were told that I had led our country into a war which was none of our concern, that we were fighting for England and not for Canada, that our own country was in no danger. In the other provinces of Canada, the people were told that while I possessed qualifications for leadership in time of peace, I was the last person to be entrusted with leadership at a time of war. They were told that I was not in earnest about an all-out war effort for Canada; that I was prepared to sacrifice Canada's war effort to appease the province of Quebec. These strains, with variations to suit the particular audiences addressed, you still hear in the present elections.

D 48906

Since the prospect of a general election loomed upon the horizon, nothing has been left unsaid which could sow seeds of distrust, or serve to arouse passion and prejudice against myself, on any grounds, regardless of how contradictory they might be. The significant fact, in all this business, is that both these contradictory campaigns are directed and financed from the same source. The object of course is to destroy confidence in my leadership as a means of defeating the Liberal Party, thereby allowing the Tory Party, and the interests which are back of it, to gain control of the government of our country.

You are being asked today to substitute another government for the one that today is managing the nation's affairs. You will do well to reflect carefully upon the probable consequences of such a change before you become a party to it. You had better ask yourselves whether it is to be a government under Mr. Bracken, or under Mr. Coldwell, and in either case who the persons are that are to be the members of the new government. Also ask yourselves whether your own interests and those of our country are likely to be better cared for under the control of either of the parties of which these gentlemen are the heads than they will be under the present Liberal administration. Do

D 48907

not forget that you are making a decision that will bind you for the next five years, and that the problems of the next few years may be quite as difficult of solution as those of the past five years.

Because you are being asked to choose, as the head of the government, some one other than myself, I think it might be well for me to remind you of what, at the outbreak of the war, I told you might be the course of its developments, and what we might witness before its close. You will then be able the better to judge of the guidance I have given our country in the years of war, and of the wisdom of my leadership.

At the outbreak of war, many thought the war was concerned only or mainly with the fate of Poland. Few if any of you believed that within a year the war would lead to the conquest by Nazi Germany of Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland. Five years ago, few if any of you could have imagined that within three months of the day you cast your votes in the last general elections, the war would have led to the downfall of France. Few if any of you foresaw that Fascist Italy would join with Nazi Germany in seeking the conquest of Africa and the control of the Mediterranean. I doubt if any of you dreamed that militarist Japan would

join with these two aggressor nations in seeking the domination of the entire world. Yet all this actually happened within two years of the last general election.

Please listen to words I used, not at the time of the elections, which were held in the month of March, 1940, before the downfall of France; but on September 3, 1939, before Canada, by the decision of our Parliament, had entered the war. Speaking of the efforts made by the Nazi regime in Germany to extend their control over other peoples and countries, I said in a nation-wide broadcast:

"They have pursued aggressive designs in wanton disregard of all treaty obligations. They have had resort increasingly to agencies of deception, terrorism, and violence. It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world, which is the real cause of the war that today threatens the freedom of mankind."

Was I right or was I wrong, when six years ago I said to you that the war, which had then but commenced, threatened not only our freedom, but the freedom of mankind? I quoted to you at that time words of my great friend - of our great friend - the late President Roosevelt, as follows:

D 48909

"There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend not their homes alone, but the tenets of faiths and humanity on which their churches, their governments, and their very civilization are founded. The defence of religion, of democracy, and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one, we must make up our minds to save all."

In seeking to bring home to your minds the future as I then saw it revealed, was I mistaken in the picture thus drawn? Was I right when I added:

"This, I believe, is the position in which all nations that cherish free institutions, individual liberty and social justice, find themselves today." Please note that I spoke, at that early date, not of our nation only, but of all freedom loving nations.

Was I right when, at the close of that broadcast, I said: "There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle." Was I mistaken in the vision of future possibilities, when I said: - "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."?

D 48910

But let me go a step further.

Looking at what I said in the House of Commons on September 8, 1939, I find these words: "Hitler has said: 'Whoever lights the torch of war in Europe can wish for nothing but chaos.' 'Nothing but chaos' - that is what the leader of the Nazi party in Germany is seeking to bring upon the world today. And it is to prevent chaos becoming the fate of this and other lands that it becomes our duty, as citizens of Canada, to stand to a man in the defence of our country and at the side of Great Britain in the defence of freedom" We know, today, how near to chaos this world would be had Hitler and his Nazi hordes not been completely crushed and had the evil forces they loosed upon the world not been subdued, as we now also know, at the cost of years of unparalleled suffering and of millions of human lives.

Was I right or was I wrong when I told the House of Commons that the ambition of this dictator was not Poland, and after asking where he was creeping to, answered my own question as follows: "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 is theirs at the present time. And if this conqueror, by his methods of

D 48911

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 isolationism 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. Life will not be worth living. It is for all of us on this continent, by helping others, to do our utmost to save its privileged position." May I again remind you that was said on September 8, 1939 - more than two years before the United States came into the war!

When Germany attacked Russia on June 22, 1941, I stated that Germany's declaration of war upon Russia had removed the last shadow of doubt - if any yet remained - concerning the purpose of Hitler to dominate the world.

Speaking in Winnipeg on July 10, 1941, still almost five months before the entry of the United States into the war, I said: "Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic. Tomorrow may witness the battle of the Pacific ... In whatever direction we look out from this Western Hemisphere, we see a world ravaged by the fires, torn by the destruction, and

D 48912

convulsed by the horrors of warfare. Month by month, the world-encircling danger is closing in upon this continent. That circle must be broken; that menace must be destroyed. If they are not, the whole Western Hemisphere, to the extent of its entire resources, will inevitably be drawn into the world conflict." (add paragraph)

I have more than one reason for reminding you today of what I said of the proportions which the war might assume and how colossal would be the effort required to preserve our freedom and the freedom of the world. You may judge for yourselves whether, in meeting the problems of the next five years, the vision and the judgment of either Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell are likely to be clearer or sounder than my own. Please remember that the war is not yet over; that we are living in times of terrible unrest; and that almost any kind of situation may arise, in any part of the world, which may have repercussions the world over.

Let me remind you that the great problems which Canada will have to face from now on are not merely local or national problems. They will increasingly be human problems and world problems. A knowledge and understanding of international affairs will be more essential than all else to the solution of what many of us used to regard as domestic problems.

And, just here, may I remind you of the foresight of the Liberal Party in another and far-reaching direction. When I came into office in 1921, there was not a single Canadian Legation or Embassy in any part of the world. The

D 48913

only representatives of Canada abroad, whose duties were in any respect diplomatic, were the High Commissioner for Canada in London, and a Commissioner for Canada in Paris.

Today, Canada has embassies and legations in most of the leading countries of the world: in Asia, in South America, as well as in the United States and in Europe. We have, in all, 23 missions to foreign governments, nine of these are embassies and five legations. Canada has her own High Commissioners in every nation of the British Commonwealth, and every nation of the British Commonwealth, as well as most of the countries of the world, other than enemy countries, have their diplomatic missions at Ottawa. Every embassy, every legation representative of Canada in other countries has been established under a Liberal administration. The whole vast network of diplomatic contacts with foreign nations has been worked out by the Department of External Affairs under my direction. In this and in other ways, Canada has come to be recognized throughout the world as a nation possessing all the attributes of nationhood. Through the part our armed forces and the people at home have taken in the present world war, our country has come to be recognized as a power in the world second only to those countries which long have been known as the Great Powers. Canada's voice today is

D48914

respected at San Francisco, where the conference of the United Nations is forging a mighty instrument for the maintenance of world peace. But it is not at San Francisco along that Canada's voice is respected. Through her contributions to world affairs, the name of Canada is honoured in every country of the world.

Out of the many contacts, personal and official, established through the Department of External Affairs over the past twenty-five years, there has been brought into being a powerful influence for good in the adjustment of international difficulties and the establishment of permanent peace. I wonder if the people of Canada, on June the 11th, are going to cast aside men like myself who have wrestled with these problems on Canada's behalf for more than a quarter of a xxxxxcentury. I wonder if, at this of all times, they are going to entrust the direction of Canada's international affairs to a leader who has never been inside the Canadian House of Commons, or to one who, however interested he may be in matters of foreign policy, has yet to find a place in the international arena.

It is just thirty six years ago today that I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to become a member of

D 48915

his Cabinet. I was, on that day, the youngest Minister of the Crown in Canada. I have since inherited Sir Wilfrid Laurier's mantle as leader of the party of which he will ever remain the foremost figure. I have had, in the office of Prime Minister, to go through most of the experiences and many of the trials which Sir Wilfrid encountered in the years he was in office. I am proud indeed to say that in the course of my association with him I never failed him once, so far as I can recall, but was close to his side in every conflict. I went down to defeat, fighting for better trade relations with the United States in the great reciprocity campaign of 1911. I saw all that Sir Wilfrid suffered from misrepresentaion at that time. I heard him denounced in this province as an Imperialist because of his effort to establish a Canadian navy for the protection of Canada' coasts. In the English-speaking provinces, I heard, as you heard, Canada's navy described as "a tin pot navy", and Sir Wilfrid denounced because of his race and of his religion as one not to be trusted with the government of Canada. All this was after a lifetime of service to our country, characterized by what was most chivalrous and noblest in public life, and highest in personal and public integrity.

D 48916

I saw Sir Wilfrid defeated by an unholy alliance between the Nationalists of this province and the Tories of the other provinces of Canada. I saw all that grew out of that ignoble and treacherous plot. I need not give you the record. It will be for all time a blot of shame on the pages of our country's history.

But the question I wish to put to you tonight, to you who know the truth of what I am saying, is whether you, the people of the province of Quebec, intend to allow the tactics of 1911 to be repeated successfully in 1945, and to have Mackenzie King in 1945 suffer the fate of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1911? Please don't forget that in 1911 it was the men who called themselves Nationalists, the men who spoke of themselves as Independents, but whose campaigns were being financed by the Tory Party, were the men who contributed in largest measure to the defeat of Laurier. I hope history is not going to repeat itself in any success of the alliance between Mr. Bracken and a new generation of so-called independents.

Let me make this perfectly clear. This is the last general election which I intend to contest. But, as I said in my opening address in Vancouver some weeks ago, I am heart and soul in the present fight. I should welcome another term of office, not, I can assure you, for the added burdens and anxieties it cannot fail to bring. I would welcome it because

Draft.

Outline of Speech by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Montreal, June 2, 1945.

D 48917

"The Future of Our Country"

1. Canada's place in the world -

   1. Victory in War

   2. Flying bombs and Rockets and the Myth of Isolation.

   3. Visit to West - a new vision of the prize Canada would be for an aggressor.

   4. San Francisco and the keeping of Peace.

   5. Canada's unique opportunity to conciliate the Nations (from Edmonton speech)

   6. Need of experience and contacts to meet baffling problems of the transition.

2. National unity essential to future of our country -

   1. National unity essential to defence; to influence in world affairs; to social progress.

   2. National political parties as instruments in preserving national unity.

   3. Liberal party's success in remaining a national party.

   4. Weakness of Progressive Conservative party - alliance with Independents - 1911 revived.

D 48918

5. Weakness of class or local or racial groups - CCF., Social Credit, Bloc Populaire.

6. In government today only the Liberal party can secure wide enough and large enough support.

7. Not asking for a perpetual mandate for the Liberal party but <u>now</u>, in this election, there is no practical alternative.

Draft

D 43919

Speech by the Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

Montreal, June 2, 1945.

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1. Canada's place in the world.

Six years ago, I had the heavy responsibility, as head of the government of Canada, of leading our country into war. Five years ago, I appealed to the people of Canada for a mandate for the present government to direct Canada's war effort against Nazi Germany.

Our country has passed safely, indeed triumphantly, through a great ordeal. The nations of Europe have emerged from the dark night of war. The armed forces and the people of Canada have taken a significant part in their liberation. On the other side of the globe, brilliant and promising victories have been won against the military tyranny of Japan. The United Nations are already seeking to lay the foundations of a lasting peace in which the ordinary men and women of the world may reap the fruits of victory in increased welfare and happiness.

A new mandate.

With the victory over Germany, the mandate received by the government in 1940 has been discharged. As head of the administration, I am appealing to the people to renew the

D 48920

mandate of the present government. Because we believe our task is not yet completed, my colleagues and I are asking you to express anew your confidence in our administration. The war in Europe is over, but the whole war is not yet at an end. The peace terms have still to be settled. The organization is not yet fashioned to keep the peace, once it has been made. The problems of reconstruction, in our own country, and throughout the world, have still to be met. It is for you, the people, to decide what government you wish to entrust with the shaping of the future of our country in the next five years. These next five years may well prove no less troubled, no less difficult and no less fateful than the past five years. You are, therefore, being asked to make as most momentous a decision as the people of Canada have ever been called upon to make.

But before you make that decision there are one or two considerations as to the future of Canada which I should like to place before you. They deserve your most earnest consideration.

<u>The myth of isolation.</u>

During the present war, voices have been raised in this province, and elsewhere on this continent, who have told you that Canada, that North America, that the Western Hemisphere had no business in this war: that the war only mattered to the

D 48921

countries of Europe, to France, to Britain or to Russia. There have been men in our midst, intelligent and educated men who should have known better, who have told you that the army and the navy and the air force of Canada were fighting for Britain and not for Canada; that Canada was doing more than her share; that our country was being ruined to help other nations.

That was not my view, that was not the view of the government, that, happily, was never the view of the majority of the people in any part or any province of our country. There have at times been differences, even sharp differences, over the means or the methods by which Canada should wage the war, but the great mass of Canadians have remained steadfastly united in their determination to fight on to victory.

Why were our people united, why was their determination unshaken through these long, hard years? The answer is that all but the blind among us, or those who did not want to see, clearly saw that it was not for Britain, or for France or for Russia we were fighting but for Canada itself and the freedom of our own people and, indeed, of all people. Is there a man or woman among us who honestly believes that, if Britain had gone down, or if Russia had been defeated, as France, unhappily, was defeated, Canada would not have been attacked?

D 48922

Canada, the prize.

And if that was true, as it has been true, of the present war what would be the fate of our country, if another world war should come? Before you answer that question I hope all of you will find out everything you can about the terrible damage which was done to Britain by flying bombs and rocket bombs in the last few months of the war with Nazi Germany. And do not forget that these terrible weapons are just in their infancy. The possibilities of death and destruction in another war are so appalling that they are beyond our imagination.

And, of all the countries in the world, what would be the greatest prize an aggressor would wish to take? In the past three weeks I have crossed our country from Vancouver on the Pacific coast. Every time I travel through the country I return to Ottawa with a deeper appreciation of its immense possibilities. There is no country in the world to compare with Canada. We are only on the threshold of our country's greatness. Is it likely that an aggressor would think of lesser prizes if there were any hope of conquering this country of ours? In this world of fighting aircraft and rocket-bombs, isolation for any country is completely impossible.

D 48923

Canada and the making of peace.

And no country has a greater interest than Canada in preventing aggression and maintaining peace. That is why the Canadian delegation at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco has been striving so earnestly for the success of its effort to establish an organization to maintain world peace and security. That organization has not yet been established; the conferences to settle the terms of peace have not yet been called into being; and both the making of peace and the keeping of peace are of the utmost importance to Canada.

Moreover, Canada is better fitted than almost any other nation to make an effective contribution to the development of understanding and co-operation among the great powers. We have special links with each. Canada is a nation of the British Commonwealth. As such we appreciate that unique association among nations which is, in itself, a model of the wider association we hope to see established. Canada is the closest neighbour of the United States. Our mutual relations are without parallel in their extent and their intimacy. Canada is a nation based on the partnership of the English and French races who together laid our national foundations. That relationship gives us a special link with France. Canada is a nation of the Pacific.

D 48924

As such we have, with China, a long tradition of unbroken friendship. Canada, like the Soviet Union, is a great trans-continental and Arctic nation. Common problems of geography and climate will, we trust, draw us into even friendlier relations in the years to come.

It cannot, I think, be questioned that no other country has similar advantages and like opportunities to understand and to contribute to the mutual understanding of the greatest powers. But those advantages and that opportunity will count for nothing unless we have a government which is determined to make the best possible use of them.

Value of experience.

Over the years of war, associations -- intimate and far-reaching associations -- have been formed not only between nations, but between the men who have been directing the nations. We have been working together, meeting most critical situations as they have arisen, month by month, day by day - yes, in many cases, hour by hour.

The men who have been directing the governments of the Allied nations have come to know each other, to share each other's confidences and to trust one another. In our relations with our closest Allies, particularly with the United Kingdom and the

D 48925

United States, this has been specially true of the men who have been administering Canada's affairs throughout the war. At this of all times, when Canada's future so largely depends on our relations with other countries, are you going to sever relationships between these governments and between the past and the future? Are you going to substitute for the present administration whose members and policies you know, an entirely new administration, whose members are unknown, and whose policies are untried?

Speaking of myself, I do not think even my bitterest opponents will deny that, because of the position I have occupied, I have become intimately acquainted with most of the leading personalities in the allied countries who have occupied positions of responsibility and power. That in itself represents valuable experience. And experience will be more necessary than ever in the next few years in the solution of the problems of establishing a durable peace, and of laying the foundations of employment and prosperity.

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2. National unity essential to future of Canada.

Before meeting the other difficult problems which face our country, there is one problem which must first be met. It is the greatest and gravest of all the problems a government is called upon to face in Canada. That problem is the preservation of national unity through the reconciliation of the differences which are bound to exist in so vast and varied a country. I have often been criticized, I have even been ridiculed, because I have stressed the importance of national unity, in season and out of season, throughout my public life.

I think we often fail to remember the reasons why national unity is so all-important. But, once we stop to think of it, the reason is very simple. Without national unity, a country cannot successfully defend itself; without national unity, a country can have no effective voice in world affairs; without national unity, there can be no social progress, no increase in the prosperity and well-being of the people. National unity is the foundation of the existence of a nation, and of all that makes for the true greatness of any country.

National parties promote national unity.

I have always believed that the first obligation of a truly national political party was to seek to strengthen national unity. There is one thing I first learned from Sir

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Wilfrid Laurier which I have always sought to remember. It is that, if Canada is to be kept united, full account must be taken of the different elements of which our country is composed. Canada's population is made up of people of different origins and traditions; it is made up in largest part of two great peoples differing in race, differing largely in creed; it is made up of people whose interests, economic and otherwise, lie in a variety of directions. Many have come to Canada from other lands to seek a new life and new freedom. What Laurier sought to impress on all his colleagues was that, in a country such as Canada, we must constantly keep the feelings of minorities in our thoughts, and that no section of the people should ever seek to dominate solely by virtue of having larger numbers. That does not mean, of course, that any minority should dominate or thwart the majority; what it does mean is that, in government, an effort should always be made to reconcile differences instead of riding rough-shod over minorities.

I am firmly convinced that the reason, above all others, for the success of the Liberal party, as a national political party, is that we have always sought to reconcile differences and to maintain the unity of our country. That has been the

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chief of all Liberal objectives. The unity of the party, the unity of the government were necessary means of the great end of preserving the unity of Canada.

Today, we hear a great deal about the old political parties, as though a party, because it happens to be old, is a menace to the country. Even the Tory party has repudiated its past. Since Mr. Bracken was chosen its leader he has everywhere proclaimed that the Progressive-Conservative party is a new party. It may well prove that in denying its past, the Conservative party has destroyed its future. As for the Liberal party it is proud, and I am proud, that it is an old party. The Liberal party can be proud of its age because it has never ceased to grow and develop.

Liberal party an instrument of national unity.

It is my conviction that an old party which is truly national in its scope and membership is one of the great instruments for binding together the widely separated parts of our country. In a country of vast distances, we need an instrument which serves the interests not of one class only, or one particular creed, or one section of the country, but, rather, an instrument which is large enough and strong enough

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to bring together those of different classes, of different creeds, of different sections and of different origins. The Liberal party has always accepted the principle that the things which unite us in Canada are far greater than those which divide. Liberals believe it is essential, in order that the several voices of our country may be duly harmonized, that there should be in government a blending of minds, begotten of the utmost confidence and the closest association.

Two great races must co-operate in government.

I wish to repeat tonight a statement I have frequently made in different parts of our country. It is my belief that a ministry which cannot bring to its council table, in close and intimate association, men of the two great races which have given our country its distinctive character and culture, cannot hope to govern Canada as it should be governed, if we are to maintain the unity and fulfil the destiny which is rightfully ours.

You all remember that, in November and December of last year, Parliament was faced with a grave issue which threatened to divide the whole of Canada and to weaken our war effort, at the very time our men in Europe were facing the greatest dangers. That was one of the greatest tests ever

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faced by a government and a political party in Canada. Who, at that time, I ask, put the unity and the future of Canada above all considerations of immediate popularity? The men who had the courage to put first the unity of their country and the permanent interests of all its people, French-speaking as well as English-speaking were the men who were most vigorously denounced at that time. The action of the French-speaking Liberal Ministers in supporting the present government in meeting that situation avoided a condition of chaos in government at that time and preserved the unity of Canada's government and the unity of the country before the enemy and the world. What is the result today? Despite all the charges and counter-charges of a general election campaign, the country is united, and thoroughly prepared to move forward to meet the new problems which face us.

<u>An undivided national party.</u>

The Liberal party stands before the country in this election as an undivided national party. In all but five or six constituencies, the Liberal party has a full slate of candidates in every province -- and they are not ashamed to use the party name and to proclaim Liberal principles and policies. The party is supporting a government in which representatives of the two great races are serving in closest

D 48931

harmony and co-operation in promoting policies to serve the general good, rather than particular regions or special interests.

I have, therefore, no apology to make for continuing to advocate national unity as the first of all objectives. Because the Liberal party has been true to that objective, it is the only political party in Canada, today, which includes within its ranks substantial numbers from every section, every race, every creed, and every social class. It is the only party with the unity and the strength to maintain the unity of our country on which its future depends.

The Progressive Conservatives.

Let us look for a moment at the position of the other parties which are asking for the support of the people. First there is the Progressive Conservative party. In eight of the provinces, Mr. Bracken's party is openly appealing for support on the basis of stirring up prejudice against the province of Quebec. In more than half the constituencies in this province, the Conservatives did not even dare to nominate candidates to run under the party name; even the candidates, who are called Progressive Conservatives were, in all but a few cases, chosen by the party organization without reference to the people of the constituency. I do not need to tell a Montreal audience what is going on in this province. It is the same old game

D 48932

that was played in 1911 when the Tories used Nationalist candidates to defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Today they are called Independents and Mr. Bracken's organizer says the Progressive Conservative party is supporting 33 of them. You know who they are: They are, for the most part, men who have opposed Canada's war effort; men who pretend to be opposed to the manpower policy which Mr. Bracken is talking about in the other provinces; men who are supported by Mr. Bracken's party and who undoubtedly would help to put Mr. Bracken and his Tory friends in office if they got the chance.

Here you have the spectacle of a once great political party appealing in the English provinces to prejudice against Quebec and, at the same time, supporting, in Quebec, the very men who are using the strongest racial appeals to create hostility against the other provinces. The party of Macdonald and Cartier has abandoned the cause of harmony between the races, it has discarded national unity. Is it any wonder that the party itself is discredited?

<u>Other Parties</u>.

What of the other parties? There is the C.C.F. Basically the C.C.F. is the party of a class rather than a national party. Its strength, moreover, is confined to a few provinces; and its

D 48933

leaders themselves have no hope of winning anything approaching a majority in Parliament. Then there is the Social Credit group. It has a number of candidates in this province, but none of them has any chance of election. What little strength this group has is in the province of Alberta. It is a local party, not a national party. For ten years the Social Credit group has had a few members in Parliament. They have sat in a corner and spoken from time to time about their own particular ideas. But so far as influencing the government of the country is concerned, they might almost as well have remained at home. Then there is the Bloc Populaire. Most of its programme is summed up in one word: NON. Well, you cannot govern a country merely by saying "No" to everything. Not only does the Bloc want to isolate Canada from the rest of the world, but it wants to isolate Quebec from the rest of Canada. It is making a purely racial appeal, a wholly negative appeal. It has nothing constructive to offer to meet the tremendous problems which face our country and the world. Finally, there are the so-called Independents. They, as you know, are merely the old Tory wolves in sheep's clothing. But there is one great danger to Canada in the existence of all these parties and groups. It is a danger which can only be met by the determined action of

D 48934

the men and women of vision and of good will who seek to promote the greatness and to ensure the future of Canada. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the future of Canada than that no party should have a representative working majority in the next House of Commons. In these perilous times, we must surely seek to avoid a condition such as prevailed in far too many of the countries of Europe where the business of government, before the war, had become a matter of rivalry and bargaining between minority groups. It was that condition which contributed as much as anything to the tragic collapse of France. We do not want our country to risk such a fate.

Liberals alone can win.

As head of the government, I have enjoyed the support of a political party which draws substantial strength from every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the present time, the Liberal party is the only party in Canada of which this is true. If you stop to examine the situation, you will, I believe, soon see that the Liberal party alone has any likelihood of having members elected in every province of Canada. It is the only party with a chance of winning an over-all majority. If you examine closely the statements of Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell you will soon discover that neither of them hopes or

D 48935

expects his party to have a majority. When there are so many vital decisions to be made in world affairs which will affect our future as a nation, we cannot afford to have a prolonged period of uncertainty as to what government can speak for Canada.

That alone would be reason enough to consider seriously supporting the present government. Add to that, the proof we have given in war of our ability to administer the country's affairs; ~~when you think~~ and that we have prepared so thoroughly for the post war that our opponents have so far found nothing serious to criticize. When you take all these things into account, can you hesitate longer about the decision as to what administration should be entrusted, for the next five years, with shaping the future of Canada?

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
77		Saskatoon Star - Phoenix. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48813 - D 48815	
77		Prince Albert Daily Herarld. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1945	D 48816 - D 48820	
77		Winnipeg Address. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1945	D 48821 - D 48823	
77		Campaign Speech of King at Winnipeg. Speeches outside Parliament	24 May 1945	D 48824 - D 48858	
77		Radio Broadcast, London, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 48859 - D 48880	
78		The Future of our Country, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48881 - ~~D 48889~~ D 48899	
78		Broadcast, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 48900 - D 48935	
78		Saint John, N.B. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 48936 - D 48941	
78		Nationwide Broadcast, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 48942 - D 49009	

5.VI.45

St. John, N.B.

D 48936

Montreal and Maritimes.

Too many parties,

" " candidates.

Who best able to carry on - next 5 years?

Leader,

Party,

policies,

support in Parliament.

Unsettled conditions in world -

can only succeed where other parts of country join in (e.g. Alberta)

Sit in opposition if you let other parties in.

D 43937

General:

Regret unable visit all parts of
Canada - (During war and in elections)

Giving time to war -
all constituencies.

Candidates
rejoicing with country.

Part played in war -

Army,
Navy,
Air,
Merchant Marine,

munition workers and suppliers.

Transportation,

Farmers, fishermen and food.

Savings & Victory Loans.

Not forget to whom we owe freedom.

Legislation for Veterans,
" against Inflation.

Present Elections: Great decision.

Past to decide who carry on war;
Present " next 5 years.

D 48938

Things to be done:

1. Japan to be defeated;
2. Change war industry to peace economy;
3. Demobilization.
4. Housing programme, etc.
5. Establish markets.

Concerned with Federal and not provincial affairs

Too many parties -
" " candidates.

Farmers and Maritimes:

Lowering of tariffs;

Subsidies;

Floor under farm and fish prices.

Reciprocity - 1935 - 38
(recent vote House of Representatives

Duties off agricultural implements.

Export markets.

" credits.

External affairs - missions and High Commissioners.

Ogdensburg Agreement
Hyde Park Agreement.

Reconstruction period -

contrast with war.

D 48939

Notes:

Present Government - competence.
New Government - who?

Re Employment:

War against Japan,
Mutual Aid,
UNRRA,
War Veterans' grants,
Veterans' pensions,

Housing legislation,
Rebuilding,

Export credit;
Family allowances,

(See Ilsley's speech,
(J.W.P.,
(Winnipeg Free Press.

3 new Departments. Veterans' Affairs,
Reconstruction,
Health and Welfare.

Private Enterprise.

Getting rid of restrictions fast.

Hyde Park,
Markets.

Legislation vs. inflation,

3rd Parties.

World Peace,
National Unity.
Flag.

Nas

San Francisco - Peas

All Postmaster

Mid Mission

Mr Stare

Senators

Introducing

Post - future

Employment

Trade

Internal affairs.

D 48940

Suggested Outline for St. John.

1. Tribute to Maritime war effort (nearness to war)

Mention especially:

Merchant marine
Ship repairing
Fishermen

2. Full Employment - secret

is maintenance of
purchasing power.

Purchasing power maintained by:

1. Japanese war
2. Mutual Aid for War
3. Mutual aid for European relief and restoration
4. Foreign trade
5. Capital expenditure in factories, forests, farms, fisheries etc.
6. Housing
7. National development and public works
8. Social security payments

   (a) War pensions and gratuities.
   (b) Old Age Pensions
   (c) Unemployment Insurance
   (d) Old Age Pensions and Pensions for the Blind.

9. Family Allowances.

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3. World trade and full employment

30% of national income derived from exports

(Follow line of Edmonton speech)

Make special reference to last visit to White House and joint declaration with Roosevelt on trade;

also to renewal of Reciprocal Trade Agreement legislation being discussed in Congress;

and to forthcoming visit to Truman.

4. Prospects of other parties - no alternative to Liberal government.

See Dexter editorial and further Bracken statements showing Bracken has proved he can't win.

C.C.F. has no strength east of Ontario;

Alternatives before the people

(a) A majority for no party with unstable and unreliable government

or

(b) a clear majority for the present government

There is no third choice!

San Francisco – Peace temporary
Peace Total

over Japan
Hamilton
Peace
Sound Reform

Canadian Unity ——— Importance of international relations.

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For release when broadcast 10.30 p.m. E.D.T. June 8th, 1945.

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

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen, in all parts of Canada:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48945

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48948

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

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

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

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

D48949

record of world service throughout the years of war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48951

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

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

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

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action by the state.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. National security through international co-operation.

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

D 48953

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

D 48954

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

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

D 48955

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

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

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

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

D 48956

happened to be a Tory governmnt.

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

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

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

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

D 48958

Nation-wide Broadcast by The Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada - Ottawa, June 8, 1945

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen, in all parts of Canada:

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

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

D 48959

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

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

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

D 48960

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

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

D 48961

"Bracken the Administrator", "Bracken the Great Progressive-Conservative". If Mr. Bracken had possessed a small part of the peerless qualities attributed to him he would surely have demonstrated some of them by leading his party in the House of Commons. He would surely have been prepared to employ his many statesmanlike qualities in co-operating with others in parliament to make Canada's war effort as effective as possible. He has instead done what he could to embarrass the government in its administration of the nation's affairs. It is not going too far to say that by his irresponsible utterances he has done more than any other public man to sully, in the eyes of the world, the fair name of Canada, and the unparalleled reputation of our fighting men.

Over the past two and a half years, Mr. Bracken has been acting as organizer in chief of the Progressive Conservative Party, instead of its leader in any true sense of the word. How has he been able to carry on in this way? Had Mr. Bracken been elected to parliament he would have, as leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, received a salary of $10,000 a year and other advantages belonging to that office.

Under our system of parliamentary government, it is intended that the leader of the main opposition party in parliament should ~~accept~~ occupy an official position in the House

D 48962

of Commons as Leader of the Opposition. The salary paid out of the public treasury to the Leader of the Opposition enables the leader of the main opposition party to give his full time to leading his party inside the halls of Parliament and thereby gain the necessary preparation for the responsibilities of office should his party be returned at a general election. But Mr. Bracken apparently did not feel the need of the provision made by the Crown to ensure that the leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition might be independent of financial or other special interests in discharging a great public trust.

Now then, has Mr. Bracken managed all this time? It is for him, not for me, to answer that question. It is all important to you that it should be answered before June 11, more especially as Mr. Bracken has said he sees no reason why he should tell you who the members of his cabinet would be. Where will the invisible but actual control be found, if by any chance the party of which Mr. Bracken is the nominal head should come into office? As Mr. Bracken will doubtless decline to let the cat out of the bag between now and Monday, might I suggest that an answer will be found in the nation-wide broadcasts made last night by Mr. George McCullagh, the publisher of the Toronto Globe and Mail, under the titles: "Why I cannot vote for King or

D 48963

~~the C.C.F." and Why I support Bracken".~~

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

Is it not only too apparent that neither Mr.Bracken nor any of those who ought to be in the forefront of what once was a great national political party have any real place in that party today? Is it not only too apparent that control of the party affairs has been seized by small financial groups who are doing all that lies within their power to gain control of the government of Canada? The Globe and Mail is the outward and visible sign of the Toronto group. Similar big interest groups are to be found in Montreal and elsewhere.

I hope you have observed the methods of the new combination during the past two and a half years. The word that went out from the high command was,apparently, not to

D 48964

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

Mr. Bracken changed the name of the Conservative party in December 1942. He has been doing his utmost ever since to represent the Progressive Conservative party as a new party without a past. It may well be that in repudiating the past and the traditions of the party he leads, Mr. Bracken has also destroyed its hopes for the future. One would have thought that some people would have learned the wisdom of not repeating in 1945 the name-changing name-calling tactics that so lamentably failed in the elections of 1940.

D 18965

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

The people of Canada, I know, are proud of Canada's record in the war.

I believe you are going to be more impressed by what has been said of Canada's record in war by the leaders of allied governments with whom we have worked so closely in war than you will be by the condemnation of those who have employed the years of war in building up an organization, not to defeat our enemies abroad but to defeat the government at home. Surely the opinion of the late President Roosevelt, and the judgment of Mr. Churchill and other allied leaders is going to count for more with you than the outpourings of the expensive stream-lined Tory publicity bureau. Canada's war effort, as I have everywhere said, is the effort of the people themselves. A magnificent effort it has been. The contribution Canada made to the winning of the war in Europe,

D 48966

all things considered, has not been surpassed by that of any other country. I think I may claim that our effort never would have been, never could have been the magnificent success it has been, if it had not been carefully planned, skilfully organized, and wisely directed throughout.

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

In making the decision as to how you will vote in the forthcoming election, it will be well to remember the tasks which will face the new Parliament, and the administration which is to carry on the government of Canada in the next few years. The war has till to be won on the other side of the world. The peace has still to be made. The organization

D 48967

which will keep the peace when it has been made has still to be completed. World trade has to be restored and expanded.

At home, there is the great problem of demobilizing our soldiers, sailors and airmen and helping them to re-establish themselves in civilian life. Three-quarters of a million of our fighting men must find employment in peace-time occupations. Their welfare must be our first concern. But we cannot give them the full employment and the social security they have earned in battle unless the whole country remains prosperous.

The re-establishment of our fighting forces, the re-employment of our war workers, the continued employment of all other workers, the incomes of our farmers and other primary producers all depend upon keeping up full employment and a high national income. The greatest task of the new Parliament is the reconstruction of a peace-time economy in which there will be work, homes and incomes for all. It is a task which will call for the highest statesmanship. To deal with these post-war tasks, Canada will need a Parliament with a decisive mandate. Above all, our country will need a strong and forward-looking government which, in both domestic and external affairs, can speak with certainty for the whole of Canada.

D 48968

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

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

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

We accepted with enthusiasm the invitation to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. Let me make clear

that the purpose of the San Francisco conference is not the same as the purpose of the peace conference. The conference which will have to do with the peace settlement could not be started until the fighting was over. One of the great decisions you will have to make in the present campaign, is that to decide which of the parties that are now appealing to you for their support is to be the one to send its leader and other representatives to the peace conference. On the terms of the peace settlements will depend much of the future peace of the world. Please keep this in mind as you weigh the issues that are before you in the present campaign and seek to decide what in your own interests and in the highest interests of Canada it may be best for you to do.

As Liberals, we maintain that prosperity, like security, cannot be the possession of any nation in isolation. We believe that lasting prosperity will come only through international co-operation. Export markets are essential to the efficient employment of vast numbers of our people. Likewise, larger imports are needed to maintain and improve the Canadian standard of living. That is why, without waiting for the war to end, the government, for months past, has been exploring with other countries, the means by which peaceful international commerce may be revived and developed.

D 43970

Need I remind you that the first major achievement of the present administration when it was returned to office in 1935 was the conclusion of a far-reaching reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. That agreement was renewed on a still more far-reaching basis in 1938. These agreements have been of inestimable value to all Canada. It makes me very happy to recall that the successful negotiation of these agreements was in a very direct way furthered by the close personal relationships I enjoyed with the late President Roosevelt, and with Mr. Cordell Hull. I am not without the belief that I may yet be able to make some further contribution to the friendly relations which, over many years, I have sought so earnestly to maintain and strengthen between Canada and her immediate neighbour, and to further between the British Commonwealth and the United States, which closer relationships throughout this war have meant so much to us all and to the world.

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

D 48971

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

Coming more particularly to the domestic problems with which Canada is faced, I am proud to be able to say that, next to the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, the first care of the government, as it was our first duty, has been to make provision for the future of our fighting forces, and for the security of their dependents. It is generally agreed that Canada leads the world in the provision we have made for our returning veterans.

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

The cornerstone of the present government's policy for the future is the maintenance in peace of the full employment our country has enjoyed in wartime. Time will not permit me, tonight, to outline the many directions in which action has already been taken to ensure a high level of employment and income for all our people. The programme of the Liberal government, most of it already in operation, has been outlined over and over again. I wish, this evening, to refer to one aspect only of the question of employment.

D 48972

The Progressive-Conservative party, throughout this campaign, has loudly proclaimed that it is the party of private enterprise, of capitalism; the C.C.F. has equally loudly proclaimed that it is the party of public ownership, of socialism. The Liberal party has never accepted extreme positions. We do not believe that more employment and prosperity will be created by the mere fact of changing the ownership of property from individuals or corporations to the state. Nor do we believe that our free way of life is threatened by the ownership and development by the nation of certain great undertakings. For the Liberal party, the test is what will best serve the general interest, rather than special interests, whether those special interests be the interests of a financial oligarchy or of a particular class.

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

D 18973

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

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

1. Useful employment for all who are willing to work;
2. Standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population;
3. Social insurance against privations resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill-health and from old age.
4. For the children of the nation, a closer approach to equality of opportunity in the battle of life.

D 48974

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

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

5. National security through international co-operation. All this is part of a larger programme which aims at world prosperity and world security.

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

D48975

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

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

D 48976

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

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

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

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

happened to be a Tory government.

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

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

D48978

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

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

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 48979

MEMORANDUM

Federal District Commission

Mr. Murphy suggests that something like the following might be said:

"I am proud of what has been done for the beautification of Ottawa as a national capital.

The Federal District Commission, then known as the Ottawa Improvement Commission, was created by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1905. The Commission has an enviable record in the work for which it was established and the government proposes, if returned, to extend the scope of its work so that it will be able to develop both sides of the river and the approaches to the City in a manner comparable with what has been done in the area already under its control.

The government also proposes to implement the recommendations of the report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, touching on other questions relating to the relations between the government and the Corporation of the City of Ottawa."

7th June, 1945.

D 48930 file

For the Prime Minister:

Details of meeting at Auditorium, Friday, June 8.

Meeting called for 8.30 P.M.

8.45 Chairman's remarks and singing of "O Canada".

8.55 - 9.10 John J. Connolly,(formerly Executive Assistant to Hon. Angus Macdonald).

(9.10 - 9.15) If an announcement is made before the meeting the official candidate for Ottawa East will speak for five minutes.

9.15 - 9.25 Mrs. S. C. Tweed, National Liberal Federation.

9.22 - The Prime Minister arrives, to be met at the door by Mr. McIlraith and "piped" to platform immediately after Mrs. Tweed concludes.

9.25 - 9.40 Ft/Lt. H. A. Walker, D.S.O., D.F.C., Liberal candidate for Frontenac-Addington.

9.40 - 10.00 George J. McIlraith

10.00- 10.29 The Hon. Alphonse Fournier, K.C.

10.30- The Right Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King.

"God Save the King".

The Chairman - Alastair Macdonald, President Ottawa West Liberal Association.

W.J.T.

June 8, 1945.

D 48981

Notes re Ottawa Broadcast:

RE Ontario Elections -- return by a minority of votes

Same result for all Canada for the same reason

Re Government in office -- different opposition

Two groups destroying themselves

Wanting to change the government

What we want is stable government

Position Across Canada

Coalition Government	--	British Columbia
Social Credit	--	Alberta
C. C. F.	--	Saskatchewan
Coalition	--	Manitoba
Tory	--	Ontario
Union National Bloc Populaire	--	Quebec
Liberal	--	New Brunswick
"	--	Nova Scotia
"	--	Prince Edward Island

(Mention other parties as well)

D 48982

Appeal to Labour re Unity -- (see Winnipeg speech, page 26)

Note re Freedom from scandal

" " relief of taxation

" " Leadership in peace

Trip across Country -- happiest month in my life

Keep faith with people in election

Work well done

Task not over

Did duty through five years

Did not seek popularity

Thanks for trip, etc.

Regarding next five years, will need planning, organization, etc.

Regarding war -- no fortunes and no scandals

Have kept down cost of living

Advantage of dollar being worth one hundred cents

Question of controls being removed

No need to speak of opponents -- policy is the thing

Personalities equal any absence of argument

Re <u>External Affairs</u> being most important (for myself: buckling the burden on myshàdk instead of resting on oars)

Problems of the future

Position of the world today

Things to be done before change of government

Peace terms

Social Program

Period of transition from war to peace

D 48983

"To build a new era of security and peace"

"A new world order based on international understanding, on mutual aid, on friendship and goodwill"

(see Winnipeg speech, pages 4 and 5)

(See what Bracken has said re Canada's policy made at Washington)

" " " " " " Japan

National Unity -- (see Winnipeg speech, page 16)

Also statements in speeches across Canada where I have sounded the same note

<u>Two grounds on which a government should appeal</u>

1) Record of the past

2) Its program for the future

<u>Note re reciprocity</u> -- Hyde Park, Ogdensburg and Truman

Problem of Provinces one thing; of Dominion another

(campaign of vilification, slander and contempt poured out against Mr. King

Character, experience, wisdom and ability

(Additional notes for speech at meeting:

1) shorter work day
2) agreement - City of Ottawa

Copy for Mr Handy

D 48984

Mr. Bracken's Leadership

The Conservative opponents of the government find so little to criticize in the policies and programme of the Liberal government that their attacks have been directed very largely against my leadership of the Liberal party and of the government.

Since they have sought to make the question of leadership an issue in this election, it would, I believe, be well to consider carefully certain aspects of the leadership offered by the leader of the Progressive Conservative party, Mr. John Bracken.

Mr. Bracken's career is modestly described by the publicity bureau of his party as "a political career without parallel in the Empire during this century". Mr. Bracken himself is described as "the most continuously successful leader the Empire has produced in this century".

Evidently the publicity bureau has never heard of Mr. Churchill or Mr. Lloyd George or Field Marshal Smuts to mention but one or two of those who, over difficult years of war have borne the heavy burdens of state. And what of Sir Robert Borden? a former leader of Mr. Bracken's party who was continuously Prime Minister in the last war. In changing its name, has the Conservative party repudiated all its former leaders?

D 48985

Let us look for a moment at the record of successful leadership which Mr. Bracken has established. By leadership we may surely assume the Tory publicity bureau means Mr. Bracken's leadership in the national and international arena. In any case, it is in those arenas that Mr. Bracken is seeking to become the spokesman of Canada. It is to his achievements in national and world affairs that we must look, if we would judge Mr. Bracken's capacity to lead our country in the critical years between now and 1950.

Mr. Bracken was chosen leader of the National Conservative party in December 1942. The name of the party was at once changed and Mr. Bracken has been doing his utmost ever since to represent the Progressive Conservative party as a new party without a past. In his repudiation of the past and the traditions of the party he leads, there can be little question that Mr. Bracken is following a line of conduct "without parallel" in political leadership. It may well prove, however, despite a temporary success in the provincial field against a divided opposition, that in repudiating the past of the Conservative party, Mr. Bracken is also destroying its hopes for the future.

D 48986

When Mr. Bracken became leader of the Progressive Conservative party the war was still at its most critical stage. My colleagues in the government and in the House of Commons were concentrating in every way on furthering the war effort of our country. Mr. Bracken was the leader of the party which constituted the official Opposition in the House of Commons. You all know that the official Opposition and its leader have a duty to perform under our system of Parliamentary government. It is a duty not only to the party; it is a duty to the country. That duty is to share in the government of the country, through careful examination and discussion of the policies of the government in power. An Opposition which is true to its trust is a watchdog of the public interest in Parliament. The Leader of the Opposition is paid a salary out of the public treasury for the express purpose of leading, inside the walls of Parliament, the political party which is preparing itself to replace the government in office.

At a time of war the country naturally expects public men to be at the post of duty. Yet what did Mr. Bracken do during those years of war? He turned

D 48987

the duties of Leader of the Opposition over to a caretaker and took over, personally, the duties of party organizer. Instead of gaining experience as a Member of Canada's wartime Parliament, Mr. Bracken devoted two and a half years to playing politics - to party organization - while the rest of the nation was concentrating on the war.

This is the record of continuously successful leadership in national and international affairs you are being asked to endorse!

But one might at least have thought that, during the present election campaign, Mr. Bracken as leader of the Progressive Conservative party would have made himself the national spokesman of his party. As leader of the Liberal party I am addressing you tonight in a nation-wide broadcast. When, I ask you, have you heard Mr. Bracken speaking to all the people of Canada, at the same time, with the same message, in a nation-wide broadcast? I have not had much time to listen to political broadcasts myself, but I am told that Mr. Bracken had not spoken once for his party on a nation-wide broadcast since the election campaign began.

D 48988

But that is not all! Who did the Progressive Conservative party choose as its spokesman in its final nation-wide broadcast appeal to the people of Canada. Was it the leader of the party? Was it one of his principal lieutenants; one of the men who might be expected to serve in a Conservative Cabinet? Was it even a candidate for Parliament? The answer is No; it was none of these.

Mr. Bracken's "new party" appeared, at last, in what we must suppose are its true colours. It was represented in its final national appeal by a wealthy publisher from Toronto, the chosen spokesman of the little group of Toronto Tories who have seized control of what once was a great national political party. I hope you have observed their methods during the past two years, and particularly during this campaign. It is perfectly clear that they are seeking by a highly-financed campaign of modern publicity with radio, films, posters and the like to sell the Progressive Conservative party and its leader, Mr. Bracken, as though what they were selling was a new brand of soap or a new breakfast food.

D 48989

Mr. Bracken travels about the country making local appeals which are calculated to suit the immediate interests of those to whom he is speaking, while the great national advertising campaign is carried on by publicity experts led and directed, as we now see, by the publisher of the Toronto Globe and Mail.

This is a new kind of national leadership; it is a new method of government: but despite all the stream-lining of expensive publicity, I doubt if it will make a genuine appeal to the people of Canada.

The people of this country are surely going to expect a man who seeks to head their government to speak for himself, not to yield his place to a newspaper publisher from Toronto who is not even a candidate for election.

I notice the Premier of Ontario has advanced another claim for Mr. Bracken's leadership. He says that Mr. Bracken should represent Canada at the peace conference because he visited the troops behind the lines while the fighting was on. Mr. Drew says I am not a fit man to speak for Canada in international affairs because I did not visit our troops while they were in action.

D 48989

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 48990

It is true that I did not make a politician's tour of the areas behind the lines while our men were fighting at the front. What good would it have done them, or any one else if I had. I doubt if troops who are resting after battle or waiting to go into battle are very enthusiastic about Cook's tours by politicians.

It is true that I did visit our troops with Mr. Churchill and (fill in other names) on the eve of D-Day. As you all know I was in Britain on official business connected with the carrying on of the war. I was not seeking ammunition for a political campaign. I was proud of the opportunity to assure our men that all of us at home were with them heart and soul.

But I felt, and I still feel, that I was given a duty to perform after the last election. The present government was given a mandate to direct our country's war effort. As head of the government, my place was at the post of duty where, with my colleagues, we could direct our war effort. I am sure I was doing more to support our fighting men by taking my place in Parliament, by introducing and helping to place on the statutes a programme for the care and re-establishment of our war

D 48991

veterans which no other country has equalled, than I would have been by shaking hands with combat weary soldiers behind the lines in France or Italy.

If what has been accomplished in the last five or six years for our fighting men alone is to be the test of leadership, I have no fear of placing my record beside that of Mr. Bracken and leaving it to you to judge.

Average of 2 pages for each topic.

Copy for Mr. Heenan
D 48992

Ottawa Broadcast

Suggested Points to Cover

1. Final Appeal for a clear and independent mandate to meet problems of the period of transition abroad and at home.

(See draft section attached, entitled "A Mandate for the Period of Transition")

2. The Great Tasks of the Next Parliament.

(See draft section by J.W.P. with same title already submitted.)

3. Liberal Policy in International Affairs.

(See paragraphs attached largely from Edmonton speech)

4. Re-establishment of Veterans.

(See draft section attached)

5. Full Employment and National development.

(See draft section attached)

6. Social Security.

Brief transitional sentence as follows:

"I shall not elaborate tonight on the programme of the government for the achievement of social security. My second nation-wide broadcast in the present campaign contained an outline of the measures already adopted and the programme proposed by the present government to help to secure a national minimum standard of human well-being for all."

D 48993

7. Need of a clear majority and a government independent of other groups -

(See concluding part of J.W.P.'s draft "Only the Liberals can win a clear majority".

5166/45

D 48994

For release when broadcast 10.30 p.m. E.D.T. June 8th, 1945.

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

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen, in all parts of Canada:

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

~~xxxx

D 48995

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

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

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

D 48996

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 48998

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

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

D 48999

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 49001

record of world service throughout the years of war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 49003

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

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

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

D 49004

action by the state.

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

1. Useful employment for all who are willing to work;
2. Standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population;
3. Social insurance against privations resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill-health and from old age.
4. For the children of the nation, a closer approach to equality of opportunity in the battle of life.

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

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

5. National security through international co-operation.

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

D 49005

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

D 49006

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

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

D 49007

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

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

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

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

D 49008

happened to be a Tory government.

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

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

D 49009

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

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 5166/45
49010

Ottawa, 11th June, 1945.

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King.

To the People of Canada:

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

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

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

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

D 49011

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

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

D 49012

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

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

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

D 49013

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

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

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

D 49014

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

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

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

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

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78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 49015

Major General B. M. Hoffmeister,
age 38, married with one daughter, aged 7 (wife and daughter in Ottawa to meet him).

Born and brought up in Vancouver.

All-round athlete.

Served in Seaforth Highland Cadets and in Seaforth Highlanders, Non-permanent active militia, commissioned in 1927. Very active in militia before outbreak of war, but not a professional soldier.

Civilian occupation: General Manager, Canadian White Pine Co. Ltd. of Vancouver.

War Record:
Mobilized at outbreak of war with Seaforth Highlanders. Went overseas 1939 as

company commander. Returned to Canada for Staff course 1942. On return overseas, appointed Officer Commanding Seaforth Highlanders.

Led regiment in Sicily.

During Italian campaign, promoted Officer Commanding, 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, and, subsequently, Officer Commanding 5th (Armoured) Division (March 20, 1944). Served throughout whole Italian campaign and led division back from Italy to N. W. Europe. Took part in final defeat of Germany and continued to command division until selected for present command.

June 14, 1945

Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister

D 49017

General Hoffmeister:

It affords me a very special pleasure, on behalf of the government and the people of our country, to welcome you home to Canada. We are delighted to have this opportunity at the moment of your arrival in Canada's Capital. We wish heartily to congratulate you on your contributions to victory in the war against Nazi Germany. We wish to congratulate you, with equal warmth, on the command to which you have been appointed, over the Canadian Force now preparing to leave for the Far East.

In the campaign in Italy, and in the closing stages of the battle of Germany, you have already earned great distinction for yourself, and honour for our country. Your selection as the Commander of the Canadian Force to fight against Japan, was but an expression of a confidence fully shared by your fellow officers in Canada's army. It was a source of pride to the government that in making your appointment, we were able to designate one who, though young in years, was already a tried and tested veteran of modern warfare.

You will, of course, encounter many new and strange conditions in conducting military operations in the Far East. No one, however, can doubt that the experience you have gained in helping to defeat Nazi Germany will prove of the utmost value in the new theatre. And perhaps you will

D 49018

excuse me for reminding you that the people of Canada do not under-estimate the value of experience.

You have had another experience which the government believed would help to fit you for your new task. In Italy the troops under your command fought side by side with troops from the United States. I am not surprised, General Hoffmeister, that you liked the Americans, and found it easy to co-operate effectively with them. That quality will be of the greatest value in your new command.

As you know, the whole question of Canada's part in the war against Japan was discussed by myself and other members of our government with Mr. Churchill and the late President Roosevelt, and with their chiefs of staff and our own at the meeting held in Quebec last September. At that time Canada, in accordance with allied plans, was devoting all her energies to the prosecution of the war against Germany. It was then quite apparent that Germany would be defeated before Japan.] [The government believed the Canadian people wanted our country to bear its just share of the burden of defeating Japan. We were no less concerned to make Canada's effort as effective as possible. We were anxious, therefore, to lay our plans well in advance for the very difficult and complicated task of transferring our military strength from action against Germany to action

D 49019

against Japan. I do not need to tell you that, in the Pacific war, as in the war against Germany, every part of Canada's war effort at sea, on land and in the air, in munitions and supplies, and in every other way, has been planned and is being organized in closest co-operation with our principal allies, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Of the decisions reached at Quebec, you, General Hoffmeister, are, of course, particularly interested in ~~that~~ the decision relating to the army. At that time, as you are aware, it was decided that the Canadian army contingent should serve with, and as a part of the United States army, retaining, of course, its own Canadian identity. The force you are to organize and lead is, therefore, to be trained and to operate side by side with troops from the United States.

The strength of Canada's Pacific Force does not, of course, compare with that of the First Canadian Army. ~~That~~ This, however, does not mean that ~~it~~ our contribution force is not intended to be a significant military contribution to the defeat of Japan. As you, General Hoffmeister, know, it is the most substantial force which, having regard to all circumstances, our United States allies felt could be effectively integrated with their forces in the time at our disposal.

D 49020

And I do not need to tell you that time is of the essense in the organization and training of the Pacific Force. Once Germany was defeated, it became necessary to move swiftly in the re-organization of our forces, if we expected to make any serious military contribution to the war against Japan. There was no time to start from the beginning to build up a new force from inexperienced men. For several reasons, our force could not be large in numbers - shipping alone was an obstacle, if there had been no other - it could, however, be of the finest quality and that we were determined to have it. Only a force largely composed of men with battle experience could be given quickly enough the specialized training required to be in time for the campaigns ahead.

Of course, you are going to need for the Pacific Force a steady stream of reinforcements. The force will not be entirely composed of veteran fighting men. It will also provide opportunities for younger men, and men without battle experience who wish to do their part to secure the freedom of the world.

For the third time, in this war, Canadian troops will be serving directly with the United States army. They did so in the Kiska expedition where co-operation was splendidly achieved. I do not need to recall to you the

D 49021

exploits of the combined unit of Canadians and Americans who served side by side in most difficult operations in Europe. This Special Service Force established an exceptional military record. That record is a most favourable omen for future success.

Canada's Pacific Force under your command, General Hoffmeister, will be wholly Canadian. Its exploits, we believe, will add a new chapter to that portion of the history of Canada and the United States which our countries share in common. Every officer, every soldier in the ranks of Canada's Pacific Force will be an ambassador of Canada. It is the government's aim, as I know it will be yours, to make the Pacific Force as fine a military formation as Canada has ever produced. Fighting at the side of the forces of our great and powerful neighbour, Canada may not hope to impress them with numbers. But we believe that, in quality, Canada's force will be surpassed by none. We are confident that, as opportunity is afforded, our troops will make a vital contribution to the defeat of Japan and the destruction of Japanese militarism.

General Hoffmeister, as you take up your new command, all Canada wishes you well. Until your task has been completed with final victory, our thoughts, our hopes and our support will be with you and with the force you lead. God grant that victory over militarist Japan may speedily be achieved.

D 19021

exploits of the combined unit of Canadians and Americans who served side by side in most difficult operations in Europe. This Special Service Force established an exceptional military record. That record is a most favourable omen for future success.

Canada's Pacific Force under your command, General Hoffmeister, will be wholly Canadian. Its exploits, we believe, will add a new chapter to that portion of the history of Canada and the United States which our countries share in common. Every officer, every soldier in the ranks of Canada's Pacific Force will be an ambassador of Canada. It is the government's aim, as I know it will be yours, to make the Pacific Force as fine a military formation as Canada has ever produced. Fighting at the side of the forces of our great and powerful neighbour, Canada may not hope to impress them with numbers. But we believe that, in quality, Canada's force will be surpassed by none. We are confident that, as opportunity is afforded, our troops will make a vital contribution to the defeat of Japan and the destruction of Japanese militarism.

General Hoffmeister, as you take up your new command, all Canada wishes you well. Until your task has been completed with final victory, our thoughts, our hopes and our support will be with you and with the force you lead. God grant that victory over militarist Japan may speedily be achieved.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 49022

Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister.

General Hoffmeister:

It is an honour and a pleasure to welcome you home to Canada in the name of the government and the people of our country.

In the campaign in Italy, and in the closing stages of the battle of Germany, you have already earned great distinction for yourself and honour for our country. In selecting you, General Hoffmeister, as the Commander of the Canadian Force to fight against Japan, the government knew we were choosing one who, though young in years, was already a tried and tested veteran of modern warfare.

You will, of course, encounter many new and strange conditions in conducting military operations in the Far East. No one, however, can doubt that the experience you have gained in helping to defeat Nazi Germany will prove of the utmost value in the new theatre. And perhaps you will excuse me for reminding you that the people of Canada do not under-estimate the value of experience.

D 49023

You have had another experience which the government believed would help to fit you for your new task. In Italy the troops under your command fought side by side with troops from the United States. I ~~am told~~, General Hoffmeister, that you liked the Americans and found it easy to co-operate effectively with them. That quality will be of the greatest value in your new command.

As you know, the whole question of Canada's part in the war against Japan was discussed with Mr. Churchill and the late President Roosevelt at the meeting held in Quebec last September. At that time Canada, in accordance with allied plans, was devoting all her energies to the prosecution of the war against Germany. ~~We could already see~~ that Germany would be defeated before Japan. We, ~~in Canada, wished~~ to lay our plans well in advance for the very difficult and complicated task of ~~switching over~~ from action against Germany to action against Japan. The government believed the Canadian people wanted our country to bear its just share of the burden of defeating Japan. We were no less concerned to make Canada's effort as effective as possible. I do not need to tell you that, in the Pacific war, as in the war against Germany, every part of Canada's war effort at sea, on land and in the air, in

D 49024

munitions and supplies, and in every other way, has been planned and is being organized in closest co-operation with our principal allies, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Of the decisions reached at Quebec, you, General Hoffmeister, are, of course, particularly interested in that relating to the army. It was decided that the Canadian army contingent should serve with, and as a part of the United States army, ~~while~~, of course, retaining its own Canadian identity. The force you are to organize and lead is, therefore, to be trained and to operate side by side with troops from the United States.

Compared with the First Canadian Army, the strength of Canada's Pacific Force ~~is not large~~. That does not mean that it is not intended to be a significant military contribution to the defeat of Japan. As you know, General Hoffmeister, it is the most substantial force which, having regard to all ~~the~~ circumstances, our United States allies felt could be effectively integrated with their forces in the time at our disposal.

D 49025

And I do not need to tell you that time is of the essence in the organization and training of the Pacific Force. Once Germany was defeated, it became necessary for Canada to move swiftly in the re-organization of our forces, if we expected to make any serious military contribution to the war against Japan. There was no time to start from the beginning to build up a new force from inexperienced men. Our force could not be large in numbers — shipping alone was an obstacle, if there had been no other — ~~but~~ it could be of the finest quality. Only a force largely composed of men with battle experience could be given the specialized training required ~~by veterans~~.

Of course, you are ~~also~~ going to need a steady stream of reinforcements for the Pacific Force. The force will not be entirely composed of veteran fighting men. It will also provide opportunities for younger men and men without battle experience who wish to do their part to secure the freedom of the world.

For the third time in this war Canadian troops will be serving directly with the United States army. They did so in the Kiska expedition where co-operation was splendidly achieved. I do not need to recall to you the

D 49026

exploits of the combined unit of Canadians and Americans who served side by side in most difficult operations in Europe. This Special Service Force established an exceptional military record, which is a most favourable omen for future success.

Canada's Pacific Force under your command, General Hoffmeister, will be wholly Canadian. Its exploits, we believe, will add a new chapter to the ~~common~~ history of Canada and the United States. Every officer, every soldier in ~~its~~ ranks will be an ambassador of Canada. It is ~~our~~ aim, as I know it will be yours, to make the Pacific Force ~~the~~ ~~finest~~ military formation Canada has ever produced. Fighting at the side of the forces of our ~~gigantic~~ neighbour, Canada ~~can never~~ hope to impress them with numbers, but we believe that, in quality, Canada's force will be surpassed by none. ~~All Canada~~ is confident that our troops will make a vital contribution to the defeat of Japan and the destruction of Japanese militarism.

As you take up your new command, General Hoffmeister, ~~the whole of~~ all Canada wishes you well. Until your task has been completed with final victory, our thoughts, our hopes, and our support will be with you and with the force you lead. ~~Good luck and Godspeed.~~

June 14, 1945

Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister

D 49027

General Hoffmeister:

It affords me a very special pleasure, on behalf of the government and the people of our country, to welcome you home to Canada. We are delighted to have this opportunity at the moment of your arrival in Canada's Capital. We wish heartily to congratulate you on your contributions to victory in the war against Nazi Germany. We wish to congratulate you, with equal warmth, on the command to which you have been appointed, over the Canadian Force now preparing to leave for the Far East.

In the campaign in Italy, and in the closing stages of the battle of Germany, you have already earned great distinction for yourself, and honour for our country. Your selection as the Commander of the Canadian Force to fight against Japan, was but an expression of a confidence fully shared by your fellow officers in Canada's army. It was a source of pride to the government that in making your appointment, we were able to designate one who, though young in years, was already a tried and tested veteran of modern warfare.

You will, of course, encounter many new and strange conditions in conducting military operations in the Far East. No one, however, can doubt that the experience you have gained in helping to defeat Nazi Germany will prove of the utmost value in the new theatre. And perhaps you will

D 9028

excuse me for reminding you that the people of Canada do not under-estimate the value of experience.

You have had another experience which the government believed would help to fit you for your new task. In Italy the troops under your command fought side by side with troops from the United States. I am not surprised, General Hoffmeister, that you liked the Americans, and found it easy to co-operate effectively with them. That quality will be of the greatest value in your new command.

As you know, the whole question of Canada's part in the war against Japan was discussed by myself and other members of our government with Mr. Churchill and the late President Roosevelt, and with their chiefs of staff and our own at the meeting held in Quebec last September. At that time Canada, in accordance with allied plans, was devoting all her energies to the prosecution of the war against Germany. It was then quite apparent that Germany would be defeated before Japan. The government believed the Canadian people wanted our country to bear its just share of the burden of defeating Japan. We were no less concerned to make Canada's effort as effective as possible. We were anxious, therefore, to lay our plans well in advance for the very difficult and complicated task of transferring our military strength from action against Germany to action

D 49029

against Japan. I do not need to tell you that, in the Pacific war, as in the war against Germany, every part of Canada's war effort at sea, on land and in the air, in munitions and supplies, and in every other way, has been planned and is being organized in closest co-operation with our principal allies, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Of the decisions reached at Quebec, you, General Hoffmeister, are, of course, particularly interested in the decision ~~that~~ relating to the army. At that time, as you are aware, it was decided that the Canadian army contingent should serve with, and as a part of the United States army, retaining, of course, its own Canadian identity. The force you are to organize and lead is, therefore, to be trained and to operate side by side with troops from the United States.

The strength of Canada's Pacific Force does not, of course, compare with that of the First Canadian Army. This, however, does not mean that it is not intended to be a significant military contribution to the defeat of Japan. As you, General Hoffmeister, know, it is the most substantial force which, having regard to all circumstances, our United States allies felt could be effectively integrated with their forces in the time at our disposal.

D 49030

And I do not need to tell you that time is of the essense in the organization and training of the Pacific Force. Once Germany was defeated, it became necessary to move swiftly in the re-organization of our forces, if we expected to make any serious military contribution to the war against Japan. There was no time to start from the beginning to build up a new force from inexperienced men. For several reasons, our force could not be large in numbers - shipping alone was an obstacle, if there had been no other - it could, however, be of the finest quality and that we were determined to have it. Only a force largely composed of men with battle experience could be given quickly enough the specialized training required [redacted] in time for the campaigns ahead.

Of course, you are going to need for the Pacific Force a steady stream of reinforcements. The force will not be entirely composed of veteran fighting men. It will also provide opportunities for younger men, and men without battle experience who wish to do their part to secure the freedom of the world.

For the third time, in this war, Canadian troops will be serving directly with the United States army. They did so in the Kiska expedition where co-operation was splendidly achieved. I do not need to recall to you the

D 49031

exploits of the combined unit of Canadians and Americans who served side by side in most difficult operations in Europe. This Special Service Force established an exceptional military record. That record is a most favourable omen for future success.

Canada's Pacific Force under your command, General Hoffmeister, will be wholly Canadian. Its exploits, we believe, will add a new chapter to/ that portion of the history of Canada and the United States which our countries share in common. Every officer, every soldier in the ranks of Canada's Pacific Force will be an ambassador of Canada. It is the government's aim, as I know it will be yours, to make the Pacific Force as fine a military formation as Canada has ever produced. Fighting at the side of the forces of our great and powerful neighbour, Canada may not hope to impress them with numbers. But we believe that, in quality, Canada's force will be surpassed by none. We are confident that, as opportunity is afforded, our troops will make a vital contribution to the defeat of Japan and the destruction of Japanese militarism.

General Hoffmeister, as you take up your new command, all Canada wishes you well. Until your task has been completed with final victory, our thoughts, our hopes and our support will be with you and with the force you lead. God grant that victory/over militarism - Japan may speedily be achieved.

D 49032

Thanks to country for return of Government

I should like to [illegible] a fuller expression of thanks to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion, for their renewed expression of confidence in the present administration and this at a time after the years we have been in office, and the great responsibilities which have been ours in the years of war. With the burdens which war imposes upon the people, with the privations it necessarily entails, with the restrictions it places upon their freedom, with the government inevitably blamed for discomforts and distress of every kind; to no one, could it have been a matter of surprise had our majority been so reduced as to have made it impossible for the administration longer to accept the responsibility of office. As it is, with the support on which we know we are able to count in the House of Commons, we have a majority over the combined forces of our political opponents. But what perhaps is even more to the point, there is much less in common between the forces which are opposed to us than there is between the views of the more moderate members of ~~many of~~ those opposed to the government and ourselves.

No Surprise if reduced majority

a majority over all the parties

No doubt many of you will recall the experience with which, as leader of the government, I was confronted between the years ~~1921~~ when the Liberal administration came into office, in 1921 and the general election of 1925. By actual count, our majority over all other parties in the House was ~~of~~ only one ~~which~~ and, to make matters worse, this included His Honour the Speaker.

Between 1921-25 majority of one

D 49033

Our Whips had to keep a pretty strict eye on all critical party divisions. You may be surprised to know, however, that as a matter of fact, the Parliament of 1921-25 was a Parliament which ~~characterized by its divisions,~~ might well be known as the Parliament of largest majorities. What happened was that, where the measures which the government brought forward did not commend themselves ~~as we sought to have it~~ commend themselves to the House generally, they were regarded by some of our opponents as a little too radical and by others, as not radical enough, and we usually had, in addition to the support of our own followers, the support of some of the other opposing groups. ~~There is something about this which is deserving of mention.~~ In the working out of our ~~free political institutions,~~ there is something which is more significant than might at first appear. It goes far to demonstrate the truth that no government in Canada which represents an extreme in one direction or the other can long hope successfully to manage the business of the country, or to hold office in Canada. It is what alone represents average Canadian opinion that counts for most. The people of Canada as a whole will not accept extreme views of any section of the country, of any class in the country, or of any political party. In this, the instinct of our people is sound. Extremes in one direction inevitably beget extremes in another. ~~Anything of the kind inevitably~~ leads to the bitterest kind of

D 49034

controversy and, if continued long enough, will lead to actual strife. Extreme views can only be arbitrarily imposed. Arbitrary behaviour is a disruptive, not a unifying force. Where applied within a nation, it makes for disunity, not for unity. It is a united Canada that average Canadian opinion desires above all else. In all its policies the General Party aims at maintaining a united Canada.

D 49035

Success in Campaign due to

1. Avoidance of extremes. + Kept maintaining national unity.

I attribute our success in the recent campaign to three things in particular. The first is that in our policies throughout the war, we have been careful to avoid going to extremes, ~~and that,~~ In this way, we have maintained a larger measure of national unity than would have been possible in any other way. ~~In our policies,~~ We have sought, in our policies to represent the average Canadian opinion.

2. Our effort carefully planned + directed

The second is that we have planned, organized and directed Canada's war effort in a wise and efficient manner, ~~in~~ a manner which met with the general approval of the country. The third is that we did not wait till the war was over to plan our post-war policies but had already placed on the statutes or made provision in other ways for a comprehensive programme of employment and social security. - the most advanced practical program of social progress, anticipating needs that will arise

This has given confidence in our ability to carry to a successful conclusion the war against Japan. in cooperation with AS. part of the allied Nations

the financing, the industrial effort, enormous expenditures with speed, absence of fraud or high profits the control of prices, wages in relation Canada's position internationally

Relations with other nations, U.S. U.K. etc

I should add a fourth reason, namely a recognition of the position that Canada has come to hold among the nations of the world, and of belief that Canada would be best represented at peace conferences by representatives of the present administration. It has come to be recognized that our problems are no longer purely domestic problems; that, for the most part, they are inseparable from world problems, and that an international outlook and knowledge of world affairs are becoming of increasing importance in a solution of all our problems, domestic as well as international.

3. Post war policies already in effect in part

4. Place Canada has gained in world, Representation at Peace Conference, Importance of Peace.

5. Solution of problem dependent on international

This applies to all our problems, social, trade, economic, etc. The task of restoring and ensuring international peace and world prosperity ~~to~~ Canada, our whole future, depends more than all else on our ~~ever~~ ever-increasing ~~out~~ trade.

Canada's prosperity and security will depend upon the actions we adopt to maintain and advance the high place our country has won among the nations of the world by the magnificent record of world service throughout the years of war
-8-
leading to peace and security will come only through international cooperation.

All these ends we shall seek to pursue with a degree of confidence and a sense of responsibility all the greater for the trust which anew has been reposed in the administration. There are certain outstanding aspects of the results of the elections on the significance of which we would do well to reflect. The most significant feature of all is that the Liberal Party has proved itself to be, as throughout the election was so frequently asserted, the one party which is the most truly representative of the Canadian people as a whole. It is the only party which in the new House of Commons will enjoy, in its membership, representation from every province in the Dominion. In other words, it is a truly national party. That, I think, is the result of our strivings, in all our policies, for national unity.

The other parties have become, in the main, sectional parties. When you eliminate from the Progressive-Conservative Party, the representatives that come from the Province of Ontario, but 18 is the number of representatives that remains.

The representatives of the C.C.F. party are mainly from the province of Saskatchewan.

D 49037

When you eliminate from the rest of its representation in Parliament, the numbers from that province, only 10 members remain.

The Social Credit Party is almost exclusively from the province of Alberta. When you eliminate the total representation of that party, the numbers from that province, ~~only~~ none ~~members~~ remain.

Of the other so-called parties which had candidates in the last general election, such as the Bloc Populaire, L'Union Nationale, and others, more need not be said than that they have been all extinguished.

One of the most unfortunate things which can happen to any country is that any considerable portion of its population should place an emphasis upon special interests, whether those interests be based on race, religion, class, geographic or economic divisions, rather than upon the things which are held in common, (but as to the best means of dealing with which, opposing views may be held.)

On most public matters, men tend to differ in their opinions as they are conservatively or liberally inclined. Reactionary and radical express the extremes of these points of view. Names, after all, are but labels. It is the attitude or bent of mind which really matters and which tends to make for natural and inevitable differences in

D 49038

political outlook.

Nature of a political party

A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is a means whereby men and women who feel and think alike on great public questions are able, by uniting into one party, to make their views prevail in government. It seems to me that in every way, it is best for a nation that its people should be divided politically into two parties representative of different shades of opinion but extending over the entire country, than that the representation of the people in Parliament should be broken up into a number of groups, representative of separate and special interests such as those to which I have referred. It is only as the people's representatives are able to put forward generally accepted policies which are supported to a greater or less extent by men and women in all parts of the country that there is any real hope of making these policies prevail in Parliament.

Advantages of 2 parties

Strong Government

Let me give you a striking illustration on the results of the present elections. In no part of Canada perhaps, do provinces have more in common than have the three Western provinces which are frequently spoken of as the Prairie Provinces. Now what is the present position with regard to their representation in Parliament? The province of ~~British Colu~~ Manitoba will be represented almost exclusively by members of the Liberal

Striking illustration of results of Elections

- 3 Western provinces

D 49039

Party. The province of Saskatchewan, almost exclusively by members of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. The province of Alberta almost exclusively by members of the Social Credit party. In ~~each~~ general election, each of these third parties have been opposed to the other two. If they alone were dependent on each other for the furtherance of their common interests, what would become of the interests of any one of them?

Looking beyond the Western provinces to the Dominion as a whole, what would become of Alberta's interests, did Alberta have to rely on a number of Social Credit members who will be in the House of Commons to support her policies in the new Parliament? Similarly what would become of the interests of the province of Saskatchewan, if that province would have to depend only on the number of members of the C.C.F. party in the federal parliament in addition to those from the province of Saskatchewan. How different the situation with respect to Manitoba is apparent the moment it is realized that the members from Manitoba are in a position to look for some support to every province of Canada, for the policies on which they have been returned and in which the interests of their province so largely depend.

Nothing could be more unfortunate for Canadian unity than that Canada should come to be ~~viewed~~ looked upon as being made up of so many separate compartments, each with

D 49040

special interests of its own, rather than as one great nation whose people possess a common interest over-riding all special interests and lesser considerations.

danger of many parties

I have spoken in Parliament and on the platform of the danger to a country when its people and their representative institutions become divided into too many parties and groups. That sort of thing makes for unstable government and for weak government. As much as anything else, the

France

number of parties in her Chamber of Deputies and the lack of real authority which anyone of the lot possessed, led to the downfall of France at the time of her invasion by Germany.

In Italy & recognition of too many parties

Of recent years in our House of Commons, there has come to be a recognition of different parties and groups far beyond anything which was intended under our Constitution or which is in accord with past parliamentary practice. That I believe has been a mistake. For one thing, it has led to confusion, and also to endless repetition in debate and has made the proceedings of Parliament much more lengthy and expensive than they otherwise should be. Our parliamentary system does not take account of political parties. It is based on the recognition of a government and an opposition.

Should be Government & Opposition

An election is to decide to what party the people of the country wish to entrust the government of their affairs. Once an election is over and a government has been returned, it surely was never intended that its first step should be to

D 49041

recognize two, three or four separate oppositions, instead of one. There is only one true view of the position of an Opposition, and that is the one which follows the dictum that those who are not for us are against us, ~~and that the opposition is composed~~ (not of so many different shades of political opinion) but just as those who sit to the right of the Speaker are recognized as the government, led by the leader of the party in power, so, too, the opposition is composed of those who sit in the ~~tactical~~ sense to the left of the Speaker, led by the one to whom an official position is given by Statute under the designation of the leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

I much hope that when the new House of Commons meets, members of all political parties and groups will recognize the wisdom in the interests of economy of time and money, efficiency and clarity in debate, and of simplification of procedure, of restoring the practice which recognizes exclusively a government and an Opposition rather than a government and a multiplicity of groups.

In this connection, an all important consideration is that if Parliamentary govt. is to be carried on, with a due sense of responsibility, while criticism is a duty of the Opposition, it should be something more than destructive

D 49042

criticism should be constructive

criticism. It should be constructive.

In the interests of the nation as a whole, no party has the right merely to seek to destroy an administration unless it is prepared itself to assume the obligations of carrying on the duties of government. In other words, it is not in the national interest that a government at any time should suffer defeat unless those by whom it is defeated are themselves in a position to assume responsibility for the carrying on of government. In other words, an Opposition should, at all times, be prepared to assume the duties of government itself.

Opposition should be prepared to act as an alternative government

should be prepared to assume duties of government

Yours sincerely,

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

JAG/Z

Government Dinner
H.R.H. Abdul Ilah, Regent of Iraq
June 30, 1945

D 19043

Welcome to Prince Regent
and distinguished members of
his party.

First occasion since end of
hostilities in Europe for
welcoming to Capital of Canada
the head of one of the United
Nations.

A striking sidelight on human history
at a moment when men's minds
are beginning to turn to the
tasks of rebuilding much of a
shattered world
(especially in Europe)

that we should be welcoming here in
a capital of the New World
representatives whose land goes
back to the veritable cradle of
western civilization.

Iraq of today is the "land between the
rivers" (Mesopotamia) of history.

While Europe was still peopled by
Barbarians, an advanced
civilization inhabited the fertil
valleys of the Euphrates and the
Tigris.

D 49044

More than 3000 years before the Birth of Christ, this Sumerian civilization had developed astronomy, geometry, engineering.

Many contrasts between that civilization and our way of life today.

All will realize how deeply western civilization has drawn upon the foundations of this ancient land

Will equally appreciate rapid advance in development of Iraq since it achieved independent nationhood.

Today (June 30) is 15th anniversary of signing of treaty regulating relation between Great Britain (as the former mandatory power) and Iraq (which entered League of Nations in 1932).

(Basis of treaty is alliance between two equal and independent states).

Here, at the seat of the Government of Canada, pleased to welcome leaders in the growth of democratic governmen in Iraq.

Hope they will take away pleasant impressions of their short visit to Canada.

D 49045

His Royal Highness
Prince Abdul Ilah,
Regent of Iraq.

His Excellency
Nuri Pasha As Said,
former Prime Minister.

His Excellency
Daoud Pasha Al Haidari,
former Iraq Minister
in London.

Brigadier (Dr.) H.C. Sinderson Pasha,
Physician to the Regent.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ubaid Abdullah,
A. D. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

19046

Prime Minister

Re Memo to Regent of Iraq

Attached is a note for your remarks tonight prepared in External Affairs at Mr. Read's direction.

I understand Gibson was also preparing some notes.

W.P.

30.VI.45

INTRODUCTION TO THE REGENT OF IRAQ AND HIS PARTY D-9047

June 30, 1945.

We are honoured tonight in welcoming to Canada His Royal Highness Emir Abdul Ilah, Regent of Iraq, together with the distinguished members of his party.

In spite of the great distance which separates Canada from Iraq, we have one very important thing in common. That is the determination of both our countries that the forces of evil and tyranny should not triumph and by their triumph put an end to all hope of human progress. As you know, Iraq has made an important contribution to the defeat of Nazi tyranny and continues today to make a no less important contribution to the defeat of Japan. In this great effort His Royal Highness has played a part which only those who are familiar with the complexities of political life in the Middle East can properly evaluate.

Iraq was the first country in the world to graduate from the tutelage of a League of Nations mandate into fully sovereign, independent statehood. This event took place in 1932. In 1939 when His Royal Highness was appointed Regent of his country the dark clouds of war had already gathered overhead. From the moment actual hostilities broke out we knew that the freedom-loving nations of the world could depend upon the people and the government of Iraq to do their part in the great struggle. In spite of the intrigues of our common enemy in selecting Iraq as

...2

a special target for their divisive propaganda, in spite of its comparatively small population of five and one-half million, Iraq contributed important supplies to the Allied Forces in the form of oil, grain and other foodstuffs. Iraq provided transportation facilities to the neighbouring state of Iran and in this way played an important role in making possible the steady flow of supplies to assist our great ally , the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in carrying on its epic struggle. Equally important was the fact that Iraq provided a base for the armed forces of the United States, the United Kingdom and other members of the British Commonwealth, and that the United Nations could feel secure in the knowledge that they could count upon the friendship of the government and people of Iraq in a strategically vital area.

In this significant contribution to the victory of the freedom-loving nations, the personal integrity, the industry and devotion to duty of His Royal Highness have been factors whose value can not be over estimated.

We are also honoured tonight in welcoming as a member of His Royal Highness' party, a distinguished statesman of Iraq, the former Prime Minister of that country, the Honourable Nuri As-Said. He is known not only as a statesman who has done much to organize the contribution of Iraq to the common war effort, but as a patient and skilful

....3

D 49049

negotiator in the creation of the Arab League. This League, which consists of a group of Middle Eastern States linked together by ties of race, language, economic interests and cultural traditions, is an essential stabilizing factor in an area where unity and stability are of particular importance in the successful prosecution of the war.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the last world war left the constituent parts of that Empire adrift and sometimes at the mercy of the devisive tactics of the enemies of civilization. The Arab League is the first purely indigenous stabilizing factor to appear in the Middle East. May I express the wish that in the post-war years it may also play a constructive role in promoting the development of the welfare and prosperity of its members, and in this way contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the world community as a whole.

Our greetings extend also to the other distinguished members of His Royal Highness' party - His Excellency Daoud Pasha al Haidari, the former Minister of Iraq in London, to Brigadier Dr. H.C. Sinderson Pasha, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Ubaid Abdullah.

We look forward in the post-war years to the development of closer relations between Canada and Iraq. Our students of classical antiquity and of Islamic civilization will find much that is of interest in that colourful country. We may hope that the people of Iraq may find some things of interest

...4

D49030

to them in Canada, particularly in our agricultural methods, our industries and our scientific attainments. Through these cultural contacts we may hope that a deeper understanding of the problems of our two countries and a keener appreciation of our respective achievements may in time develop.

May I add the hope that in the post-war years when Canada will increasingly look abroad for markets for our industrial products we may find in Iraq a friend well worth knowing.

On behalf of the people and Government of Canada it is my very great pleasure to welcome Your Royal Highness and the members of your party to our country.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 49051 file Hungary

Les Journaux Electoraux de 1945.

Septembre à Janvier.

a tenir
Redemander à [illegible] les listes électorales
impossible à mettre à Strasbourg dans les délais prévus. Voir aussi pour
les [illegible] soustraire du matériel électoral :
Les bulletins de vote
Les enveloppes de Propagande
Les bulletins de vote
from Storms and Strikes at Polls.

Effet à donner élections comme at end of war
ajournées
adjournement, prorogation, and dissolution
all same day April 16
élections June 11 etc.
nouvelle loi électorale avec ou sans vote May
V.I. Day
Nominations May 14

Rights tenir à déposé à mes parlementaires
[illegible]
[illegible]

D 49052

Night of June 11th.

Returns from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Reasons for defeat in Prince Albert -

absence during war years;
absence during election.

Position of Liberals in riding.

Nation-wide confidence necessitated continuing at head of government and new seat.

Offers of constituencies.

Delegation from Glengarry.

Dr. MacDiarmid's visit.

Matter left to colleagues during San Francisco visit.

Announcement by Chief Electoral Officer.

Liberal convention called.

Expression of feelings at confidence, tribute and honour:

Thanks to Dr. MacDiarmid;

Ability to be in H. of C. when Parliament opens;

Will continue to work together;

The three members of delegation;

Word to Mr. Major,

" " Mr. Donald Macdonald, son of Archie Macdonald.

" "

Feature of evening: delegation from polling subdivisions.

A deeply moving experience.

Striking illustration of self-government.

Significance of unanimous choice.

Acceptance of Nomination -

accept with pride and pleasure;

further interests;

keep in touch;

hope for days of peace;

honour done to self and name -
parents and grandparents.

Thanks to Opposition parties.

Acknowledgment of welcome given.

First offer of seat in Glengarry - 1919.

North York- 1919.

How I came to represent Prince.

A stranger, and you were prepared to take me in, in 1919
now in 1945.

Associations with Glengarry go back 200 years.

Highland pipe band of Alexandria.

Prince Charlie - 1745 -

related fight for freedom 200 years.

Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders.

Battle cry "Up the glens".

Losses in constituency - sympathy.

Remember what we owe to Armed Services, - first duty.

Hon. Lionel Chevrier.

3/

W.L.M.K.
17-V11-45

D 49054

The General Elections of 1945

Significance of Time.

A line of demarcation between past and future.

Impossible to make a sharp division.

Different periods - war and post-war.

Between the two transitions.

Similes from natural geography:

The Great Divide is Rockies.

The Great Divide in Prince Albert
Lake Waskesiu.

We have reached the peak.

The problems become different

from the level to the heights

from the heights back to the level
ground or sea

from storm and strife to peace.

Effort to have elections come at end of war in Europe

without extension of term of Parliament.

Adjournment - Prorogation, and Dissolution

all same day - April 16.

Elections - June 11 .

Meanwhile war in Europe over May 8.
V-E Day.

Nominations - May 14.

Right time to begin a new Parliament - new problems.

D 49055

Thanks to country for return of government.

No surprise at reduced majority.

A majority over all.

Experience 1921-25 - majority of one.

Count by ayes and nays.

Significance of result of Elections.

To hold office

avoidance of extremes;

average Canadian opinion.

A united Canada

that average Canadian opinion deserves.

Success in Campaign due to:

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

2. War effort carefully planned and directed.

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

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

Solution of problems dependent on international outlook.

These ends we will pursue.

Outstanding aspects of results.

Liberal Party a national party.

Other parties largely sectional:

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

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

Liberal or Conservative minds.

Nature of a political party.

Advantages of two parties -

to make policies prevail.

Striking illustration of results of Elections -

3 western provinces.

What becomes of these interests if dependent on:

(a) done;

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

Canada not made up of separate compartments.

Danger of many parties, -

France.

In House of Commons recognition of too many parties.

Should be government and opposition.

Hope new House will restore,

government and opposition,

not government and multiplicity of groups.

Criticism should be constructive.

Opposition should be prepared to act as an alternative government.

D49057

Thanks for offers of seats elsewhere

Opening: Thanks to Liberals of Glengarry

and to Dr McDiarmid.

Appeal to Scotch and French.

Need of a seat -

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

Section 3

Present Parliament certain to be a most important one.

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

War in Japan not over:

rapid progress being made

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

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

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

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

D 49058

a-7

United Nations Conference -

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

Domestic problems.

National unity.
Full Employment.
Social Security.

A new order - World
National

These are tasks we must work on together.

(3 & 4 omit are skeletal)

Biographical

D 49059

Conclusion

A memorable day in my life - long political career

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

Comparison Sir Wilfrid
and Sir John

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cannot hope to outrun Sir Wilfrid as leader of party.

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

D 49060

Significance of present by-election

Have run this last General Election — been in 10 out of 20 (@ 45)
expect this to be my last by-election

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

Personal record - 10 general elections (won in 7 lost in 3) 1911 1912
4 by-elections (counting Glengarry - an acclamation) 1930

Why Tories say nasty things

divine right to rule.

2 elections during war - won both -

expression of public confidence.

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

Draft - W. L. M. K.

Re: GLENGARRY

D 49061

This is indeed a memorable day in my life. It brings back to my mind many memories of what has already become a long political career.

It is now 37 years since I resigned the position of Deputy Minister of Labour which I had held in the public service of Canada during the preceding 7 years to contest the constituency of North Waterloo, the county in which I was born. I was then 34 years of age, being one of the youngest candidates Sir Wilfrid Laurier who was then the leader of the Liberal Party, came to North Waterloo to open the campaign.

Sir Wilfrid, at that time, had been leader of the Liberal Party for ~~17~~ 21 years. He remained leader of the party until the day of his death which was February 17, 1919 - a period in all of nearly 32 years. For nearly half of that period of time - 15 years in all to be exact - Sir Wilfrid was Canada's Prime Minister.

Sir John A. Macdonald was leader of his party for 24 years but was Prime Minister for all but nearly 19 years. I know of no one whose term of leadership of a political party has been as long as that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and of no one in the B. Comm the younger Pitt and Sir Robert Walpole, who have held the office of Prime Minister for as many years as Sir John A. Macdonald.

D 49062

These are interesting historical records. I bring them back to your minds today for two reasons: first of all, because the political lives of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier cover the period in the history of our country from July 1, 1867, when the Dominion of Canada came into being, up to 1919 in which year I was chosen as Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor as leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

It is difficult for me to realize that within another few weeks, I shall be entering upon my twenty-seventh year as leader of ~~our~~ the Liberal Party of Canada, and that already I am in my 19th year as Prime Minister of Canada. Whether I shall attain to and outrun the record term of office of Sir John A. Macdonald will depend, as I see it, upon three particular circumstances. The first - what Providence may continue to grant me in the way of health and strength; the second - what the constituency of Glengarry may decide in the present by-election, and the third - the degree of confidence which Parliament may continue to express in the present administration.

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

Thanks for offers of seats elsewhere D 49063

Opening: Thanks to Liberals of Glengarry

and to Dr. McDiarmid.

Appeal to Scotch and French.

Need of a seat -

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

Present Parliament certain to be a most important one.

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

War in Japan not over:

rapid progress being made

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

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

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

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

United Nations Conference -

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

Domestic problems.

National unity.
Full Employment.
Social Security.

A new order - World
National

These are tasks we must work on together.

D 49065

General Elections in Canada

Sir John A. Macdonald -			
	1867 - 73	: 1 gnl.	
	1878	: 1	
	1882	: 1	
	1886	: 1	
	1890	: 1	
			5
Sir Wilfrid			
	1896	: 1	
	1900	: 1	
	1904	: 1	
	1908	: 1	
			4
Sir Robert Borden -			
	1911	: 1	
	1917	: 1	
			2
Sir Alex. Mackenzie -			
	1873	: 1	1
Bennett	1930	: 1	1
Arthur Meighen			0
Other P.M.'s			0
Self:			
	1921		
	1925		
	1926 ~ 1930-		
	1935		
	1940		
	1945	:	2
			10

D49066

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

13 in all
plus 1 (Glengarry)
14

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

19

Conclusion

A memorable day in my life - long political career

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

Comparison Sir Wilfrid
and Sir John

Sir Wilfrid in 1908 had been leader Lib. Party - 21 years.
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Whether equal or outrun Sir John as Prime Minister
depends on (1) Providence - health and strength.
(2) Glengarry's decision in by-election.
(3) H. of C. - continued confidence of H. ofC.
in present administration.

D 49068

Significance of present by-election

Have run this last General Election
expect this to be my last by-election

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

Personal record - 10 general elections (won in 7 lost in 3) 1911 1912
4 by-elections (counting Glengarry - ~~an acclamation~~) 1930

Why Tories say nasty things

divine right to rule.

2 elections during war - won both -

expression of public confidence.

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

(re Conclusion)

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

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

With all of these constituencies there were memorable associations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D 49072

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

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

D 49073

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

RE: GLENGARRY

W.L.M.K.

D 49074

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

1. Speech should contain reference to

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

e.g. national unity.

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

2. Reference to conclusion of European war -

war with Japan.

3. Immediate domestic problems -

question of repatriation;
" " housing.

4. Indicate my work for next 5 years -

what I hope to see accomplished in this Parliament.

(See speech night of victory - June 11 -

also last speech at Auditorium)

(a) ending of the war entirely;

(b) carrying out our programme of social reform;

(c) Peace Conferences and San Francisco -

working out plan of World Security.

(See main outlines of "Industry and Humanity".)

5. Reference to relations with Prince Albert.

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

dominion - prov. conference

J. A. G.
12.7.45

D 49075

GLENGARRY SPEECH

National Unity

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

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

(a) as between the federal and provincial governments

(b) in accordance with individual ability to pay

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

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

What we need is

not duplication of services but simplification of administration

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

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

Liberals won 6 out of 7 General Elections

As you are aware, no matter what the future may bring, on no account would I seek to go through another general election. Since I became leader of the Liberal Party at the Convention of 1919, we have had, in all, 7 general elections in Canada. Out of the7, the Liberal Party has won 6. That is a record which I do not believe has been equalled by any other administration in this or in any other country of the Commonwealth.

why does he distort so many things

Is it any wonder that the Tories say so many nasty things about me? ~~You know the real Tory - it is a part of the belief of the Simon pure Tory -~~ You know the real Tory feels that he has a party. that it is a part of the divine right of ~~the Tory party~~ has a sort of to rule; that he alone is capable of ruling. The thought that it would be possible for a Liberal government to conduct a war is something that the Tory mind cannot begin to fathom.

won two elections during a war

Most remarkable of all in the history of the Liberal Party of Canada, I believe, is the fact that we have held two elections during a period of war - the greatest of all wars in human history and have won both. That is an expression of the confidence of the people of which there could be none greater.

The moral for the party is ——— mean to a good record & hope can be relied upon for support

I should like ~~my first word to you in accepting the nomination as a candidate of the Liberal Party in the present by-election to be a renewed~~ to give a further expression of thanks to my fellow-

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

D 49077

Opening

Jan 11 thought last battle fought

Results in Prime attack,

disappointing - post Exposition

absence during mar.

" " campaign

~~tried to seek a seat elsewhere~~

nation - made confidence in

~~post - necessary to secure other seat~~

~~Appreciation of offers of other seats~~

~~delegation from Glasgow~~

visit of Dr McDiarmid

Hustler Lett. to colleagues

Announcement of Chief Electoral Office

Convention

Expression of charities - confidence

difficulty of

(1) Dr McDiarmid

tribute

honour

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO Dr McDiarmid & 3 Scullers

Dr McDiarmid
friendship, loyalty & [illegible]

[illegible], – ~~public spirit~~
~~[illegible]~~ of the Dr's qualities known
to constituent & myself
[illegible] to work together

Mr Major

Mr Donald McDonald
~~Mr McDonald (son of [illegible])~~

Feature of enemy – defeatism from
bothering subdivision of 17 municipalities
a deeply moving experience

//

D 49078

(re Conclusion)

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

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

With all of these constituencies there were memorable associations:

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

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

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

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

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

choice then made. Nor, indeed, shall I have feelings other than of deepest gratitude to the splendid people of Prince Albert constituency, who not only gave me, to them a total stranger, so warm a welcome in the by-election which provided me, by acclamation ~~as well~~, with a seat in Parliament, but who returned me with handsome majorities in four subsequent general elections: those of 1926, 1930, 1935 and 1940, thereby making possible my representation of that constituency for ~~11 but 20~~ over 19 years. Had it not been that during the years of war my duties as Prime Minister prevented me from visiting the constituency more than once or twice between the periods of the general election, and that between absence from Canada at the San Francisco Conference and the time I was obliged to give to the nation-wide campaign I was unable to spend more than three or four days in all in the constituency at the time of the elections, I would certainly have been returned again.

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

D 49081

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

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

D 49082

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

Draft - W. L. M. K.

D 49083

Re: GLENGARRY

This is indeed a memorable day in my life. It brings back to my mind many memories of what has already become a long political career.

It is now 37 years since I resigned the position of Deputy Minister of Labour (which I had held in the public service of Canada during the preceding 8 years) to contest the constituency of North Waterloo, the county in which I was born. I was then 34 years of age, being one of the youngest candidates. Sir Wilfrid Laurier who was then the leader of the Liberal Party, came to North Waterloo to open the campaign.

Sir Wilfrid, at that time, had been leader of the Liberal Party for 24 years. He remained leader of the party until the day of his death which was February 17, 1919 - a period in all of nearly 32 years. For nearly half of that period of time - 15 years in all to be exact - Sir Wilfrid was Canada's Prime Minister.

Sir John A. Macdonald was leader of his party for 24 years, but was Prime Minister for ~~nearly~~ 19 years. I know of no one whose term of leadership of a political party has been as long as that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and of no one, except the younger Pitt and Sir Robert Walpole, who have held the office of Prime Minister for as many years as Sir John A. Macdonald.

D 49084

These are interesting historical records. I bring them back to your minds today for two reasons: first of all, because the political lives of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier cover the period in the history of our country from July 1, 1867, when the Dominion of Canada came into being, up to 1919 in which year I was chosen as Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor as leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

It is difficult for me to realize that within another few weeks, I shall be entering upon my twenty-seventh year as leader of ~~our~~ Party, and that already I am in my 19th year as Prime Minister of Canada. Whether I shall attain ~~and~~ outrun the record term of office of Sir John A. Macdonald will depend, as I see it, upon three ~~particular~~ circumstances. The first - what Providence may continue to grant me in the way of health and strength; the second - what the constituency of Glengarry may decide in the present by-election, and the third - the degree of confidence which Parliament may continue to express in the present administration.

D 49085

General Elections in Canada

Elections won by

Sir John A. Macdonald -

1867 ~~-73~~	:	1 gnl.
~~1874-78~~	:	~~1~~
1878	:	1
1882	:	1
1886	:	1
1890	:	1
		6.

6

Sir Wilfrid

1896	:	1
1900	:	1
1904	:	1
1908	:	1
		4

4

Sir Robert Borden -

1911	:	1
1917	:	1
		2

2

Sir Alex. Mackenzie -

1873	:	1	1

Bennett 1930 : 1 — 1

Arthur Meighen — 0

Other P.M.'s — 0

Self:

1921	:	1
1925	:	1
1926	:	1
1935	:	1
1940	:	1
1945	:	1
		6

6

~~12~~
10

D 49086

Elections w.h.w.c.

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

13 in all
plus 1 (Glengarry) g.e.

14

In every general election since 1908 (inclusive) 10 in all of which 7 won 3 lost

of which 10 genl. elections
3 by-elections (Accl.)
13
14 + glengarry 1 —

D 49087

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I have verified the information contained in Dr. Lanctot's letter, in the case of Walpole and Pitt from Trevelyan's "History of England" and Bigham's "The Prime Ministers of Great Britain 1721-1921"; and in the case of Sir John Macdonald and yourself, from the Parliamentary Guide 1945.

In the case of Walpole and Pitt there is a slight discrepancy of a day or two in some of the dates, (e.g. Pitt died on January 23, 1806, though the Ministry may have continued a few days longer) but it does not alter the over-all picture of length of service.

The record kept at Laurier House shows that on July 10, 1945, (i.e. 2 days ago), you had served as Prime Minister of Canada for a total period of 18 years and 1 month. (I do not know the basis on which Dr.Lanctot arrives at 18 years and 6 months.)

are these correct?

An office calculation shows that Sir John Macdonald served in the office of Prime Minister 18 years, 11 months, and 27 days, (i.e. nearly 19 years). The same calculation suggests that to equal this record you would have to remain in office as Prime Minister until May 28, 1946.

J. A. G.

July 12, 1945

PERSONAL

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
OF CANADA

Dar
w d your ltr.
veriby information
+ return letter to
me a book

D49088

Ottawa, July 9, 1945.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter regarding the Canadian flag and anthem.

As to the longest term of administration of early British Prime Ministers, the two longest ones are as follows:-

Robert Walpole, 3 April, 1721 - February 1742.
(20 years and 10 months).

William Pitt, ?19 Dec. 23, 1783 - March 17, 1801.
May 15, 1804 - Feb. 11, 1806.
(19 years).

Sir J.A. Macdonald,
July 1, 1867 - Nov. 6, 1873.
Oct. 17, 1878 - June 6, 1891.
(19 years and 1 month)

As to yourself here are the dates:

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, 8
Dec. 29, 1921 - June 26, 1926.
Sept. 25, 1926 - Aug. 7, 1930.
Oct. 23, 1935 - July , 1945.
(18 years and 6 months).

As a result of the last elections, your terms of Prime Ministership would beat all records, going up to:

24 years.

Yours sincerely,

L. S. St. Laurent

The Rt. Hon. W. Mackenzie King, P.C.,
Laurier House.

D 49089

D 49090

Notes

1. Re acceptance of the nomination

2. Word about Chevrier - new colleagues

3. Reference to Glengarry's offer earlier

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

Stormont Dundas Glengarry Highlanders Of the Line

(Con of Com - debt on ora:
(Trust + Loan Spending)

Scottish Stream - Albion of Canada
Increase Synod of "

Thanks to Com. : GGE.

Floor Levies under Act
Trade Agreement
Hospital Ins Act

Glengarry Speech

MAG/
13:vii:45

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

D 49091

a) In International Affairs

1) The winning of the war against Japan

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

  United States
  United Kingdom

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

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

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

2) The outlawing of war altogether

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

- peace-keeping as important as peace-making

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

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

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

3) In this process of peace-keeping

Canada will have an important share

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

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

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

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

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

Since 1939 diplomatic representation abroad has been increased until

22 missions now reach 25 nations

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

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

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

Consular offices in New York City and Greenland

Extensions of representation are in cntemplation to

separately to India, Czechoslovakia, ~~Greece (agreement already reached)~~, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Turkey

D 49093

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

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

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

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

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

Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA)
Food and Agriculture Organization

in all of which Canada has had an important part.

D 49094

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS:

b) In Domestic Affairs

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

This involves:

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

2) A broad and continuous programme of social reform.

Family allowances already in effect.

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

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

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

Public recreation and the development of community centres.

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

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

A clear and comprehensive definition of Canadian nationality.

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

D 49095

3) A distinctive Canadian flag.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 49096

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Glengarry

Attached are a few notes and headings set out under the following for topics:

1. The Significance of the Liberal Party.
2. The Tasks now faced by Government.
3. Accomplishments hoped for in next five years.
4. The Prime Minister and his constituency.

These notes follow the general pattern of the outline of which you sent me a copy.

J.W.P.

Ottawa, July 12, '45.

D 49097

The Significance of the Liberal victory

1. People of Canada proud of country's achievements in war -- recognition of success of government's direction of war effort.

2. People recognized that effective government depended upon nation-wide support in Parliament -- Liberal party alone has a truly national basis, all provinces, all classes, races and creeds, meet on equal basis -- Without national unity no social progress possible -- Electorate rejected racial and class appeals which would have fomented social strife.

3. Rejection of idea of group government -- Social Credit confined to Alberta -- C.C.F. practically a Saskatchewan group -- Effective operation of Parliamentary government demands two-party system -- a government and a responsible opposition preparing itself for the burdens of office -- Great nation-wide political parties representative of all important interests strengthen national unity -- Racial, religious regional or class groups weaken national unity and make for irresponsibility in Parliament and government.

D 49098

4. Liberal programme concrete, forward-looking, and largely in effect -- Record in war demonstrated administrative capacity, coupled with imagination and vision -- Achievements in war gave promise of greater achievements in peace.

5. People rejected the extremes of unrestricted private enterprise offered by the Conservatives and of regimentation and restrictive control proposed by the C.C.F.

6. Liberal programme represents a combination of national planning and state action with maximum of individual freedom and widest scope for enterprise consistent with welfare of the whole community.

D 49099

The Tasks now faced by Government.

1. Direction of Canada's part in war against Japan -- geography, strategy and overwhelming strength of United Nations preclude application of total effort -- Each nation should assume just share of burden -- but, side by side with defeat of Japan must prepare for peace to come.

2. Help lay foundations of enduring peace among nations -- UNRRA -- San Francisco and World Security -- Peace Conference -- Mutual Aid and Restoration of World Trade -- International Justice tempered with Mercy.

3. Lay foundations of peace and prosperity within Canada -- National unity -- Repatriation, demobilization and re-establishment of armed forces -- full employment -- housing -- social security.

D 49100

4. To achieve world security and world prosperity harmony and co-operation among nations essential -- To achieve full employment and social security in Canada harmony and co-operation between Federal and Provincial governments no less essential.

D 49101

Accomplishments hoped for in
next five years.

International:

1. Victory over Japan
2. Speedy relief of hunger and misery and early restoration of normal peaceful economic and social life in Europe.
3. Ratification of United Nations Charter and successful establishment of security organization.
4. Peace settlements based upon justice.
5. Restoration and expansion of world trade.

Towards all of these objectives, our government is seeking to make an effective contribution.

National:

1. Speedy repatriation of the Canadian Armed Forces abroad.
2. Re-establishment of fit veterans in useful and remunerative activities, and the best possible care for disabled veterans and for the dependents of those who gave their lives.
3. Maintenance of full employment achieved during the war.
4. Speedy provision of emergency housing and steady improvement of permanent housing.

D 49102

5. A programme of social reform providing for a steady and rapid expansion of opportunity and social security for all.

Brief review of achievements:

Old Age Pensions, Pensions for Blind, Unemployment Insurance, Family Allowances ("the Children's Charter"), Floors under Farm and Fish Prices.

Plans under way for:

Contributory Old Age Pensions, Improved Health Services, Unemployment Assistance to supplement Unemployment Insurance.

6. A programme of national development to explore, develop and conserve natural resources, to encourage research and enterprise, to stimulate production and wealth, and to improve living standards.

7. A firm foundation for co-operation between the Federal and Provincial governments with a clearer definition of the responsibilities of each, and financial arrangements which will enable all provinces, as well as the Dominion, to perform their functions effectively.

D 49103

No time lost in calling Dominion-Provincial Conference because we knew that our objective of full employment and social security could be attained only with co-operation in the interests of all the people of Canada.

The Prime Minister and his Constituency D 49104

Have spoken of significance of Liberal victory, of the great tasks now facing government, and of my own hopes for the new Parliament because I wished to give you an understanding of my reasons for desiring to remain in public life.

Vision of unparalleled opportunities to further two great objectives of public life -- World peace and social reform.

Opportunity of service for a Prime Minister depends upon:

1. a loyal following of a majority in Parliament
2. able and devoted colleagues
3. a seat in Parliament and the secure backing and support of a constituency.

Of these three requirements, two already fulfilled. What is lacking is the third.

No feeling of bitterness regarding Prince Albert. Will always be grateful for 19 years of support from the people of Prince Albert. Prime Minister, especially in wartime, cannot give

same detailed attention to representation of his own constituency as is possible for a private member. For that reason, more than ever appreciative of the loyalty and devotion of supporters in Prince Albert.

Distance from Ottawa increased difficulty of maintaining contact with Prince Albert. One of the reasons why the generous offer of Dr. McDiarmid and the Liberals of Glengarry was particularly welcome was nearness of the county to the national capital and relative ease of keeping in touch with people of the constituency.

Wish particularly to stress what the support of a constituency means to a Prime Minister. Under our system of Parliamentary government, the Prime Minister is not only more than the leader of a party and the spokesman of the nation. He is a member of Parliament on exactly the same footing as any other Member. He must win and retain the support of a particular locality if he is to continue in office. This is a very wise

D 49106

provision which serves to keep party leaders and Prime Ministers close to the people.

On the other hand, it makes the Prime Minister's own constituents, in a very special sense, his partners in whatever he achieves. What he accomplishes, he does by virtue of their support and to them is due a large share of the credit and the honour he gains by his efforts and his service.

I am proud, indeed, that the Liberals of Glengarry have given me the opportunity to seek such a partnership with the people of this county. Looking back over the political record of Glengarry, I believe I may feel a reasonable confidence that when August 6th comes, I shall have entered into that partnership and that the electors of Glengarry will have entrusted me with the high honour of representing them in the Parliament of our country.

There are many other reasons why I welcomed the opportunity you have offered to me -

(Here bring in local references to Glengarry)

Thanks for offer of Scouts' services

D 49107

Opening :- Thanks to Scouts of the world

and to our Overseas friends

Need of a Scout - to be a friend to all & a brother Scout

offer of 20,000 Scouts to help

Scouts of 1919 have been in 7 parliaments

present parliament called upon to meet unprecedented

world problems. - best & constructive of human

restoration of world after

destruction by peoples.

war & peace aims: rapid progress made

Scouting becoming characteristic of

home over new Obligations - of Scouts

" " " Brotherhood

America possessions

Out of the Struggle, - now Scouting

has consecrated surrender.

Who started war?

Scout Oath

Scout Law

Reconstruction of our ruined forests. to Obey ± Uls.

(Europe ± Asia)

large numbers. S/B programs

army, air, ± Naval

Transportation problem. welfare Social-

rehabilitation, housing, the

work of

Reconversion of industry from war economy to peace economy

Cost not of consider, restoration

Peace Conferences - re Europe ± Asia

to determine boundaries

to enforce obligations

to determine reparations

Future National Congress

Competent San Francisco conference

Established Council Assembly

Economic & Social Council

International Court

Prevention of war, Disarmament etc.

Economic Problems

National unity -

Full employment -

Social Security, world

& own order - & national

Men on Scouts are most worthy together

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO General Elections in Canada

D 49108

Sir John A. Election	1867 – 73	= 1 [illegible]	
	1878	= 1	
	1882	= 1	
	1886	= 1	
	1890	= 1	
		5	5
Sir Wilfrid	1896	= 1	
	1900	= 1	
	1904	= 1	
	1908	= 1	
		4	4
Sir Robert Bowen	1911	= 1	
	1917	= 1	
		2	2
~~Sir Mackenzie~~	1873	= 1	1
Bennett	1930	= 1	1
Arthur Meighen		= 0	
Own Seat		0	
	1921 35		6
	25 40	= 6	
	26 45		19

Fuel Elect - 1908
By elect 1909 (acctn)
Fuel elect 1911
Fuel Elect 1917
By elect 1919 - (acctn)
Fuel Elect 1921
Fuel Elect 1925
By elect 1925 (acctn)
Fuel Elect 1926
Fuel " 1930
" " 1935
" " 1940
" " 1945

13 - in all
+ 1 - (flying)
14

Over
[illegible] and
[illegible] + electrons
+ [illegible] electrons

of which
10 Fuel Elect
3 [illegible] elect (acctn)
13

Conservative

D 49109

A comparison of Sir Wilfrid Laurier & Sir John Macdonald

1900 - Came to office & united Canada Service

1908 - resigned after fifty years of office - aet 34. Came into North Waterloo
Sir Wilfrid Upon confederation
37 years old

Comparison Sir Wilfrid / Sir John

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

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

Sir Wilfrid's term as Leader of Party - Longest known in Br. Empire
Sir John " as Prime Minister " " " " Macdonald 19 yrs
Campbell 18 yrs
Walpole 20 yrs
10 years

Political Lives of Sir John: Sir Wilfrid - July 1, 1867, & Aug 7, 1919

Wilfrid & Mackenzie - On Aug 7, I must enter on 29th year as Leader of Party.
have already entered on 19th as Prime Minister

Have only seen Sir Wilfrid in years as Prime Minister
" " " Sir John in years of Leadership of Party.

Cannot hope only to see Sir Wilfrid as Leader of party.
Already equal as only seen Sir John as Prime Minister

depends on (1) Providence - health & strength
(2) Sharpness - decision in Elections
(3) Hostile. - Confidence of Hostile.
in personal administration

Secret of present Elections
Have from time to time lost General election
explain why & how they lost Elections

Since 1919 - 7 General Elections - Liberal party won 6 only 97
a record not equalled by any
political party.

Personal record. - 10 - General Elections - (won in 7. - Lost in 3 | 1911
by - elections (country Sharpens) | 1917
1 month | 1930

Why Laurier can say North things
drawn up to date

2 Elections during war - won both - affirmation of Liberal confidence in
moral for party - maintain a good record, - best can be stood upon by
Southern

D 49110

(I could seem to North Bay in 1917 after the election there, as I was elected by acclamation, but I was asked by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to remain in the House of Commons, and I did so.)

~~I do not think it necessary to say more.~~

Here is something more than a mere political record and I have represented so many constituencies united by one thing & linked only one. — It is true that if during the 31 years in all that I have been in Parliament, I have represented four different constituencies, both rural and urban, this county in which I now live, Prince County, Prince Edward Island, this county in which I was born, I have represented & held my seat as the Liberal leader of the Liberal Party and since I represented from 1919

North Waterloo, but which I represented from 1908-1911

Prince, P.E.I. " " " 1917-1921

North York, Ont. " " " 1921-1925

Prince Albert Sask " " " 1925-1945

In each of these constituencies there were memorable occasions, and in which I found the electors

North Waterloo was the county in which I was born — where my family North Waterloo I had the honour of becoming known & a Member of the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. When I ran in North Waterloo, it had been a conservative stronghold at the time of and prior to the rebellion of 1837-38 had been represented in the Parliament of Upper Canada

North York

by my grandfather William Lyon Mackenzie. I had the honour of representing this constituency as I now represent Canada — North York, too, heard me gladly the Conservatives when I first ran in that constituency

Prince, Prince Edward Island, ~~I had never seen it the day I~~

was the constituency which opened and provided me with a seat. when I was elected leader of the Liberal Party. Had there been in our constituency at the period of the by-election, I might have remained in civil life. The Liberal Party had brought it did so at the general election of 1921, but I felt my place to fight it was out in a Labour seat ~~but~~ as a Liberal Woman Labour in a Labour seat in the City & Province of Ontario so I ran in North York

D 49111

Prince Albert; I was unable to hold North York in the general election of 1925, became of heavy odds ~~placed~~ against me as Prime Minister of the party on account, residing and speaking in all parts of Canada, and having opposing ~~a~~ opponent in North York only for a day or two in the course of the election. Prince Albert was one of many constituencies in which I was offered a seat, ~~I felt that~~ at this time I felt it would be to the advantage of the country, the party and myself as its leader and Prime Minister if I were to represent a constituency in the prairie provinces where by seeing a public meeting of the Dominion and the provincial ~~that~~ it would be known how powerful a stand I was making against the ~~policy~~ policies of the Government which had only four ~~years~~ months to run before the general election which ~~had~~ would be held in the autumn of 1926. Prince Albert was elected by acclamation, and I was returned by that constituency at the general elections of 1926, 1930, 1935, 1940, ~~and~~ thereby making possible my representation of that constituency for 19 years. Had it not been that during the 2 years or more, my duties as Prime Minister prevented me from visiting the constituency more than once or twice between the periods of the election, and that between the ~~duties of the Premiership and the party which I was leading~~ ~~and~~ ~~four days~~ I was prevented from spending more than ~~four~~ days ~~in~~ ~~any~~ constituency, I should probably have been returned by acclamation on each occasion. ~~and~~ The time I was forced to give to the election campaigns I was unable to spend more than three or four days in all in the constituency at the time of the elections, I would certainly have been returned again.

D 49112

~~I have~~ ~~I have not hesitated at~~ I have not hesitated at
course of my life sought the ~~company~~ favor that was expedient for myself,
when I reckoned the situation demanded it
never ~~stood~~ shrinked a fight, I have never ~~avoided defeat~~
been afraid of defeat,

~~I~~ I don't believe that any
one can claim that in
~~victory~~ I have been arrogant
in victory, or ~~vindictive~~
~~when~~ in victory or defeat-
magnanimity towards those
who have differed from in
opinion, or out of sentiment
or affection in
political conflict.

I have ~~never~~ labored at
all times sacrificially
my own personal interests
to the welfare of the
party.

Had I consulted my own personal feelings, I might
have declined the ~~office~~ of Lieutenant, after more than a quarter of a century
in the practice of jurisprudence, I am happy
in the ~~practice~~ and capitalize
profession of ~~law~~ and ~~in~~ a life of many
years ~~in the~~ active ~~practice~~ I have avoided litigation
I was entitled to feel myself relieved from the strife of conflicts and enjoy a rest of the
evening of life, with ~~my~~ friends and books and
leisure ~~during~~ some attention to ones own personal affairs and
doing a little of writing and travel
which in the storm and stress of public life it has been
been denied to me. I have counted them sacred and
the all ~~personal~~ sentiments and strains of political
~~ought personally~~ election. Had the times been

D. 49113

57/ [illegible] Could not possibly [illegible] and also how a com-
other Man about thing or, that it can come to pass
would have adopted pursued. I cannot doubt
however that so long as it pleased me
to continue the trade, it was my duty to
[illegible], and that so long as that was
[illegible], it was my duty to serve it with
all my strength and
[illegible]. That alone was all that decided
me at last any and every time in the campaign
the determining factor was that I saw in the
present and in the immediate future
years an unparalleled opportunity to [illegible]
the modern Parliament the perfection
in its process which at any other time
[illegible] objection
I have had [illegible] must at least in the
from the outer rail. I mean to take an active
in public affairs as a [illegible] thing.

D 49114

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re Glengarry Speech

I think you will be interested to read the attached report of the interview which Air Vice Marshal Slemon, recently named air officer commanding R.C.A.F. Pacific forces, gave on his arrival at Rockcliffe last Sunday. The last paragraph in particular seems to me to be the best statement of this kind made by any officer returning from overseas.

J.A.G.

July 12, 1945

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date July 9, 1945

D 49115

Subject

Canadian Fliers Ready for Pacific, Slemon Reports

Ottawa, July 8 (CP).—Air Vice-Marshal C. Roy Slemon of Winnipeg and Bowmanville, Ont., recently named air officer commanding the RCAF's Pacific force, arrived at Rockcliffe Airport today after a flight from overseas.

Air Vice-Marshal Slemon, the first pilot to be trained and to fly solo in the Canadian Air Force after the first Great War, was met at the airport by Mrs. Slemon, Air Marshal Robert Leckie, chief of air staff, and other ranking officers.

He said in an interview that he was "thoroughly glad of the opportunity to serve in the Pacific until the final job is done."

Uppermost in his mind at this time, he said, was Canada's share in the war in the Pacific.

Men Prepare For Tasks

"Canadian airmen are volunteering to serve in that theatre and now are preparing themselves for their tasks. They are determined to see that Canada helps in finishing that job properly. But for all that, their willingness and devotion to duty are not the only things needed. They must have your backing—the same 'full-out' backing that carried them to victory in Europe."

He spoke of the "outstanding accomplishment" of Canadians at home and overseas in welding together during six years of war a "highly-efficient, hard-hitting force"—the RCAF. It was no "specialist" force but an "all-round force embodying all types of operations."

"Mighty Weapon"

"Out of all this rises one great impression—that is, a Royal Canadian Air Force which now ranks fourth amongst the United Nations and, though operating as part of an even greater force, the magnificent RAF, this RCAF of ours has in fact become a complete and mighty weapon of war. The building of this weapon and its achievements are now, and will continue to be, one of the prominent reasons why Canada now finds her voice and ideals carrying their due weight in the councils of the world.

"The men and women who comprise our RCAF, the great majority of them in their youth, are coming home. Although many of them left you as mere youths, they return not much older in years but tempered and tested by the experiences through which they have passed. The fact that thousands of our finest men and women are coming home, confident in their own ability, mature in their judgment far beyond their years, and anxious to play their part in the development of Canada, is, I consider, one of the few great dividends of this war.

Copy for Mr Hardy

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

D 49116

Re: Glengarry

Attached are a few notes and headings set out under the following for topics:

1. The Significance of the Liberal Party.
2. The Tasks now faced by Government.
3. Accomplishments hoped for in next five years.
4. The Prime Minister and his constituency.

These notes follow the general pattern of the outline of which you sent me a copy.

JWP.

Ottawa, July 12, '45.

JWP/FL.

D 49117

The Significance of the Liberal victory

1. People of Canada proud of country's achievements in war -- recognition of success of government's direction of war effort.

2. People recognized that effective government depended upon nation-wide support in Parliament -- Liberal party alone has a truly national basis, all provinces, all classes, races and creeds, meet on equal basis -- Without national unity no social progress possible -- Electorate rejected racial and class appeals which would have fomented social strife.

3. Rejection of idea of group government -- Social Credit confined to Alberta -- C.C.F. practically a Saskatchewan group -- Effective operation of Parliamentary government demands two-party system -- a government and a responsible opposition preparing itself for the burdens of office -- Great nation-wide political parties representative of all important interests strengthen national unity -- Racial, regional or class groups weaken national unity and make for irresponsibility in Parliament and government.

4. Liberal programme concrete, forward-looking, and largely in effect -- Record in war demonstrated administrative capacity, coupled with imagination and vision -- Achievements in war gave promise of greater achievements in peace.

5. People rejected the extremes of unrestricted private enterprise offered by the Conservatives and of regimentation and restrictive control proposed by the C.C.F.

6. Liberal programme represents a combination of national planning and state action with maximum of individual freedom and widest scope for enterprise consistent with welfare of the whole community.

D 49119

The Tasks now faced by Government.

1. Direction of Canada's part in war against Japan -- geography, strategy and overwhelming strength of United Nations preclude application of total effort -- Each nation should assume just share of burden -- but, side by side with defeat of Japan must prepare for peace to come.

2. Help lay foundations of enduring peace among nations -- UNRRA -- San Francisco and World Security -- Peace Conference -- Mutual Aid and Restoration of World Trade -- International Justice tempered with Mercy.

3. Lay foundations of peace and prosperity within Canada -- National unity -- Repatriation, demobilization and re-establishment of armed forces -- full employment -- housing -- social security.

4. To achieve world security and world prosperity harmony and co-operation among nations essential -- To achieve full employment and social security in Canada harmony and co-operation between Federal and Provincial governments no less essential.

D 49121

Accomplishments hoped for in next five years.

International:

1. Victory over Japan
2. Speedy relief of hunger and misery and early restoration of normal peaceful economic and social life in Europe.
3. Ratification of United Nations Charter and successful establishment of security organization.
4. Peace settlements based upon justice.
5. Restoration and expansion of world trade.

Towards all of these objectives, our government is seeking to make an effective contribution.

National:

1. Speedy repatriation of the Canadian Armed Forces abroad.
2. Re-establishment of fit veterans in useful and remunerative activities, and the best possible care for disabled veterans and for the dependents of those who gave their lives.
3. Maintenance of full employment achieved during the war.
4. Speedy provision of emergency housing and steady improvement of permanent housing.

5. A programme of social reform providing for a steady and rapid expansion of opportunity and social security for all.

Brief review of achievements:

Old Age Pensions, Pensions for Blind, Unemployment Insurance, Family Allowances ("the Children's Charter"), Floors under Farm and Fish Prices.

Plans under way for:

Contributory Old Age Pensions, Improved Health Services, Unemployment Assistance to supplement Unemployment Insurance.

6. A programme of national development to explore, develop and conserve natural resources, to encourage research and enterprise, to stimulate production and wealth, and to improve living standards.

7. A firm foundation for co-operation between the Federal and Provincial governments with a clearer definition of the responsibilities of each, and financial arrangements which will enable all provinces, as well as the Dominion, to perform their functions effectively.

D 49123

No time lost in calling Dominion-Provincial Conference because we knew that our objective of full employment and social security could be attained only with co-operation in the interests of all the people of Canada.

D 49124

The Prime Minister and his Constituency

Have spoken of significance of Liberal victory, of the great tasks now facing government, and of my own hopes for the new Parliament because I wished to give you an understanding of my reasons for desiring to remain in public life.

Vision of unparalleled opportunities to further two great objectives of public life -- World peace and social reform.

Opportunity of service for a Prime Minister depends upon:

1. a loyal following of a majority in Parliament
2. able and devoted colleagues
3. a seat in Parliament and the secure backing and support of a constituency.

Of these three requirements, two already fulfilled. What is lacking is the third.

No feeling of bitterness regarding Prince Albert. Will always be grateful for 19 years of support from the people of Prince Albert. Prime Minister, especially in wartime, cannot give

same detailed attention to representation of his own constituency as is possible for a private member. For that reason, more than ever appreciative of the loyalty and devotion of supporters in Prince Albert.

Distance from Ottawa increased difficulty of maintaining contact with Prince Albert. One of the reasons why the generous offer of Dr. McDiarmid and the Liberals of Glengarry was particularly welcome was nearness of the county to the national capital and relative ease of keeping in touch with people of the constituency.

Wish particularly to stress what the support of a constituency means to a Prime Minister. Under our system of Parliamentary government, the Prime Minister is more than the leader of a party and the spokesman of the nation. He is a member of Parliament on exactly the same footing as any other Member. He must win and retain the support of a particular locality if he is to continue in office. This is a very wise

D 49126

provision which serves to keep party leaders and Prime Ministers close to the people.

On the other hand, it makes the Prime Minister's own constituents, in a very special sense, his partners in whatever he achieves. What he accomplishes, he does by virtue of their support and to them is due a large share of the credit and the honour he gains by his efforts and his service.

I am proud, indeed, that the Liberals of Glengarry have given me the opportunity to seek such a partnership with the people of this county. Looking back over the political record of Glengarry, I believe I may feel a reasonable confidence that when August 6th comes, I shall have entered into that partnership and that the electors of Glengarry will have entrusted me with the high honour of representing them in the Parliament of our country.

There are mahy other reasons why I welcomed the opportuhity you have offered to me -

(Here bring in local references to Glengarry)

W. L. M. K.
16.7.45

D 49127

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

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

As you are aware, I made it clear to the electorate that the campaign of the present year would be the last general election in which I would seek to be returned to Parliament. When the returns first came in and for some days after, it looked as if not only had the government been sustained, but also as if I had been so fortunate as to have been again returned as the Member for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, a constituency which I have had the honour of representing in Parliament for all but twenty years. It is true that on the civilian vote I carried the constituency by a majority of 443. However, when the service vote for Saskatchewan was counted, Prince Albert Constituency fared, like every other constituency in Saskatchewan except one, was lost to the government

(total Borden vote required for Elect 392

and the majority of 463 became a minority of 129.][How Saskatchewan went ~~haywire~~ the way it did in the elections is a story by itself. I think I can give you the explanation, but that would take a little too long. I shall have to reserve that for some other occasion and possibly some other place. Suffice it to say that so far as the constituency of Prince Albert is concerned, while the results were disappointing, all circumstances considered, they surpassed I think all expectations.

Reasons for defeat in '49.

Prince ALBert, as you are aware, is about 2000 miles from Ottawa - about as far from Ottawa as Cairo is from London. The years between 1940 and 1945, inclusive, being years of war, I was unable to visit the constituency on more than one or two occasions, and then only for a day or two at a time. I was unable to give any attention whatever to party organization. Indeed, the attention of the government and its supporters was directed throughout those years to the winning of the war and not to the winning of elections.

absence during war years

To what extent the time of our opponents, both of the Progressive-Conservative and the C.C.F. parties was given to political organization during the last two years of war, the country generally is pretty well aware. Nowhere in Canada was the time given to political organization during the war years to a greater extent than in Saskatchewan by

revised D 49128-1

the C.C.F.

Absence during election

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

Position of Liberals in riding

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

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

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

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

Offers of constituencies

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

delegation from Glengarry June 20th

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

D 49130

Dr MacDiarmid's visit

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

master kept c. colleagues during San Francisco visit

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

Announcement by Chief Electoral Officer

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

Local Conservative caucus

Expression of feelings at confidence tribute and honour

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

D 49132

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

First of all may I say to you Dr. MacDiarmid how deeply I appreciate the expression of your personal friendship and your fine loyalty, not less to our party than to myself. By your generous act, you and those who have been associated with you, have made possible my return to Parliament and not only that, but my being in the House of Commons when the new Parliament opens its proceedings, as it will on the 23rd of next month. To me, as the Leader of the Government ~~in~~ the House of Commons, I believe I may say to Parliament ~~itself~~, that is a very great service, one for which I thank you not only personally, but in the name of the Government, ~~itself~~.

You, Ladies and Gentlemen, ~~who~~ know Dr. MacDiarmid so well and have known him all his life, and who in the two wartime elections have returned him to Parliament as your representative will not be surprised at the public spirit which he has shown in being willing to forego continuing to be your member in the House of Commons, that I may have that honour in his stead. May I say that, recalling as I do, in the five years of our close association in the House of Commons, the Doctor's unfailing loyalty and support, the many generous expressions

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

will continue to work together

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

the 3 members from Prescott & Glengarry

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

Revised

D 49134

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

word to Mr.Major

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

to Mr. Donald Macdonald

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

to son of Archie MacDonald

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

revised

D 49135

feature of evening: delegation from polling sub-divisions

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

a deeply moving experience

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

laws

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

Striking illustration of self-govt.

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

Significance of unanimouse choice

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

D 49137

Acceptance of Nomination

May I now say that it is with the greatest possible pride and pleasure that I accept the nomination which you, Dr. MacDiarmid, have tendered to me on behalf of the Liberals of Glengarry County to become their candidate in the present by-election. If returned to the House of Commons as Member for the constituency, I shall do what lies within my power to protect and further its interests to the utmost of my ability. While my duties as leader of the government in these difficult and strenuous times may require my presence in Ottawa most of the time, and may involve absences abroad, Glengarry is so near to Ottawa that in this great land of ours it might almost be regarded as a suburb of the Capital. I shall feel, therefore, that we will be closely in touch with each other all the time, and I shall look forward to frequent visits to the constituency and to enlarging, as far as that may be possible, the circle of my friends from among those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament.

We all hope that the years of war may soon be completely at an end, and that with the return to days of peace, we may return as well in ever-increasing measure to the arts and the joys of peace.

I thank you with all my heart for the honour you have done me, and my name today. It is an honour of which

D 49138

my father and mother, and their parents before them, would have been greatly proud. I like to think, as I strongly believe, that I owe ~~it quite as much~~ to them ~~as I do to you.~~ a little example and training anything that has made me worthy of your confidence at this time.

Here may I express a word of sincere thanks and appreciation to members of the opposition parties in this riding for the public intimations they have given of their intention not to contest the election, but insofar as lies within their control, to allow me to be returned by acclamation as the Member for Glengarry. That to me is also a source of deep satisfaction ~~and pride~~, not that I am in the least afraid of a fight or would not enjoy a last round if that became inevitable. But my responsibilities at the present time are very great and with a new parliament about to open I am glad to know that the burdens which have been increasingly heavy over recent years are not further to be added to at this time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are two further happenings associated with tonight's meeting, or perhaps I should say with today's nomination for which I should like to make special acknowledgment for they also mean very much to me. I mean the welcome that has been given me from the moment of my arrival in Alexandria this afternoon and the words of introduction to this audience to which you have just listened from my young friend and colleague in the Cabinet, the Hon. Lionel Chevrier. – Presence on platform of delegation, members in audience etc.

D 49139

12 Nov 19 Seat in Parliament, 1919

I wonder if you know that at the time I was chosen Leader of the Liberal party in the convention of 1919, a group of Liberals who were present at the convention from this constituency were among the first to ask that when deciding upon a constituency in which to find a seat in Parliament I would be prepared to consider Glengarry. It was pointed out to me that with my Scotch ancestry and the long association which I had enjoyed with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the combination in this constituency of those of Scottish and French descent would make the riding a particularly appropriate and congenial one.for me personally, and for the leader of the Liberal party.

At the time I was as you know without a seat in Parliament. I had contested my ~~grandfather's~~ constituency of North York in the general elections of 1917, having stood at the side of Sir Wilfrid through that fight, but I lost as I well knew I should even before entering the contest. But I felt that Sir Wilfrid was right and that in his advanced years, regardless of what the consequences might be, it was particularly my duty to stand at his side.

Lost 2nd in 1917

I have always felt that the position I then took, more than all else, led to my being chosen as Sir Wilfrid's successor and in the years of leadership and of office which I have since enjoyed. At the time of the convention there was

How I came to succeed Prime

a vacancy in Prince Country, P.E.I., and the convention had no sooner been over than Mr. John Bell the premier of the province asked me to make no commitment with respect to a constituency until he had had an opportunity to confer with the Liberals of Prince. Immediately after his return, I received an invitation from the Liberals of Prince to contest the constituency in a by-election which was then pending. It was in this way that I came to represent Prince County in the House of Commons at the beginning of the years of my leadership of the Liberal party.

a stranger and
how were prepared to take me in 1919
now in 1945

What touches me very much tonight is to recall that at that time, when I was much more of a stranger to you all, you, the good people of Glengarry, were prepared to take me in, and thus find for me a seat in the House of Commons as the representative from Glengarry. That was an expression of confidence and of faith which I shall ever remember. But what is most in my mind today is that now, when I have reached the years which must necessarily be those which will see the close of my service to my country in its Halls of Parliament, you are again prepared to take me in - a stranger no doubt to many of you personally, but no longer a stranger in the public life of my country, and again afford me a place in Parliament which will have its association with the end of my years of

D 49141

leadership of our party. That is a fine expression of confidence and regard, on the part of the Liberals of this constituency. Again I thank you for it with all heart.

But the associations with Glengarry ~~County~~ seems to me goes much farther back than even that. I was reminded of it tonight as I was escorted into the Armouries by the Highland Pipe Band which greeted me as I left my car at Alexandria station. Had I never known it before, I should have known tonight that the blood which flows in my veins is Highland blood. There is nothing that stirs the emotions of a Scot~~sman~~ more than the skirl of the pipes.

Instantly I recalled that many of the residents of Glengarry are descendants of the men who were the supporters of Bonnie Prince Charlie and that among ancestors of mine were men who fought with them for Prince Charlie ~~at Culloden~~ in 1745. One of the number was an officer in a Highland Regiment, who after the fatal battle of Culloden accompanied the unfortunate Prince to the Low Countries and was abroad with him on the continent following his adverse fortunes for years. In this strange mysterious way associations related to the struggles for freedom in the highlands of Scotland, exactly 200 years ago, are being renewed in this new era at a time we are all united in the greatest fight for freedom which this world has known.

Here without waiting a moment longer may I say how proud I am to have an association with a county which has sent on to the battlefields of Europe that magnificent body of men who compose the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders. Their record for initiative, for valour and achievement in the present world war, and equally in the First World War, will hold for all time a place of highest honour in the military records of the nations that have fought to preserve the freedom of mankind. At Caen, at the time of the invasion, on other battlefields in France and in Holland, their battle cry "Up the glens" filled the breast of the enemy with terror. It will resound wherever the clarion calls of battle may re-echo down the centuries of time. But their courage and their valour while it has helped to save many lives and many homes has cut deeply into the lives and the homes of many who are in this audience tonight and who reside throughout this constituency. May I express to one and all who have been so greatly bereaved not only my own personal sympathy but, on this occasion, the sympathy of the government and people of Canada. There is only one way, Ladies and Gentlemen, in which we can attempt to honour their memories, and that is by never forgetting that what we have today of liberty and may continue to enjoy, we owe in very large part

to the service rendered by the men in the armed forces of our country who have fought on land, on sea and in the air, for the preservation of the world's freedom and that our first duty is to see that those who have survived the great conflict shall never suffer for what it is possible for us to provide, in the way of security for them, and possible for us to do for the dependents of those whose lives have been sacrificed on our behalf. We must make the welfare and the well-being of the members of our armed forces and those who have shared their fortunes and their losses, the first care of our country in present and in future years.

And now a word to my young colleague, the Hon. Lionel Chevrier who has spoken to you so eloquently this evening in both French and English languages.

W.L.M.K.
16.7.45

D 49144

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

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

As you are aware, I made it clear to the electorate that the campaign of the present year would be the last general election in which I would ~~accept~~ to be returned to Parliament. When the returns first came in and for some days after, it looked as if not only had the government been sustained, but also as if I had been so fortunate as to have been again returned as the Member for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, a constituency which I have had the honour of representing in Parliament for nearly all but twenty years. It is true that on the civilian vote I carried the constituency by a majority of 263 ... However, when the service vote for Saskatchewan was counted, Prince Albert Constituency was, like every other constituency in Saskatchewan except one, was lost to the government

D49145

and the majority of ... became a minority of ...129 How Saskatchewan went haywire in the elections is a story by itself. I think I can give you the explanation, but that would take a little too long. I shall have to reserve that for some other occasion and possibly some other place. Suffice it to say that so far as the constituency of Prince Albert is concerned, while the results were disappointing, all circumstances considered, they surpassed I think all expectations.

Prince ALBert, as you are aware, is about 2000 miles from Ottawa - about as far from Ottawa as Cairo is from London. The years between 1940 and 1945, ~~being~~ were years of war, I was unable to visit the constituency on no more than one or two occasions and then only for a day or two at a time. I was unable to give any attention whatever to party organization. Indeed, the attention of the government and its supporters was directed throughout those years to the winning of the war and not to the winning of elections. To what extent the time of our opponents, both of the Progressive-Conservative and the C.C.F. parties was given to political organization during the last two years of war, the country generally is pretty well aware. Nowhere in Canada was the time given to political organization during the war years to a greater extent than in Saskatchewan by

D 49146
revised

the C.C.F.

Absence during election

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

Position of Liberals in riding

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

nation-wide confidence necessitated continuing at head of govt. & new seat

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

D 49147

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

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

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

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

D 49149

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

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

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

D49150

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

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

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

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

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

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D 49152

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

word to Mr. Major

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

to Mr. Donald Macdonald

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

to son of Archie MacDonald

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

D 49153

feature of evening: delegation from polling sub-divisions

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

a deeply moving experience

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

Query: does a nomination become unanimous by the fact of no other name being entered, or does it become unanimous laws only after being so voted?

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

Striking illustration of self-govt.

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

Significance of unanimouse choice

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

Acceptance of Nomination

May I now say that it is with the greatest possible pride and pleasure that I accept the nomination which you, Dr. MacDiarmid, have tendered to me on behalf of the Liberals of Glengarry County to become their candidate in the present by-election. If returned to the House of Commons as Member for the constituency, I shall do what lies within my power to protect and further its interests to the utmost of my ability. While my duties as leader of the government in these difficult and strenuous times may require my presence in Ottawa most of the time and may involve absences abroad, Glengarry is so near to Ottawa that in this great land of ours it might almost be regarded as a suburb of the Capital. I shall feel, therefore, that we will be closely in touch with each other all the time, and I shall look forward to frequent visits to the constituency and to enlarging as far as that may be possible the circle of my friends from among those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament.

We all hope that the years of war may soon be completely at an end, and that with the return to days of peace, we may return as well in ever-increasing measure to the arts and the joys of peace.

I thank you with all my heart for the honour you have done me and my name today. It is an honour of which

my father and mother and their parents before them would be greatly proud. I like to think, as I strongly believe, that I owe it quite as much to them as I do to you.

Here may I express a word of sincere thanks and appreciation to members of the opposition parties in this riding for the public intimations they have given of their intention not to contest the election, but insofar as lies within their control, to allow me to be returned by acclamation as the Member for Glengarry. That to me is also a source of satisfaction and pride, not that I am in the least afraid of a fight or would not enjoy a last round if that became inevitable. But my responsibilities at the present time are very great and with a new parliament about to open I am glad to know that the burdens which have been increasingly heavy over recent years are not further to be added to at this time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are two further happenings associated with tonight's meeting, or perhaps I should say with today's nomination, for which I should like to make special acknowledgment, for they also mean very much to me. I mean the welcome that has been given me from the moment of my arrival in Alexandria this afternoon and the words of introduction to this audience to which you have just listened from my young friend and colleague in the Cabinet, the Hon. Lionel

I wonder if you know that at the time I was chosen Leader of the Liberal party in the convention of 1919, a group of Liberals who were present at the convention from this constituency were among the first to ask that when deciding upon a constituency in which to find a seat in Parliament I would be prepared to consider Glengarry. It was pointed out to me that with my Scotch ancestry and the long association which I had enjoyed with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the combination in this constituency of those of Scottish and French descent would make the riding a particularly appropriate and congenial one for me personally, and for the leader of the Liberal party.

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W. L. M. K.
16.7.45 D 49159

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the C.C.F.

Absence during election

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

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word to Mr. Major

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

to Mr. Donald Macdonald

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

to son of Archie MacDonald

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

revised

D 49168

feature of evening: delegation from polling sub-divisions

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

a deeply moving experience

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

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

Striking illustration of self-govt.

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

Significance of unanimouse choice

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

Acceptance of Nomination

May I now say that it is with the greatest possible pride and pleasure that I accept the nomination which you, Dr. MacDiarmid, have tendered to me on behalf of the Liberals of Glengarry County to become their candidate in the present by-election. If returned to the House of Commons as Member for the constituency, I shall do what lies within my power to protect and further its interests to the utmost of my ability. While my duties as leader of the government in these difficult and strenuous times may require my presence in Ottawa most of the time and may involve absences abroad, Glengarry is so near to Ottawa that in this great land of ours it might almost be regarded as a suburb of the Capital. I shall feel, therefore, that we will be closely in touch with each other all the time, and I shall look forward to frequent visits to the constituency and to enlarging as far as that may be possible the circle of my friends from among those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament.

We all hope that the years of war may soon be completely at an end, and that with the return to days of peace, we may return as well in ever-increasing measure to the arts and the joys of peace.

I thank you with all my heart for the honour you have done me and my name today. It is an honour of which

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my father and mother and their parents before them would be greatly proud. I like to think, as I strongly believe, that I owe it quite as much to them as I do to you.

Here may I express a word of sincere thanks and appreciation to members of the opposition parties in this riding for the public intimations they have given of their intention not to contest the election, but insofar as lies within their control, to allow me to be returned by acclamation as the Member for Glengarry. That to me is also a source of satisfaction and pride, not that I am in the least afraid of a fight or would not enjoy a last round if that became inevitable. But my responsibilities at the present time are very great and with a new parliament about to open I am glad to know that the burdens which have been increasingly heavy over recent years are not further to be added to at this time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are two further happenings associated with tonight's meeting, or perhaps I should say with today's nomination for which I should like to make special acknowledgment for they also mean very much to me. I mean the welcome that has been given me from the moment of my arrival in Alexandria this afternoon and the words of introduction to this audience to which you have just listened from my young friend and colleague in the Cabinet, the Hon. Lionel

D 49172

Iowonder if you know that at the time I was chosen Leader of the Liberal party in the convention of 1919, a group of Liberals who were present at the convention from this constituency were among the first to ask that when deciding upon a constituency in which to find a seat in Parliament I would be prepared to consider Glengarry. It was pointed out to me that with my Scotch ancestry and the long association which I had enjoyed with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the combination in this constituency of those of Scottish and French descent would make the riding a particularly appropriate and congenial one.for me personally, and for the leader of the Liberal party.

At the time I was as you know without a seat in Parliament. I had contested my grandfather's constituency of North York in the general elections of 1917, having stood at the side of Sir Wilfrid through that fight, but I lost as I well knew I should even before entering the contest. But I felt that Sir Wilfrid was right and that in his advanced years, regardless of what the consequences might be, it was particularly my duty to stand at his side.

I have always felt that the position I then took, more than all else, led to my being chosen as Sir Wilfrid's successor and in the years of leadership and of office which I have since enjoyed. At the time of the convention there was

D 49173

a vacancy in Prince Country, P.E.I., and the convention had no sooner been over than Mr. John Bell the premier of the province asked me to make no commitment with respect to a constituency until he had had an opportunity to confer with the Liberals of Prince. Immediately after his return, I received an invitation from the Liberals of Prince to contest the constituency in a by-election which was then pending. It was in this way that I came to represent Prince County in the House of Commons at the beginning of the years of my leadership of the Liberal party.

What touches me very much tonight is to recall that at that time, when I was much more of a stranger to you all, you, the good people of Glengarry, were prepared to take me in, and thus find for me a seat in the House of Commons as the representative from Glengarry. That was an expression of confidence and of faith which I shall ever remember. But what is most in my mind today is that now, when I have reached the years which must necessarily be those which will see the close of my service to my country in its Halls of Parliament, you are again prepared to take me in - a stranger no doubt to many of you personally, but no longer a stranger in the public life of my country, and again afford me a place in Parliament which will have its association with the end of my years of

D 49174

leadership of our party. That is a fine expression of confidence and regard, on the part of the Liberals of this constituency. Again I thank you with all heart.

But the associations with Glengarry County seem to me goes much farther back than even that. I was reminded of it tonight as I was escorted into the Armouries by the Highland Pipe Band which greeted me as I left my car at Alexandria station. Had I never known it before, I should have known tonight that the blood which flows in my veins is Highland blood. There is nothing that stirs the emotions of a Scotchman more than the skirl of the pipes.

Instantly I recalled that many of the residents of Glengarry are descendants of the men who were the supporters of Bonnie Prince Charlie and that among ancestors of mine were men who fought with them for Prince Charlie at Culloden in 1745. One of the number was an officer in a Highland Regiment, who after the fatal battle of Culloden accompanied the unfortunate Prince to the Low Countries and was abroad with him on the continent following his adverse fortunes for years. In this strange mysterious way associations related to the struggles for freedom in the highlands of Scotland, exactly 200 years ago, are being renewed in this new era at a time we are all united in the greatest fight for freedom which this world has known.

D 49175

Here without waiting a moment longer may I say how proud I am to have an assòciation with a county which has sent on to the battlefields of Europe that magnificent body of men who compose the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders. Their record for initiative, for valour and achievement in the present world war, and equally in the First World War, will hold for all time a place of highest honour in the militiary records of the nations that have fought to preserve the freedom of mankind. At Caen, at the time of the invasion, on other battlefields in France and in Holland, their battle cry "Up the glens" filled the breast of the enemy with terror. It will resound wherever the clarion calls of battle may re-echo down the centuries of time. But their courage and their valour while it has helped to save many lives and many homes has cut deeply into the lives and the homes of many who are in this audience tonight and who reside throughout this constituency. May I express to one and all who have been so greatly bereaved not only my own personal sympathy but, on this occasion, the sympathy of the government and people of Canada. There is only one way, Ladies and Gentlemen, in which we can attempt to honour their memories, and that is by never forgetting that what we have today of liberty and may continue to enjoy, we owe in very large part

* the expression "one and all" does not make sense in this context/

D 49176

to the service rendered by the men in the armed forces of our country who have fought on land, on sea and in the air, for the preservation of the world's freedom and that our first duty is to see that those who have survived the great conflict shall never suffer for what it is possible for us to provide in the way of security for them and possible for us to do for the dependents of those whose lives have been sacrificed on our behalf. We must make the welfare and the well-being of the members of the armed forces and those who have shared their fortunes and their losses, the first care of our country in present and in future years.

And now a word to my young colleague, the Hon. Lionel Chevrier who has spoken to you so eloquently this evening in both French and English languages.

July 17, 1945

D 49177

Opening remarks -
including thanks to persons connected with offer of seat.

Presence of those on platform.

Highland Pipe Band - Scotch association.

Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders - obligation to troops.

Word of thanks to people of Canada for return of administration.

Certain reflections on nature of results.

Need for national party.

Statement on reasons which led the govt. to be returned.

Statement on next session of Parliament being an importamt one.

Programme we will seek to carry out - work out together.

D49178

Notes

1. Re acceptance of the nomination

2. Word about Chevrier - new colleagues

3. Reference to Glengarry's offer earlier

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

W.L.M.K.
17-VII-45

D 49179

The General Elections of 1945

Significance of Time.

A line of demarcation between past and future.

Impossible to make a sharp division.

Different periods - war and post-war.

Between the two transitions.

Similes from natural geography:

The Great Divide is Rockies.

The Great Divide in Prince Albert
Lake Waskesiu.

We have reached the peak.

The problems become different

from the level to the heights

from the heights back to the level
ground or sea

from storm and strife to peace.

Effort to have elections come at end of war in Europe
without extension of term of Parliament.

Adjournment - Prorogation, and Dissolution
all same day - April 16.

Elections - June 11 .

Meanwhile war in Europe over May 8.
V-E Day.

Nominations - May 14.

Right time to begin a new Parliament - new problems.

D 49180

Night of June 11th.

Returns from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Reasons for defeat in Prince Albert -

absence during war years;
absence during election.

Position of Liberals in riding.

Nation-wide confidence necessitated continuing at head of government and new seat.

Offers of constituencies.

Delegation from Glengarry.

Dr. MacDiarmid's visit.

Matter left to colleagues during San Francisco visit.

Announcement by Chief Electoral Officer.

Liberal convention called.

Expression of feelings at confidence, tribute and honour:

Thanks to Dr. MacDiarmid;

Ability to be in H. of C. when Parliament opens;

Will continue to work together;

The three members of delegation;

Word to Mr. Major,

" " Mr. Donald Macdonald, son of Archie Macdonald.

Feature of evening: delegation from polling subdivisions.

A deeply moving experience.

Striking illustration of self-government.

Significance of unanimous choice.

D 49181

Acceptance of Nomination -

accept with pride and pleasure;

further interests;

keep in touch;

hope for days of peace;

honour done to self and name -
parents and grandparents.

Thanks to Opposition parties.

Acknowledgment of welcome given.

First offer of seat in Glengarry - 1919.

North York- 1919.

How I came to represent Prince.

A stranger, and you were prepared to take me in, in 1919
now in 1945.

Associations with Glengarry go back 200 years.

Highland pipe band of Alexandria.

Prince Charlie - 1745 -

related fight for freedom 200 years.

Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders.

Battle cry "Up the glens".

Losses in constituency - sympathy.

Remember what we owe to Armed Services, - first duty.

Hon. Lionel Chevrier.

file re

D 49182

Speech

by

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

at

Alexandria, Ontario.

July 17, 1945.

E. L. FEATHERSTON
SHORTHAND REPORTER
241 MANOR AVENUE
ROCKCLIFFE PARK
OTTAWA, CANADA

D 49183

Speech

by

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

at

Alexandria, Ontario

July 17, 1945.

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

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

year when the 7th of August rolls around.

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

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

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

On the night of June 11, when the returns were coming in, when before the evening was over I saw that the Liberal party had again been returned to power, I was congratulating myself that I had fought my last political battle. Since

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

Had the party met with my misfortune; had the Liberal party itself not been returned to power, I think I should have felt that my duty by my party and by the country had been done, and probably I should have retired into private life. But realising that the party had received such a splendid endorsation from all parts of Canada; realising that nation-wide support had been given to the party, I felt it to be my duty, and indeed I found it generally believed that it was advisable and necessary, that I should continue if possible at the head of the administration. So this madd it necessary that I myself, or by leaving it to others, should in some way find another seat, and if possible be returned to the Parliament of Canada once more.

Well, they say it is an ill wind that does not blow some good, and they also say that every cloud has a silver lining. As I look at this great gathering tonight I cannot

but believe in the wisdom of both those sayings, for certainly the wind that has blown me into the constituency of Glengarry, a constituency with such a historic note, so near to the capital of Ottawa, has been indeed one of the best breezes I have experienced in the course of my days. And no cloud has ever had a brighter lining than the one which has given me at this moment the happy place which I enjoy among the descendants of the Scotch, the French and the other races who go to make up this great audience this evening.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me say just a word about Prince Albert before I begin to speak on Glengarry and to reply to the different addresses to which you have listened this evening. You will be anxious, no doubt, to know how it was that after having represented the constituency of Prince Albert for nineteen years I should meet with the misfortune of losing the seat at this particular time. Well, I think the explanation is simple. We have been passing through years of war, the most terrible years that the world has ever known; and during those years I have had the responsibility of being at thehead of the administration which was carrying on the war effort of Canada. I felt it my duty, during that long period, to be at the seat of government at all times when it seemed necessary to be there, not to spend my time travelling around seeking what I could do in the way of making secure my political future but thinking only of the future of our country and of the great problems with which it was faced during this period of time.

So, unfortunately, between the general election of

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

More than that; when it came to the period of the general election, as you all know I had been obliged to attend the conference at San Francisco, the conference which has been dealing with world security; and having been present at that conference there was left only four weeks in all, between four and five weeks, in which it was possible for me to give attention to the general election. Being the leader of my party I felt it was my duty to consider the party's interest above all else and to make a tour from one side of Canada to the other, to speak in different cities all the way from Vancouver on the Pacific to Saint John by the waters of the Atlantic. That left me without opportunity of spending more than between three and four days in the constituency of Prince Albert, one of which happened to be a Sunday, and we didn't do much electioneering on that day.

So you will see that, after all, what took place in Prince Albert was not so great a surprise. Indeed, I can imagine almost the feeling of consternation which the Liberals of the constituency must have had when I was obliged to tell them at the time the general election was announced that I would not be able to spend mmre than three or four days at the most in the riding. I cannot begin to tell you

what a magnificent battle I think was put up by the Liberals in that constituency. Far from being a defeat, in the light of all the circumstances it was a great triumph for the men and women who sought to elect a Liberal in the constituency under those conditions. They came so near it that I cannot but feel with them a great disappointment that victory was not achieved at that particular time. On the other hand, I shall always feel that the Liberals of Prince Albert, while they lost the seat, helped to gain the victory over the Dominion of Canada as a whole by making it possible for the leader of the party to speak in all parts of the country, along with his colleagues and members of the House of Commons.

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

Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I say that the results had scarcely been given to the public when three gentlemen from Glengarry called upon me at Laurier House at Ottawa and said they had been talking that day and the day before with Doctor MacDiarmid, the member elect of this constituency,

who had suggested to them that he would be willing to step aside and have the constituency of Glengarry offered to me if the members of the executive and others of the Liberal Association were willing that this step should be taken. They told me that they themselves were members of the association and that they felt sure that if I would be willing to accept the nomination in the constituency of Glengarry the good people of this constituency would be prepared to have me as their candidate.

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

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I need not say to you how deeply touched I was by that expression of friendship, loyalty and good will on his part and on the part of the others who called upon me. I reported the matter to my colleagues in the cabinet and told them of the kind offer which had been made. I told them also of offers which had come from members elect and the executives of a number of ridings in different provinces of Canada; and just here I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the many constituencies which have offered me the possibility of a seat, if I should be prepared to run there, a word of

very sincere and deep appreciation for that offer. I said to my colleagues in the cabinet that it was necessary for me to return to San Francisco in order to sign, along with my colleague Mr.St Laurent, the Minister of Justice, the United Nations Charter which was about to be completed at that time, and that I would leave it with my colleagues to decide in which constituency they thought it would be best for me to seek the nomination. When I returned from San Francisco I was delighted indeed to find that it had been arranged that I was to run in this constituency of Glenglarry; that Doctor MacDiarmid not only had again signified his readiness to step aside but had actually accepted or agreed to accept an office of emolument under the crown in order that he might thereby create a vacancy through having accepted office while a Member of Parliament. That office is not a very lucrative one, but the heart which was prepared to make that decision is a very large one, and tonight I should like to thank Doctor MacDiarmid with all my heart for his generosity, his loyalty and his friendliness in making that decision.

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

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

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

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

There was another gentleman who was present on that occasion. He was another Mr. Macdonald, the son of the late Archie Macdonald, an old colleague and friend in the House of Commons, a former member for this constituency. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it did my heart good to find that the son of an old colleague was among the number who had come to speak to me about representing the constituency which his father had represented. There was a note about that which struck pretty deep into my heart. It said to me that men who were the sons of those who had been associated with me years ago were prepared to give the same confidence to the leader of the Liberal party that their fathers had given in years before. Could any man wish for a greater compliment than that? It made me recall for the moment that I had passed my three score years and ten, that I had got into a different class than the one I was in when I first entered Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet at thirty-three years of age. I was then the youngest member of the cabinet. For some little time past I have been the oldest member of the present cabinet, but may I say that to me no greater compliment could be paid than that which was paid by young Mr. Macdonald when he spoke of his father's loyalty and allegiance and the loyalty and allegiance which he was

prepared to give me if I ran in his constituency. And may I say in passing how pleased I am this evening to have the honour of being welcomed by Mr. MacRae, a former member for the constituency, who was also a colleague in the House of Commons. That these gentlemen should have shared with you the confidence which they have expressed in this way is something for which I am indeed most grateful.

Now, Doctor MacDiarmid, I do not feel that I have begun to say to you what I really would like to say. After all, to give up a constituency for which one has been returned in two war-time elections in order to enable another to come in and represent one in that seat is a very great act of generosity, of kindness, of loyalty and of good will. For that generosity, that loyalty and good will I thank you with all my heart. You, ladies and gentlemen, know the doctor; he has lived here all his life. The fact that you have returned him on these occasions indicates the high esteem in which you hold him. Therefore perhaps you will not be surprised at the public spirit which caused him to perform an act which is of service not only to me as an individual but which I believe will be also of service to the party and, may I venture even tosay, of service to Parliament, because I do think it will be of some advantage that the leader of the government, the leader of the House of Commons should be in his seat when Parliament opens, particularly at the beginning of a new Parliament. But it was not altogether a surprise to me that the doctor should have taken this stand, for during the five years and more that we have been together in the House of Commons there have been many occasions when we have had difficult times

to encounter, difficult passages to cross; and from the beginning to the end of our association he has been one of the members of Parliament always at ones side, always supporting without equivocation; and when moments of discouragement came, he was among the first to come forward with a word of good will which helped give one new spirit and new energy. So I say I am not surprised that at this time he should have shown his public spirit and the great generosity he has shown to me and to my colleagues in the government in having come to the decision at which he has arrived at.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been very deeply impressed, as you could see, by what has been said and what has taken place here this evening, but there is one thing above all others which I will remember always, because to me it has been one of the finest illustrations of the way in which self-government is carried on in a country that it would be possible to give to a people as an example. I refer to thepart which has been played this evening by the delegates who have come from the different polling divisions of the constituency. I am greatly honoured indeed that every polling sub-division should have sent its delegation to this convention. I am particularly honoured that the senior members of the delegations, the chairmen or some members of the executives, should have come forward with their credentials and stated to this gathering that they had only one nomination to offer, and that was the nomination of my humble self. I think you know how strongly I feel in the matter of self-government, how strongly I feel that we should preserve above all else the right of the people to govern themselves. If ever there was a case, here is evi-

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Date produced — Date d'exécution					
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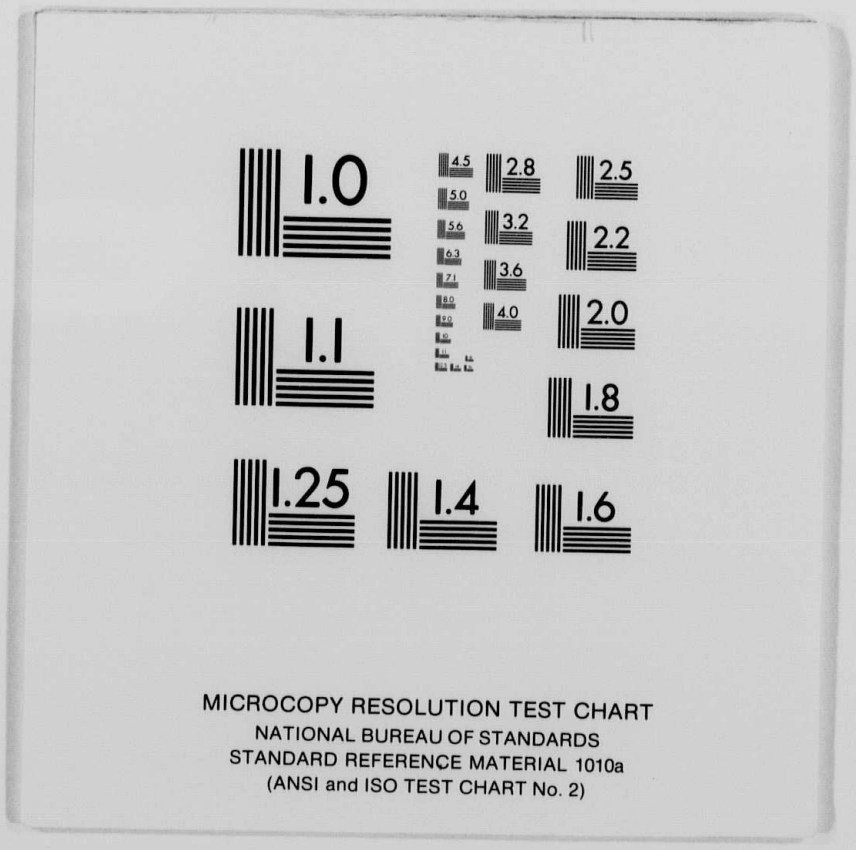
Camera location — Emplacement de la caméra	625 Boul Du Carrefour Gatineau P. Québec				
Camera operator — Opérateur de la caméra	Sylvie Crête				

ARC-0740 (r. 97/02)

END OF REEL

FIN DE LA BOBINE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