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W.L.M. King Speeches Series MG 26 J5

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 de discours, des textes manuscrits et imprimés des discours, des coupures de presses et des commentaires au 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'ils ont été transférés du Bureau du premier ministre lorsque Louis St-Laurent était en poste) comprend également des coupures de presse et des documents dactylographiés.

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
34	129	Toronto Men's Liberal Association: Tariff Policy; Imperial Economic Conference, 1932; Liberal Party Policy; Conservative Party Policy	15 Dec. 1932	D 20147 - D 20180	C-2800
34	129	Toronto Commercial Traveller's Association: Toast to Canada	16 Dec. 1932	D 20181 - D 20239	C-2800
Chronological Files, 1933-1939					
35	130	Chronological Files	Jan.-Oct. 1933	D 20240 - D 20401	
35	131	Chronological Files	Jan.-Nov. 1933	D 20402 - D 20499	
35	132	Chronological Files	July-Aug. 1933	D 20500 - D 20581	
35	133	Chronological Files	Feb.-June 1934	D 20582 - D 20687	
36	134	Chronological Files	Mar.-Dec. 1934	D 20688 - D 20841	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, volume 35, pages D 20240 - D 20687

D 20240

1933 Speeches

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Leader of the Opposition

	Date	Occasion	Subject
1.	Jan. 14th.	25th Anniversary Banquet Quebec Young Liberal Association.	Trade; tariffs; imperial policy; Empire vs. Commonwealth; Canada's position among nations of world.
2.	April 22.	News Reel.	Extending Invitation to 20th Century Liberal Association Convention.
3.	June 3rd.	First National Convention Twentieth Century Liberal Association. - Luncheon.	Liberalism, and significance of 20th Century Liberal Ass'n.
4.	June 7th.	Central Ontario Liberal Association - Annual Meeting - Banquet.	Congratulations re meeting and organization; review of session; conferences; Roosevelt victory and policies; answer to the C.C.F.; Liberalism.
5.	Sept. 4th-9th.	Liberal Summer Conference, Port Hope.	Opening and Closing speeches - Politics and Liberalism.
6.	Oct. 14th.	L'Assomption, Que. - 25th anniversary of election to H. of C. of P. A. Seguin, M.P.	Tribute to Mr. Seguin; By-elections; Tariff and Trade policy.
7.	Oct. 19-20th.	Restigouche-Madawaska, N.B., By-election.	
		7. Campbellton - Oct. 19 -	Tariffs, Wheat, Trade agreements
		7a. Edmundston - Oct. 20 -	"

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Banquet

25th Anniversary

Quebec Young Liberal Association

Quebec City

Saturday - January 14, 1933

Young Liberal Assn. - Québec

Jan 14/33

Monsieur le président,

Monsieur le premier-ministre,

Mesdames Messieurs, -

Je vous remercie cordialement de votre accueil si chaleureux. C'est une joie pour moi de me trouver parmi vous, ce soir, dans la province de Québec, d'être avec des amis dans l'ancienne capitale du Canada.

Pour un Canadien de naissance il n'est pas de plus grand plaisir que de visiter Québec, car il n'est aucune autre partie du pays où l'on puisse éprouver pareille fierté. C'est ici que furent posées les bases de notre histoire; ici que s'écrivirent les chapitres essentiels; c'est ici, en un mot, que pour nous d'ascendance française et anglaise le Canada que nous aimons, - le Canada, notre terre natale, - le Canada, une nation, prit naissance.

Pour un Libéral, pour un chef libéral, que ce soit monsieur Taschereau ou monsieur Lapointe, pour tous ceux que je vois ici ce soir, mais surtout pour le chef du parti dans l'arène fédérale, il n'est pas de compagnie plus agréable que celle que l'on trouve dans la province de Québec. Nulle part l'air est aussi fortifiant et rafraichissant que sur ce promontoire historique, et nulle part l'imagination s'exalte devant un spectacle comparable à celui du majestueux Saint-Laurent suivant son cours à l'ombre de la citadelle de Québec.

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L'esprit s'enchante aux souvenirs historiques de Québec, depuis Champlain jusqu'à nos jours. Mais le coeur de chaque Libéral n'est pas moins remué en songeant à la ville de Laurier, en se rappelant que c'est ici, comme député à la législature dont monsieur Taschereau a maintenant l'honneur d'être le chef, que Sir Wilfrid Laurier commença sa noble et grande carrière, et que ce fut comme représentant de Québec que Sir Wilfrid, pendant 40 ans, fit la gloire du parlement canadien. Voilà, certes, qui ne peut laisser indifférent quiconque se dit Libéral ! Mais l'émotion est encore plus forte pour ceux qui connurent Sir Wilfrid, qui eurent l'honneur de son amitié, qui prirent part à ses côtés aux grandes batailles du libéralisme, pour ceux qui l'aimèrent et l'aidèrent avec un dévouement que seul peut inspirer la plus grande noblesse d'âme. Ceux-là seuls le savent qui eurent cet unique avantage. Mais comment décrire le sentiment de celui qui vient à vous comme successeur de Laurier à la tête du parti libéral ? de celui qui habite la maison qu'habitèrent Sir Wilfrid et lady Laurier pendant tant d'années ? Les mots ne suffisent plus. Je laisse à votre imagination un soin pieux. Mais il est une chose, au moins, que je puis dire : et c'est que pareil héritage ne saurait comporter d'obligation plus impérieuse, - ni plus élevée, - que de poursuivre, eu égard à notre temps et à notre génération, le même but que Sir Wilfrid Laurier, et de perpétuer l'oeuvre à laquelle, en son temps et pour sa génération, il voua si complètement son intelligence, ses forces et sa vie. C'est dans ce but que je suis avec vous,

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ce soir. J'ai suivi Sir Wilfrid Laurier, humblement peut-être, mais, j'en suis sûr, fidèlement. Je l'ai suivi à cause de sa personnalité, pour les principes qu'il représentait, pour la politique qu'il s'efforça de faire prévaloir. Je me suis rangé derrière lui parce qu'il était un grand homme d'état et un grand Canadien. J'étais convaincu que, mieux qu'aucun homme de son temps, il connaissait notre pays et comprenait notre population et ses besoins. Je crois, aujourd'hui, que notre pays n'a besoin de rien tant que de revenir à ses principes et à sa politique en matière de gouvernement. Je suis ici pour soutenir cette politique et ces principes; et parce que je vois l'oeuvre de Laurier menacée de destruction, je suis prêt à me battre pour ces principes et cette politique que je crois nécessaires. En des temps comme aujourd'hui, c'est notre seule chance de vivre !

Je veux vous aider, - vous de la province de Québec de même que mes compatriotes des autres parties du pays, - je veux vous aider à maintenir l'unité de notre pays et ses libertés, comme le fit Sir Wilfrid, et donner un meilleur gouvernement au pays. Voilà ce dont le Canada a besoin : un meilleur gouvernement ! Non pas un gouvernement tory, de l'espèce dont nous souffrons à l'heure actuelle; non pas un gouvernement de coalition que l'on songerait à nous proposer, sous peu, en dépit d'une expérience trop récente; mais un gouvernement libéral de la qualité de celui qui apporta la prospérité au Canada, au temps de Laurier, ou de l'administration

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libérale qui nous redonna la prospérité jusqu'à il y a deux ans et demi.

Dans cette grande entreprise, je demande à la population de la vieille province de Québec d'être avec moi comme je fus avec Laurier ! Ensemble, nous aurons bientôt la joie de voir la réalisation du grand rêve de sa vie: Un Canada heureux, prospère, paisible et uni.

French portion

D 30246

Young Liberal Association Banquet, Quebec, Jan. 14, 1933

Mr. President, Mr. Premier, and Gentlemen:

I thank you very warmly for the cordiality of the welcome you have just extended to me. It is indeed a great pleasure to me to be with you all tonight; to be again in the province of Quebec, and among my friends in the ancient capital of Canada.

To one who is Canadian born there is no part of our Dominion which it is such a joy to visit, as Quebec for there is no part of Canada in which it is possible to feel a comparable pride. Here, our country's foundations were laid; here, the most significant chapters of its history were written; here, of French and British parentage,- the Canada we love,-Canada, our Native Land,-the Nation, Canada,-had its birth.

To a Liberal, to a Liberal leader, whether it be Mr. Taschereau, Mr. Lapointe, or many of the others present as I see them this evening, but above all to the Leader of the party in the federal arena, there can be no more congenial company than that which one finds in the Province of Quebec. No where in Canada is the air more bracing and refreshing than on these historic heights, and no where is the imagination more greatly stirred

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than by the side of the mighty St. Lawrence as it flows past the Citadel of Quebec.

But, while the mind is inspired as memory recalls the story of Quebec from the days of Champlain to our own day, even more deeply is the heart of every Liberal moved as he remembers that this was the city of Laurier, that it was here, as a member of the Legislature of which Mr. Taschereau has now the honour to be the head, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier begain his great public career, that it was as the representative of Quebec that for 40 years he represented this city in the parliament of Canada. Deeply moving as that must be to every man who calls himself a Liberal, what it must mean to those who knew Sir Wilfrid, who shared his friendship, who fought with him the battles of Liberalism, and who loved him with the devotion which only true nobility of soul can inspire, is something which can be known only to the degree that these high privileges have been experienced. What it must mean to one who comes to you as Sir Wilfrid's successor in the leadership of the Liberal party; one who comes to you from the house in which he and Lady Laurier lived for so many years, and who lives in that house today, I shall have to leave you to endeavour to picture to yourselves. Its meaning cannot be expressed in words. One thing, however, it does imply

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and that is that so rich an inheritance can carry with it no finer or greater obligation than to further in our day and generation the great aims, the great purposes, the great work to which Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his day and generation gave so completely his years, his strength and his life. It is in furtherance of that aim, of that great purpose, that I am with you here tonight.

I was a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a humble follower perhaps, but a true follower, I hope and believe. I followed him for what he was, and for the principles for which he stood, and the policies he sought to make prevail. I followed him because he was a great man, a great statesman and a great Canadian. I believed he knew our country and understood its people and their needs better than any other man of his day. I believe it is a return to his principles and policies in matters of government that more than all else our country needs today. I am here to uphold those principles and policies, and because I see much that Sir Wilfrid stood for threatened with destruction, I am here to fight for ~~these~~ them as well. I want to help you, in this province of Quebec, as I want to help my fellowcountrymen in all parts of Canada, to maintain the unity of our country and its liberties, as Sir Wilfrid sought to maintain them, and to help to bring about a better govern-

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ment in our country; that is what Canada needs more than all else today - a better government. Not a Tory government of the kind we have at present; nor any coalition government such as we hear ~~may be~~ proposed ~~in the near future~~ from time to time; but a Liberal government such as brought prosperity to Canada in Laurier's day, and as brought prosperity again under the Liberal administration which was in office until ~~two and a half years~~ a little over three years ago. In that great endeavour, I ask the people of this old province of Quebec to work with me as I worked with Laurier, and together we will share in the fulfillment of the great purpose of his life, a happy, a prosperous, a peaceful, and a united Canada.

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Gentlemen:

Introductory

I thank you for the indulgent manner in which you have listened to my few remarks in your beautiful language, and for the courtesy with which they have been received. The utterance may have been faulty and faltering, but the sentiments expressed were true, and were from the bottom of my heart.

I am indeed proud to be present this evening, in this ancient capital of Canada, as a fellow guest of the Young Liberals of Quebec, along with the distinguished Prime Minister of that province, my friend Mr. Taschereau, and with my friend and colleague in the House of Commons, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, and many other old friends and followers, and present, and I hope also, future colleagues. It is, indeed, as I have said, a goodly, an inspiring, and a most congenial company.

I am particularly glad, as I have just said, to have the pleasure of meeting here the Young Liberals of Quebec. I was quite a young man, when I first saw and heard and met our great Liberal leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It was in 1896; I had ~~just~~ graduated from the University of Toronto, and I was engaged in journalistic pursuits at the time. I was one of a number of the staff of The Globe sent to Newmarket, in the historic riding of North York, to report the speeches of the great political rally being held there

and at which Sir Wilfrid opened his campaign in Ontario. The riding was represented at the time by Sir William Mulock - a foremost Liberal fighter in the ranks in those days - Postmaster General in the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier a little later on, and the Grand Old Man of Ontario to-day, Chief Justice of the province, and now in his 89th year. It was the riding which was represented for so many years in the old parliament of Upper Canada by my grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, and where he and others were carrying on the fight for responsible government just a century ago. It was the constituency which in later years invited Sir Louis Hyppolite Lafontaine to be its member, and for which that great protagonist of the people's rights and liberties sat in the days of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration. Little did I think as I joined with others in reporting the proceedings of that great gathering - I was, as I have said, quite young at the time; I had just become of age, and was for the first time to cast my ballot in an electoral contest - that in a few years I would have the honour of being one of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's colleagues in the Cabinet of Canada, and, a few years later on, while myself the successor of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the leadership of the Liberal party, and while holding the office of Prime Minister of Canada, the honour of representing the constituency which had been represented, in the eighties and the nineties, by Sir William Mulock, in the forties by Lafontaine, and, in the twenties and thirties, by my own grandfather

Subsequent occupation of such constituency

William Lyon Mackenzie. But such are the facts, and how well they bear out the truth that fact is stranger than fiction.

They bear out another truth, and it is the truth I should like to bring home to you young gentlemen this evening, it is to how fine a tradition we Liberals of the twentieth century have become heirs, and to what a glorious company we belong, a company of pioneers, a company of reformers; aye, a company of martyrs in all that pertains to liberty and freedom in government, and to the making of Canada a land of our own.

I wish time would permit me to trace that development from earliest days. Happily, it is already familiar to you all. What perhaps is not so familiar is the similarity in essentials between the principles underlying the solution of many of the problems of today, those in which we have an immediate interest, and the struggles of bygone years in which our interest has become mainly historical. Here again, I wish time would permit a little more in the way of latitude in which to outline our present day problems and to stress the similarities to those of the past. That, however, is wholly impossible tonight. The most I can do, the most I shall attempt is a bare mention of two subjects to which above all others I believe we should direct our attention, and with respect to which, more than to all else, will be found the way out of our country's present difficulties and the avoidance of overwhelming difficulties in the years to come. The two subjects to which I

refer are Canada's position in the matter of trade, and Canada's position as a nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as a nation among the nations of the world. To the informed mind there will be, as respects both these all important questions, little difficulty in discerning the parallels which run between the present and the past.

If we go back to colonial days, we shall find that trade was the main objective in the establishment of settlements and the founding of colonies, but it wasn't the promotion of the trade of the colonies for their own sakes, so much as for the sake of the parent State, that was the end in view. This end it was sought to serve by the prohibition in the colonies of certain classes of manufacture, and the restriction of buying from countries other than the parent State, of many classes of commodities. The colonies were to furnish the Mother Country with the raw materials for the manufactures, and to be limited in a very definite way as respects both their sales and purchases abroad; that is to say, sales to and purchases from foreign nations. This was effected by the imposition of taxes - in the form of tariffs and other imposts - determined not by the colonies themselves, by the exclusive action of their own legislatures, when they began to have legislatures, but by the home government, or subject to its direction by the Governor and Council which administered the affairs of the colony.

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This attitude towards trade in general, and that of the colonies and dependencies in particular, was supported by a ~~strong~~ strange theory, known as the balance of bargain, and balance of trade, in accordance with the tenets of which it was maintained that only as a nation got the better of a bargain in a transaction, and had a favourable balance in its trade, could it hope to prosper. This was what was called "the mercantilist theory". It was the mediaeval form of extreme nationalism, and it helped to impoverish the very nations it was intended to enrich. It led to revolt and revolution in some of the colonies, and to the loss of not a few. This product of mediaeval darkness was shattered by Liberal doctrines in matters of trade, and by the discoveries of the world's surface and its resources which was followed by the inventions of the latter part of the 18th century and the early part of the 19th century, which together led to world expansion of trade, and to the break up of the restraints imposed and monopolies created by the old mercantilist system. Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' was written to bring about a clearer understanding of the nature of wealth, and the significance of exchange. It was shown that the wealth of a nation consisted

not in its gold, but in its commodities; not in what it was able to hoard, but in what it was able to exchange, and that whilst restrictions to trade, created by tariff and other barriers, fostered monopolies, strangled trade, and produced depression, freedom of trade tended to destroy monopoly, to increase trade and to substitute prosperity for depression. England rose to unprecedented heights of greatness, industrial and political, as her vessels went to and fro exchanging commodities in all quarters of the globe.

Where Britain stood in the throes of the old mercantilist system, Canada stands today. Amazing as it is, these mediaeval doctrines of restraint of trade, with all their attendant theories of balance of bargain and balance of trade, have been applied so extensively, so completely, and with such unrelenting rigour, that our trade, instead of continuing to expand, has been strangled; combines and monopolies in restraint of trade have developed on a scale hitherto unknown, and depression has stalked across our land like some malignant shrouded ghost, crushing the hearts and hopes of men and women in the humbler walks of life, and filling their minds with anxieties and fear. There is only one cure for this kind of thing, and that is to end the causes of it, and it will only be ended, as the despair of Britain was ended not quite a century ago, by getting rid of the new restrictions

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that are strangling our trade, and banishing forever the false doctrines by which they are supported. What Canada needs today is trade; what Canada wants today is trade, not trade restricted to certain channels, and prohibited altogether from many quarters, but trade with anybody and everybody, with any nation and with every nation which will trade with us on terms which are mutually advantageous. Until we get trade, we will have no solution of our present problems - our problems of debt, our problems of taxation, our problem of unemployment. Let us not be led away by talking of other countries, by the subtleties of talk concerning other parts of the Empire, or the Empire as a whole. Canada is the part of the Empire for which we, and we alone, are responsible. Canada is our own country, and it is our own country's business with which we should be most concerned. If that is attended to properly the Empire will be all the better for it; if it is not, the Empire will be all the worse off. Just let us keep that truth in mind. At the last general election we heard a great deal about "Canada First": that doctrine got a good deal of support in all parts of Canada and right here in the Province of Quebec, as we would expect it would, but it hasn't been "Canada First" that we have heard

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much about since, or ~~that~~ which we hear much about today; it is Empire first; and not only Empire first, but Empire last, and Empire all the time; and Empire over all.

And that brings me to what I have to say upon the second subject I have mentioned - the position of Canada as a nation. The two, you will find, are inseparable: Canada's position in the matter of her trade, and Canada's position as a nation. You may have only or mainly colonial trade, and remain only or mainly a colony. You can have only or mainly Empire trade, and be only or mainly a part of an Empire, losing altogether your individuality and identity as a nation; or you can have world trade, and be a nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations, a country among the countries of the world. It is for the people of Canada to say which one of the three they prefer to be.

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Colonial trade and status gone - due to what Liberalism has achieved in 100 years.

Responsible Government.

Canadian Nationality.

Wipe away last vestiges.

Of colonial trade, or colonial status, I need say very little. That danger, and that day, is gone forever. If they have gone, that in the main is due to what Liberalism has achieved in the past 100 years. The real beginning was the struggle for responsible self-government, in which your ancestors and mine took a leading part. Its crowning chapter was in the assertion of Canadian nationality by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the resolute stand taken by Sir Wilfrid and those who came to think as he did upon Canada's rights as a nation. It remained for the Liberals of our own day to wipe away the last vestiges of colonialism, and to give to our nationhood its complete expression. From colonial dependence to self government! from self government to National Sovereignty! That has been the development and the achievement of the past 100 years. ~~Canada's~~ Her part in the war, and the action of her statesmen in the signature and ratification of the peace treaty, helped to win international status for this Dominion. It was ours, the late Liberal Administration, to complete the development of internal sovereignty and of inter-imperial equality. We of the late Liberal Administration were the first to negotiate in its entirety a political treaty with a foreign nation, and to have it signed by a Minister of the Crown under powers granted by the

King at the instance of His Majesty's Canadian Government.

The Halibut Treaty 1923.

The treaty of 1923 for securing the preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the North Pacific Ocean is historic in more ways than one. When Mr. Lapointe went to Washington and presented his full powers, he did so as the first Canadian Minister of the Crown who had received from his own government authority to negotiate and to conclude a political treaty without reference to any other part of the British Empire. Canada managed her own external affairs as well as her own internal affairs. The action of the Canadian government in the negotiation of the Halibut Treaty was the basis of the agreement reached at the Imperial Conference of 1923, which set forth the procedure thereafter to be followed in the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties in the British Empire.

The Chenack Incident.

Similarly, at the time of the Chenack incident, the frank declaration by the Liberal government of the day that Canada could not be expected to participate in any conflict in the Near East without first obtaining the consent of parliament,

The Lausanne Treaty.

and, at the time of the Lausanne Treaty, that Canada was unwilling to sign any treaty with respect to the negotiation of which she had not been consulted and agreed, were significant chapters in the assertion of our national sovereignty and inter-imperial equality, as well as of our international status.

Establishment of Legations - United States, France, Japan.

It was the late Liberal Administration which subsequently established Legations in the United States, France, and Japan.

Declaration of position of Governor General.

It was the late Liberal Administration which was responsible for the formal declaration by the Imperial Conference of 1926 of the position of the Governor General in Canada being that of the 'personal representative of His Majesty the King' and in no particular the representative in Canada of the British Government. His Majesty is represented in Canada by His Excellency Lord Bessborough. The British Government in Canada is represented by the High Commissioner, just as Canada's High Commissioner has for years represented its government in Great Britain.

Equality of Status - Conference 1926.

It was the Imperial Conference of 1926, at which Mr. Lapointe and I had the honour of representing Canada, that set forth the position of Canada and the other self-governing Dominions as nations enjoying equality of status with that of Great Britain, and in no way subordinate one to the other in any aspect of their internal or external affairs. It was the assertion of complete national sovereignty and inter-imperial equality.

Such survivals of the old order as were in the nature of anachronisms or antiquated formulae still finding expression in existing statutes, the language of which was

at variance with the position of Dominion sovereignty as declared, were made the subject of study at a subsidiary conference in 1928, on the operation of Dominion legislation, also attended by Mr. Lapointe. Legislative expression was given to the whole by the Statute of Westminster, passed by the Imperial Parliament in December 1931 - a statute that will rank in time with the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights, as among the great charters declaratory of the recognized freedom of British peoples.

Statute of Westminster.

Paris Treaty for Renunciation of War - 1928.

The signing by Canada in 1928 of the Paris Treaty for the Renunciation of War - the so-called Briand-Kellogg Pact, at which I had the honour to represent Canada, was another instance of the complete recognition of Canada's international status, of our inter-imperial equality and our national sovereignty.

Canada's Prime Minister begins to undo the work of a century.

It is singular, indeed, that just at the moment the fullest possible expression has been given to Dominion sovereignty in the international arena of world affairs, and by the Parliament of Britain itself, a Canadian Prime Minister and a Canadian Parliament should begin to undo the work of a century, a work in which men of all political parties in Canada have in large measure co-operated since the period

of the Great War. True, the effort has not been that of reversion from a position of national sovereignty to one of colonial dependence. It has been an endeavour in an opposite direction, but reactionary none the less, and carrying with it, so far as Canada is concerned, not a little of the subordination of colonial days. What is now proposed, what is in the mind of the present Administration, what, in fact, has already been effected in part, is a movement away from national sovereignty in the direction of Imperial sovereignty. And this it has been sought to accomplish under a reversion in matters of trade to the old mercantilist theories, with their endless restrictions and prohibitions, and their fine spun subtleties of balance of bargain, and balance of trade.

Never let it be supposed that the issue we are

Reactionary Reversion from national Sovereignty to Imperial Sovereignty.

Reversion in matters of trade to Mercantilist theories.

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face to face with today is anything so commonplace as that merely of tariffs and their effect upon trade, - far-reaching and important as that issue may be. It is an issue of much vaster import and significance. It is the resurrection of an old issue, which most of us, I think, believed was long since dead and buried, but which I suppose, where no limit can be found to man's ambition, will always be revived - the issue of whether the British Commonwealth of Nations shall be permitted to remain what it has become, what it now is - a community of free nations owing allegiance to a common sovereign,—and to continue to develop and expand on these lines, or whether it is to lose the indentity and individuality of its component self-governing parts and become patterned after the Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Macedonian, the Turkish, the Roman and the German ~~model~~ Empires. Up to the present some of us had believed that nothing could withstand the natural growth and expansion of the British Empire, because it was based upon freedom, not restriction, and was different from anything in the nature of Empire that had ever preceded it. We saw in it the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth of Nations, which was a League of Nations in the truest sense, and which we believed might serve as the guiding star of the larger League of Nations to which its component self-governing parts had been admitted as individual members, and serve even as a model of international co-operation among the nations of the entire world. When one of our number, a Liberal

Minister of the Crown, the Liberal Leader of the Senate, an illustrious native son of this old province, became the President of the League, we were proud indeed to see to what heights of recognition and distinction our own Canada had attained in the realm of world affairs. In our role as a nation, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, of the League of Nations, a nation among the nations of the earth, we were not afraid of becoming great, but it was the greatness of service at which we aimed, not the greatness of a Colossus, boasting of his size and the power of his might. Commonwealth or Empire, that is the issue - the real issue with which we are face to face in Canada today. Shall we surrender to Empire and to a new Imperialism all that we have hitherto attained of nationhood in the finest and truest sense of the word, and that at a moment when what the world needs, and what all the world is unconsciously seeking is, not the consolidation of Nations into Empires, but the co-operation of nations in a human brotherhood which shall encircle the globe?

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The real issue, in which the tariff agreement of the Ottawa Conference is merely an episode, is not anything so restricted as trade within the Empire. It is a new orientation of the British Empire itself, which may best be described as the British Empire ~~vs.~~ overseas the world.

The old British Empire was free. Its parts were free. Its colonies and dependencies in the matter of their trade with other countries were free. Now, all are being made into a closed preserve. We see the beginnings of the creation of monopolistic power, with power as an end in itself. This is all very different from the old order of things.

The old order was one of ordered progress, of progressive development, of self-adaptation to ~~the~~ changing needs and circumstances, and order which, in the nature of things, meant more and more in the way of co-operation; co-operation between the nations of the Commonwealth themselves, and an increasing measure of co-operation between the Commonwealth as a whole ~~in~~ and all its parts, and the other nations of the world. The new order is one of consolidation and of isolation, consolidation of all parts of the Empire ~~in~~ under an imperial mould, with the new Empire concerned only with its own, and indifferent to the needs and the well-being of mankind.

In our day, we cannot strike too soon, or too hard, at the creation of any such Frankenstein in world affairs. If we do not destroy it, it will destroy us, and along with us, much of the ~~happiness~~ real of the ~~mankind~~. secured

Let us see if what I have just said is not more than borne out by the facts, and by the pronouncements of the Prime Minister himself.

In the first place, let us look at the tariff structure as it has been built up, administered, and is at the present time. It is different from anything ever previously in existence, different from anything previously advocated by any political party, and different from anything previously conceived. It was raised at the special session of 1930, raised in many directions, and to inordinate heights. It was raised again at the session of 1931, in yet other and still higher directions. At the session of 1932, there was another all round raise through the imposition of an additional excise duty against all goods coming into the country; and at the present session, which opened in September last, and which was called to approve agreements reached at the Imperial Economic Conference, it was raised again. Not only was the general tariff raised on many commodities, but the intermediate tariff, which is lower than the general tariff, was raised in many instances to the level of the latter, thereby making increasingly difficult, if not next to impossible, the negotiation of advantageous trade agreements with foreign countries. Such

lowering of the tariffs as there was on goods coming from Britain was, for the most part, on articles of but little significance or of a character of which the importations are not likely to be considerable. The main objective in the lowering of duties would appear to have been to create a margin which, if maintained, would still leave the tariff against foreign countries at a height which would make trade on the part of Canada with the outside world very difficult. The most sinister feature of all was the undertaking, in ~~the language of~~ the agreement with Britain, that the margin of difference thus effected would be maintained for five years; in other words, made impossible of change for that period of time by subsequent parliaments, notwithstanding what the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives in parliament, or by themselves at a general election, ~~in the interval might be~~.

The agreements themselves, ~~of the~~ Imperial Conference, were arrived at in secret conclaves, not in accordance with any direction or instruction from the parliaments of the different parts of the Empire, but solely by such members of the Executives of the different governments represented as were delegated to attend ~~an Imperial~~ the Conference. They were not directed, nor were they authorized by their parliaments, to serve as members of an

an Imperial Council - imperial policies - taxation for imperial ends.

Imperial Council, determining Imperial policies and imposing taxation to serve imperial ends. Yet this is precisely what took place at Ottawa at the Conference of 1932. Imperial policies were decided upon, taxation to serve Imperial ends was imposed, and the work of Empire consolidation through the agency of tariff barriers, upon the part of the world was begun. To these ends the

fiscal autonomy, freedom of trade sacrificed

fiscal autonomy of Canada, as well as of some parts of the Empire, was sacrificed. Our parliament was no longer left free to do as it pleased with respect to some of the taxation imposed; our tariffs were to be no longer our own, they were to be a part of an imperial tariff, framed with a view to restricting trade to within the British Empire, and to shutting out the foreigner. National policy was made to give way to

National policy & Canada may be imperial policy

Imperial policy, and economic nationalism, under the name of "Canada First", to an economic imperialism under the banner of "Empire First".

Even yet, this may sound to many like an amazing and impossible fact. Let us see what Mr. Bennett himself has had to say. I shall not burden you with a number of quotations, I shall select only three. Did the policies not speak so clearly for themselves, any number might be selected. Three are sufficient to tell the whole story. They are all declarations of policy, and all were made deliberately. When questioned concerning them Mr. Bennett's replies have only served to place emphasis upon them.

3 quotations from Mr. Bennett declarations of policy

1.

The first was made when the Conference was over, after the ~~treaties~~ agreements were signed, but before parliament or the country had copies of them in its possession. This declaration was made at Calgary, at the first meeting to be addressed by Mr. Bennett when the Conference was over. It was made on September ~~fifth~~ 5th, and the exact text of his statement will be found in the report of the meeting which appeared in the Calgary Herald of September 6, 1932. It is as follows:-

> "One thing was certain, however, that nations outside of the Empire would be asked to pay some tribute for the privilege of trading within the Empire."

The next statement, also in the nature of a declaration of the policy involved, was that made by Mr. Bennett in parliament at the time of his introduction of the resolution asking the approval of the House of Commons to the United Kingdom - Canada agreement. It was made on October 12, 1932, and appears on record in the unrevised Hansard of that date at page 125:

> "I rather choose, at this anxious time in our country's history, to return thanks that the peoples of the empire, conscious of the benefits which must flow from closer economic association, were able, through self-denial and patience, and a capacity to see the other's point of view, to inaugurate an imperial tariff policy from which every one of them must obtain real and lasting advantage."

The third declaration was made in London only a month ago. The full text of the utterance appeared in the cabled reports of the Canadian Press published in the Canadian papers on the following day. I quote from the Ottawa Journal of December 13, 1932:-

"We believe there is a common ground on which all together may serve with common arms and common allegiance to the same sovereign and to a common cause."

There you have in its essential features the bold outline of the change that is taking place in Canada's position as a nation, as a result of policies for which the present Prime Minister of Canada, more than any one else, is responsible. No longer is Canada to be free to trade with whom she pleases, on such terms and conditions as her parliament may determine. Her policies are decided for her in advance of the summoning of her parliament; the taxes are imposed and in effect before they are known in their entirety, or discussion of any kind is permitted upon them. They are decided, not as a result of any policy announced to the people in advance, and by action of the Canadian government alone, but they are part and parcel of a secret agreement to which the honour of the nation is pledged in advance

of any knowledge on the nation's part, and by which the nation is bound over a term of years. And the policies of the Canadian parliament in matters of trade, and the taxation incidental thereto in the form of tariffs, are no longer to be national policies, but now and henceforth are to be imperial policies - imperial policies framed not even by an imperial parliament, but by an imperial conference in the nature of an imperial council. ~~And all to what end?~~ To what end is this change in Canada's position as a nation being made? To help to preserve the autonomous rights for which we have fought with such determination and persistence, and which have been so completely conceded; the right to control our own fiscal policies; to impose what taxes we please and only for such objects as we please; ~~the right of our parliament to say to what extent, if at all, our country shall participate in wars in which other parts of the empire or of the world may be involved.~~

No, quite the reverse. It is not that there may be a Commonwealth of British Nations, each possessing national sovereignty, and equality of international status, but that national sovereignty may be destroyed, and an imperial sovereignty no longer imperial only and national autonomy, but unity to be had only in uniformity and imperial might at the expense of national autonomy in the nature of 'Empire over all', may take its place. I say that nothing like this has ever been attempted, let alone asserted, in Canada, as the aim of any policy calling itself Canadian. Nor do I believe it will be countenanced in any part of Canada once the objective is thoroughly understood.

1.

D20272

Let it be ~~understood it is~~ not British policy, as put forth by the British delegates who were present at the recent Conference, ~~that is responsible for what has taken place.~~ Mr. Baldwin's plea, and that of all who were associated with him as representatives of the British government, was for a lowering, not for a raising, of tariffs. Britain, moreover, has not bound herself, as we have, to maintain such a large percentage of the items of her tariff at a certain level over a term of years, and not to give to other nations that are prepared to trade with her preferences in her market very similar to those which we enjoy. We are prohibited, by our action, from giving to other countries advantges in our markets that in any way will effect the margin of preference we give to Britain, while, with but a very few exceptions, ~~she~~ Britain is free to give to other countries the identical preference which we enjoy in hers. It is Canada's own government, more particularly Canada's own Prime Minister, that is responsible for this new brand of imperialism, a brand of imperialism different from all others that have been advocated hitherto. They at least aimed at more in the way of freedom of trade within the Empire to offset in some measure the loss of trade from without. The new

brand is a ~~protective~~ exclusionist brand, "Canada First", as far as it can be carried in the way of barriers to British trade; then Empire First, as far as it can be carried in the way of barriers still more prohibitive against trade with the other nations of the world. The Prime Minister tells us what has been accomplished is only a beginning. I tell him that if it goes on much longer it will be the beginning of the end of everything, - the end of our country, and the end of the British Empire itself. It is the most benighted, the most reactionary, the most dangerous policy of any Canada has witnessed since the Dominion was formed. It has all the evils of the jingo imperialism of the past, without any of ~~their~~ its redeeming features.

D20274

I have only time to say one word with respect to the obvious effects of this new imperial policy of trade restriction and exclusion of the foreigner, and I shall do so under only two or three heads.

Effect on Canadian trade

First of all, let us see the effect upon Canadian trade. Much has been made, and is being made, in the press, of the possible increase in British trade. Some increase was bound to result by what there has been given in the way of increase in the British preference, through the lowering of some of the prohibitive tariffs against Britain, but this is as nothing compared with what the trade would be had the rates remained what they were at the time the Liberal Government went out of office. Here are the official figures of the total trade with Great Britain. They do not occasion much to boast about:

Year ending		
July	1930	- $ 436,728,000
"	1932	- 262,743,000
August	1932	- 264,084,000
Sept.	1932	- 267,829,000
Oct.	1932	- 274,307,000
Nov.	1932	- 273,242,000

However, it is not alone the trade with Britain which is of importance to Canada, it is Canada's total trade, and it is in the figures respecting Canada's total trade that we see, and shall continue to see, the effects of the present government's policy of making the foreigner pay tribute before he can trade with

any part of the British Empire. The figures of the total trade of Canada give us something to think about, and to think about very seriously. Canada's total trade for the year ending July 1930 amounted to $2,186,615,000. For the year ending November 1931, Canada's total trade had fallen to $1,279,224,000. That was a year ago, a cut of almost a hundred percent in the total trade of Canada over what it had been a little more than a year before. Let us take now the latest figure. They are for the year ending November 1932. The figure is no longer in billions; it now is given in millions only. For the year ending November 1932 it stood at $976,999,000.

Is it any wonder that we have a railway problem, a taxation problem, a debt problem, an unemployment problem, and depression increasing year by year? When the deliberate policy of the Government is to strangle trade, and that policy is enforced with all the rigour of a ruthless Administration, how can we possibly expect to see our country's condition improve, as long as such policies are continued or the Government, which is responsible for them, has to do with their administration remains in power.

But the strangulation of trade and industrial depression, bad as they are, so far as inter-imperial relations are concerned, are by no means the worst feature of the new imperialistic policies. I have already said that the British Empire is based upon freedom,

not restriction. Its unity has been brought about through ties of tradition, of blood, of language, of institutions, and of sentiment; over all, the consciousness of freedom enjoyed by all its parts. These are not material ties, or mercenary ties. To attempt to restrict the fiscal liberty of parliament, or the freedom of parliament, by tariff fetters, is the surest way to provoke dissension between the different parts of the Empire, a dissension which may lead to situations too grave to contemplate.

Sir John Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Robert Borden, all these great leaders, however they may have differed with respect to the internal policies of the country, were as one in standing steadfast for complete autonomy and non-interference by any one part of the Empire in the domestic affairs of the other. In most things, they stood for national policies which would preserve the indentity and individuality of Canada, not for imperial policies which would tend to obliterate that indentity. The agreements concluded at Ottawa this summer are full of undertakings which are in the nature of interferences by one part of the Empire in the affairs of the other and in the nature of restrictions on the freedom of our own people. Already, the misunderstandings, differences and friction to which these restrictions have given rise are apparent alike in Britain and Canada. Whoever knowingly lends himself to the perpetuation of that kind of thing is helping, not to

unite the nations of the British Commonwealth, but to destroy their unity.

Effect upon international relations

Finally, may I say a word as to the effect of imperial policies of the kind upon our international relations. So long as it was known to the world that the nations of the British Commonwealth were free to manage their own affairs and to adopt whatever policies they pleased with respect to their relations to other nations, no exception was taken or could be taken by them to preferential treatment of the different nations of the Empire between themselves. The moment, however, that this preference took the form, not of a concession on the part of one part of the Empire to another, within the frame-work of its own existing domestic policy, as was the case with the imperial preference as inaugurated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and followed by all succeeding Administrations in Canada, but took the form of concerted action on the part of the Nations of the Commonwealth to frame policies aimed against foreign nations, and which are of a character to make more difficult ~~aught in the nature of~~ co-operation between themselves and the different parts of the British Commonwealth, a very different feeling was necessarily engendered. When the foreigner was told that he must pay tribute to all parts of the British Empire before he would be permitted to exchange his goods with any part, and that the tribute now being exacted was only a beginning, he began to see a new menace

in world affairs and to govern himself accordingly. To what this may lead, through the retaliation that it is bound to provoke, no human being can say. But certain it is that the world's peace and security, instead of being made the greater, is being threatened thereby.

We talk of the League of Nations and the service it might render to the world today. We talk of a World Economic Conference and what it may achieve in the way of international co-operation, and yet this country, which should lead the nations of the world in the path of international good-will, has helped to make of itself, and of the British Empire, the stumbling block to the world's peace and progress. Fortunately, our own people and the people of other parts of the British Empire have the situation fairly well sized up, and the peoples of other nations have some true inkling of it. They know that the day is not far distant when the Canadian people themselves will have an opportunity to speak, and they are prepared, I believe, to wait and see what action Canada herself will take. When that day comes, it will be a day of reckoning indeed.

Meanwhile, our duty and our course as Liberals is plain. It is to keep the banners of Liberalism, with all they represent of freedom - of political freedom, of economic freedom, of national freedom, and of world freedom, flying, as those who have gone

before have kept them flying in the past. Let us hold fast to the political faith of our fathers, and follow unswervingly the example they have bequeathed to us. Above all, let us, as Laurier ~~said~~ "Do the right as God gives us to see the right". Then victory will crown the efforts of those of us who ~~are~~ his followers, as they crowned the efforts of Laurier ~~in the past~~, and out of the distress and discord of our times, Canada will come again into her own - a ~~land~~ of peace and plenty, a ~~land~~ of which we all ~~can~~ say with pride, "This is my own, my native land".

D 20280

2.

News Reel

Invitation to 20th Century Liberal Association Convention.

Laurier House,
April, 22nd,
1933.

D20281

L[redacted] and Gentlemen:

I have been asked by the Twentieth Century Liberal Association to say a word to you with respect to the national convention which the Association proposes to hold at Ottawa on the second and third of June, and to extend, on its behalf, a cordial invitation to the young men and women of our country to be present, or to send representatives.

I assume it is unnecessary for me to say anything at this time about the significance of the words "Twentieth Century", beyond stating that they relate even more to the problems of our day than to the conditions of membership in the Association. Perhaps, however, I should say something about the significance of the word "Liberal". It is intended to describe the spirit of the Association. It is not to be construed in any narrow, partisan, political sense, but in the broad, generous, and forward-looking attitude of youth.

To none in our country do the problems of the present constitute a greater challenge than to the younger generation. Their future, even more than their present happiness, is dependent upon a wise solution of these problems, a solution which will have an increasing regard for human need and for more in the way of social justice. ~~This, it is believed,~~ the

young people in our country are peculiarly fitted to give. The Association aims at bringing together the youth of Canada in a way which may serve to voice the ideals they cherish and which, in increasing measure, they wish to see expressed in all matters pertaining to the government of our country and its future development.

Those in charge of the preparatory work of the convention have asked me to make their invitation nation-wide; to say that young men and women from all parts of our country, who have the future of Canada at heart, will be welcome. Where personal attendance is impossible on ~~the~~ part of large ~~numbers~~, it is hoped that representatives of different clubs, associations and communities will be sent. In addition, prior to the opening of its proceedings, the Association will be glad to receive resolutions expressive of views of the youth of Canada on any subjects which may properly be considered at a convention such as it is proposed to hold.

Never before has a like opportunity been presented to the youth of our country to assist in the making of policies which will be worthy ~~of our~~ heritage of the past, the needs of the present, and the larger and fuller life for all, which it is hoped the future may bring. To comradeship in a determined effort towards the fulfilment of so splendid an aim, I cannot extend too cordial an invitation to all.

D 20283

First National Convention

Twentieth Century Liberal Association

Luncheon

June 3, 1933

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20284 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Morning Citizen .....

Date ..... June 5, 1933 .....

Subject ..... (20th Century Liberal Association - (First National Convention - Luncheon (June 3rd, 1933. .....

NewInspiration Given Party By Young Liberals

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King Refers to Significance of Voice of Liberalism in 20th Century Assn.

Cannot Govern Canada With Extreme Views

Both C.C.F. and Conservative Party Dictatorships In Their Own Way.

Likening the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation to a form of socialism which seeks to crush all people into a common mould and the Conservative party to another form of Socialism which is controlled by special interests, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, at a luncheon meeting of the Twentieth Century Association of Canada at the Chateau on Saturday, said the Liberal party, on the other hand, seeks to preserve individual liberty, freedom and initiative, while insisting on the doctrine of the greatest good for the greatest number.

The luncheon was attended by several hundred persons, including delegates to the first national convention of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association, which closed on Saturday following a two-day session, members of the Senate, the House of Commons, and many prominent Liberals from all parts of Canada. Miss Olive Wilson was chairman, and in addition to Mr. King, the speakers were Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson and Miss Odette Lapointe of Quebec, who replaced her father, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Quebec Liberal leader, who was unable to be present.

Voice Of Liberalism.

Mr. King was given an ovation when he arose to speak. Paying tribute to the Twentieth Century Association, Mr. King said it would be impossible to express the debt of the Liberal party to those who assembled in Ottawa to form the association. Nothing could be more significant of the interest the young people are taking in Canada than this gathering, he said. The resolutions passed at the convention, he said, sounded like the voice of Liberalism in the twentieth century. "That's what is wanted today, to find new inspiration and guidance in the shaping of public policies," he added.

Liberalism, said the speaker, has the attitude of respect for the rights of others "whoever or wherever they might be." In Liberalism there is something above race, creed or sectionalism; there is something common to all, human personality. "If you have a superiority complex you don't belong to Liberalism, there is another school that holds this belief," Mr. King stated. A true Liberal must hold to the desire to serve others and this desire must be based on conviction. "No man or nation can live unto himself or itself. Even our future depends on the welfare of others. No nation can inflict a wrong on another nation in the world today without suffering," he said

"You can't govern Canada with extreme views," Mr. King stated. "Our chief objections to the government of the day are that its policies do not allow for any accommodation but are the result of one set of views, arbitrarily imposed on the cabinet, the House of Commons and the people."

The cabinet principle, where the views of all were discussed and accommodations made to the various views with the result that decisions made were collective, was fundamental of democracy. "I don't like this modern tendency to dictatorship. It is the view of only one individual imposed on the people as a whole," he added.

Progress will be made not through bringing forth radical views but by bringing forth something that is a consensus of views, something that will keep the country moving forward at a pace it can keep up with. Referring to trade Mr. King said "what makes for restriction is making for friction."

8

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20285 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

On the C.C.F.

The speaker then launched into his attack on the C.C.F. "Where do they get their ideas?" he asked. "There is not one of their ideas that is not taken from the Liberal party. Socialism is the main differentiation." The C.C.F., he said, aimed at a program in accordance with which the whole state would be moulded, seeks to crush the people into a common mould, while Liberalism seeks to preserve individual liberty, freedom and initiative, always insisting on the greatest good for the greatest number. He likened the C.C.F. to a house-builder who, becoming dissatisfied with his old house, immediately decided to destroy it and build another. Both the C.C.F. and the Conservative parties were dictatorships in their own way, each desiring to subordinate the individual and force him to accept conditions imposed by the party.

Broad and Generous.

Liberalism was not a dogmatic creed. "It is a broad, generous, liberal point of view with respect for the rights of others whoever and wherever they may be," he asserted. Its basis was unselfish, and it realized that no man and no nation could live unto itself alone. This truth had been borne in upon the nations of the world during the past few years. It was forcibly demonstrated in the "deplorable condition" which many nations now were endeavoring to rise from.

Liberals stood for freedom of trade because they believed in the free play of the forces of exchange, the Liberal leader asserted.

This did not mean discrimination against Canadians. It did mean that barriers which prevented the functioning of these forces of exchange should not be permitted.

Senator Cairine Wilson.

Hon. Senator Wilson, in opening her address, said there was no better illustration of Liberal ideals than that she was introduced by her daughter and that Miss Odette Lapointe was substituting for her father as one of the speakers. Senator Wilson dealt with women's place in Canada and said Liberalism had a particular appeal for women, as they are individualists by nature. The speaker appealed to the young people to serve Canada, and said they had one great advantage, that they could profit by the mistakes of the past.

Speaking on the record of the present government, she said nothing had been accomplished at the Imperial Economic Conference here last summer yet the world expected much from the world conference in London. 'Our house is left in disorder. Mr. Bennett apparently forgets that we associate May with housecleaning," Senator Wilson said in remarking that Canada's affairs were sadly neglected. Revision of the Bank Act had been put off. Mr. Bennett had dwelt upon the stability of Canadian banks many times, she said, "but if our banks are in such an extraordinary position, we should like to see their great resources placed at the service of Canadian business."

Senator Wilson said the redistribution bill had served a purpose, it had blinded the members of Parliament and the people to more vital questions, such as unemployment. Nothing, she said, had been made public about the coal inquiry, other than that a combine existed. "The consumer will probably suffer yet another winter, but this time scarcely in silence," Senator Wilson said. In conclusion the speaker said she was pleased that the young people have expressed a desire for peace. "We have today the most glittering facade of peace documents and the most appalling array of armaments."

Miss Lapointe.

"We feel we are rendering a great service to the party by keeping them in touch with opinions prevalent among young Canadians," declared Miss Lapointe. "Young people are most bitterly affected by the economic depression. Not yet attached by force of habit or fear of change to certain methods and institutions, it is only natural that they should urge the repression or correction of those methods and institutions which are responsible for the present distress. We believe that the Liberal party will have sufficient energy to bring about those necessary reforms. It is for that reason that we shall do our utmost to bring the Liberal party back to power."

The vote of thanks to the speakers was moved by Harry Amson of Regina and seconded by Claude Prevost of Montreal.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20286

The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

At Head Table.

At the head table were: Miss Olive Wilson, chairman; Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson, Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Miss Odette Lapointe; H. A. Brown, Calgary; Mrs. Gordon Kinley, Halifax; Mr. J. P. Madden, Ottawa; Miss Laura Tyerman, Prince Albert; J. L. Wilson, Toronto; Miss Dorothy Brenton, Halifax; G. P. Vallance, Onward, Sask.; Miss Grace Bell, Ottawa; Mr. R. W. Watson, Calgary; Miss Lorraine Tanner, Montreal; A. H. Lieff, Ottawa; Miss Rita McLaren, Shellbrook, Sask.; Arthur Hardy, Ottawa; Harry Amson; Miss Beth Livingstone, Edmonton; Georges Reid, Montreal; Miss B. T. Watland, Nipawin, Sask.; Claud Prevost, Montreal; Miss Helen Spence, Toronto; J. P. Galipealt, Quebec; Miss Lucette Valin, Ottawa; P. E. McLaughlin, St. Stephen, N.B.; Miss Lenore Colter, Cayuga, Ont.; N. Cannon, Ottawa; Miss Mary Mack, Cornwall, and Jacques Bertrand, Hull.

Following the luncheon, the delegates to the convention were taken for a sightseeing tour of the city and later attended the garden party at Government House.

D20287

The Central Ontario Liberal Association

Annual Meeting

Belleville, Ontario

June 7, 1933

D20288

The Central Ontario Liberal Association
Annual Meeting - Belleville, Ontario.
June 7, 1933

The session which is just completed was the fourth session of the seventeenth parliament, there having been two other regular sessions - 1931 and 1932, and the special session of 1930. I mention these previous sessions, as the significance of the work of any one session can only be appreciated in the light of those which preceded it.

Broadly speaking, the special session of 1930 gives more or less the key to all the rest. That session, as you will recollect, was called to deal with the problem of unemployment. It was the session to fulfill the most important of the many promises made by Mr. Bennett in the course of the elections to 'end unemployment'. It turned out to be a session not for the purpose of dealing with unemployment in any constructive manner, but a session for the purpose of raising tariffs, giving the Executive autocratic powers, and correspondingly to limit the powers and weaken the authority of parliament.

These three features: the failure adequately to cope with the problem of unemployment, the first of our present day problems; the raising of the tariffs, and the imposition of tariff barriers and restrictions by the Executive, and the lessening of the control and authority of parliament, at a time when parliamentary control, in the broad sense of the word, was more necessary than ever, have continued to be from session to session the outstanding features of the record of the

present Administration.

Out of them has grown an inevitable fourth feature, which helps to bring home to the people themselves the inevitable consequences of the other three, viz: increase of debt and taxation.

Let me say a word first in regard to the problem of unemployment. At the very outset the Liberal Opposition urged that the problem was in part a world problem; that it could not be satisfactorily met through the agency of any single department of government; that what was needed was a national commission, broadly representative of the interests most concerned and affected, equipped with experts who would make a comprehensive survey and present, through the Government, to Parliament, constructive suggestions whereby all agencies of government, whether federal, provincial or municipal, the railways, manufacturing establishments, trades and labour congresses, boards of trade, the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, etc., etc., could be brought into a relationship of helpful co-operation in seeking to deal with the greatest of all human problems - that of enabling men and women to find the wherewithal to live, with the maximum of employment, where employment is at all possible, and the minimum of the loss of self-respect, where acceptance of State aid became inevitable.

This constructive proposal was wholly ignored, indeed, it was spurned. Beyond asking parliament to vote the sum of twenty millions of dollars, by which it proposed to supplement monies to be expended by provinces and municipalities, the Government did nothing at all in the way of making provision for dealing with this all-important problem.

From that day to this the Government's action has been all of a piece. There has been no constructive policy of any kind. The immediate and direct expenditure of public monies, without any adequate supervision or control, and the making of grants and loans in aid, have been the outstanding features. It is true that the Government has shilly-shallied from session to session between making its grants in the form of aid to provinces and municipalities for public works to be undertaken as a means of providing employment, and in the form of direct relief. It is true that Mr. Bennett said there would be work for all who were ready and willing to work - work, not doles, but it is also true that where the Government started out with a policy which professed at least to provide some work, it has ended its efforts to deal with the unemployment problem by simply making provision for the dole. The dole has been more strongly condemned by the present Prime Minister of Canada than by any other living person, and that has come to be the sum total of his Government's policy.

1.

Another constructive suggestion which the Liberal Opposition, supported by other groups in parliament, sought to press upon the Government, was that of a scheme of unemployment insurance. We always sought to distinguish between the temporary emergency of unemployment and the recurring risk of unemployment incidental to industry. We urged that immediate steps should be taken to introduce an unemployment insurance scheme and to overcome the obstacles, constitutional and otherwise, to any such measure. The Government met our proposals in a characteristic way. By one excuse after another they were held at bay, and finally we were told that the matter, being one which concerned the provinces, could only be dealt with at a Dominion-Provincial conference - that the question would be made one of consideration at the conference which was called last year. When the conference convened, the Government had no proposals to make to it. An effort was made to place the onus of a scheme upon the provinces themselves; the provinces refused to accept the onus, and there the matter was allowed to drop.

What has been the effect of this method of dealing with the great problem of unemployment? There have been three outstanding, noticeable results.

The first, unemployment itself has not lessened, it has increased. Where the numbers of unemployed at the time of the special session were placed by the present Administration at an estimate of ~~150,000~~ 117,000, the numbers have grown steadily ever since until today they are estimated to be at ~~750,000~~ 800,000, or taking families dependent upon those receiving relief, etc., at a figure of 1,357,000 (Hon. King Hansard Feb. 24, 1933 2643).

Some of the provinces ~~of~~ municipalities in their efforts, by vast expenditures, to secure grants in aid, as well as expenditures made for other reasons, have been brought not only to the verge of bankruptcy, but, if the whole facts were known, would be found to be actually bankrupt today. It was disclosed in the course of the debates during the present session that not only were the western provinces receiving vast assistance in the form of loans from the federal treasury, but that the Province of Saskatchewan was actually receiving from the federal treasury the money necessary to pay back to the Dominion the interest on the loans obtained from that source. According to a statement of the Minister of Finance on March 21st of the present session,

the cost of direct and indirect unemployment relief, including wheat bonus from April 1, 1930 to March 31, 1933	= $ 78,331,000.
Net amount of Loans outstanding to 4 western provinces	= $ 38,034,147.
Total Expenditure and Loans	= 116,365,147.

See Exhibit A

The second result is that debt and taxation have been enormously increased. At the end of the fiscal year March 31, 1930, the last year of the Liberal Administration in office, the public debt was $2,194,746,563 On March 31st of the present year it stood at $2,649,908,882 An increase of $455,162,319 (C.N. Ralston p. 3608, H.C. Hans 24/37) Exhibit B

How taxation has increased, I need not begin to indicate. That is known to you all: increases in direct as well as indirect taxation; increases in customs duties; increases in the sales tax; increases in income taxes, lowering of tax exemptions; increased stamp taxes; increase in postage rates; increases in everything that can be thought of in way of taxation.

So much for the problem of unemployment and the present Government's administration thereof.

I come now to the question of tariffs and trade restriction - a phase of government policy which is immediately related to the problem of unemployment, which I have just been discussing, and which more than aught else is responsible for the long continuance and the depth of the depression, - a depression which was in evidence at the time of the elections of 1930 and which has grown steadily worse ever since the present Administration came into office.

And here, let me remind you at once, of what was done at the special session of 1930 as affording the key to the government's policy as it has developed ever since and as it exists today.

Instead of being a special session for the purpose of dealing with unemployment, the session should have been designated as one for the purpose of immediately raising tariffs - tariffs not only against foreign countries, but also against Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire. Or, stated in another way, it might have been designated the session to inaugurate the policy of 'economic nationalism', which words, better than all others, describe the aim, the purpose, and the effect of the fiscal policies of the present Administration.

Where, under the Dunning budget, on which an appeal was made to the country in 1930, there had been a revision of the tariffs, tending, among other things, whilst keeping the channels of trade comparatively free, to divert its volume, where it was evident that circumstances so justified, from foreign into inter-imperial channels, the new Administration raised higher than it then was the general tarrif, and raised tariff barriers to British trade where none previously existed or where they existed to a very limited degree.

A new doctrine was propounded, viz: that of economic self-sufficiency. Only such goods were to be admitted to Canada from foreign countries as Canada herself was unable to manufacture or produce - whether these goods were from other parts of the British Empire or from other parts of the world. What the effect of all this was likely to be upon Canada's export trade, what it was likely to produce by way of retaliation, was dismissed with the sweep of a hand. What Canada might lose in markets being closed against her from abroad she would more than make up, we were told, in the development of her markets at home. A more absurd, a more unsound, or a more irrational doctrine was never propounded, but it is the one on which the present Government has been steadily and consistently proceeding.

I shall have occasion to speak later on of what took place at the Imperial Conference of 1930, of the monstrous proposals which were made there, and which were nothing other than those of 'economic nationalism', to be applied to all parts of the British Empire as the basis of an 'economic imperialism', which was an enlargement of the original doctrine of national isolation into one of imperial isolation.

For the moment, let me point out that at the regular session of 1931 the already high tariffs were raised to unconscionable heights, with further impositions in the session of 1932. It remained, however, for the session just concluded, to give the final touches in the way of tariff increases; indeed, to bring about, not only national and imperial, but world-wide discontent. At such lengths had the raising of tariffs gone prior to the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932, that the conference was hailed by all as a probable deliverance of more in the way of economic nationalism. Alike in Britain and throughout the Dominions it was frankly stated that an attitude of good-will, of give and take, and a general lowering of tariffs between the different parts of the Empire, and particularly between Canada and Britain, was essential to the success of that great gathering. That, if more in the

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way of bargaining were resorted to, the conference could not prove other than disastrous.

To ensure the best of feeling from every side, the Liberal Opposition, in parliament, and after the adjournment of parliament, and throughout the conference itself, refrained from uttering a word which could in any way adversely effect its proceedings. We stated quite frankly that in anything it might do towards freeing the channels of trade the Government would have our whole-hearted endorsation and support and, if needed and acceptable, our co-operation as well.

I need not, at this time, remind you of what took place when the conference met. Never, in the history of the British Empire, was there a gathering at which there was so much of bargaining, so much of threatening, so much of ill-feeling in general, as at the conference which met in Ottawa last year. To-day, in the face of foreign nations, what might have been construed as something little short of the break-up of the Empire itself, those who had come to our shores in the hope and expectation of seeing tariff barriers within the Empire reduced, capitulated in the end and agreements signed which were not only in the nature of increases in Canada's tariffs, as against other nations of the world, but which maintained at heights all that excluded many classes of British goods, the already excessive tariff which had been levied at previous sessions.

(Get figures here of increases effected by agreements) Exhibit C

D20298

I have said that the government's fiscal policy was related to the problem of unemployment. How immediate that relationship is anyone can see who considers for a moment the significance of trade in a nation's economy. The moment the government began to raise tariff barriers against foreign countries and other parts of the British Empire, that moment the government began to obstruct the channels of trade and to diminish its flow. Every additional diminution in the volume of trade meant less in the way of employment and more in the way of unemployment. Nowhere could figures be more eloquent of the effects of a mistaken policy than are those of Canada's trade since the present government came into office. Here are the figures for the last four years:

Fiscal Year Ending March 31	Imports	Exports	Total
1928	$1,108,000,000	$1,250,000,000	$2,359,000,000
1929	1,265,000,000	1,388,000,000	2,654,000,000
1930	1,248,000,000	1,144,000,000	2,393,000,000
1931	906,000,000	817,000,000	1,723,000,000
1932	578,000,000	587,000,000	1,166,000,000
1933	~~442~~ 406,000,000	~~494~~ 481,000,000	~~937~~ 887,000,000

~~Exhibit D.~~

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8

The speech from the throne at the close of the present session has an amazing statement in reference to the Ottawa Agreements:

> "It is deeply gratifying that the benefits of the Imperial Economic Conference Agreements now known throughout the world as the 'Ottawa Agreements', to which legislative sanction was given in the early part of the session, are already reflected in a profitable and steadily increasing volume of Empire Trade."

The Ottawa Agreements were signed on August 20th. They were presented to Parliament on the 12th of October, and came into effect on that day. True, they did not finally receive the approval of Parliament until November the 25th. Just where the government has ground for the assertion that deeply gratifying benefits have been reflected in a profitable and steadily increasing volume of trade, I fail to see. Here are the figures by months:

(Get figures by months. Get corresponding figures of last three years by months, and, if need be, for year or two prior to the time government came into office. See whether trade does

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not each year naturally increase in spring so as to make clear any present increase is due to seasonal trends, not the agreements. Also make clear that fair comparison of Empire trade would be with conditions of Empire trade as they were prior to changes in Empire tariffs by present government. Point out that had our trade in December, 1932, and each month in 1933 up to present been what it was in corresponding months of 1930, before present government made changes in tariff, then there would be a fair comparison.)

In estimating volume of Empire trade an accurate estimate involves comparison with total trade. It is trade with all countries that determines prosperity of country. If an increase of Empire trade is at expense of total trade, then Empire trade is bought at too dear a price. The figures with respect to total trade, apart from British Empire, give reason for grave concern as to extent as to extent to which Canada's trade as a whole has diminished due to customs duties imposed.

Another fact that must be brought out very clearly with respect to present trade figures with Britain is that they are computed on entirely different basis from those of former years. The Department of National Revenue in making up its figures today computes them on the basis of the pound as at par, whereas as is well known, the actual rates has been very considerably below par. To be accurate, National Revenue figures should be

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reduced somewhere around 20% (?).

I have not time to go into the many regulations enacted by order in council which have served as additional restrictions upon trade, but everyone who has to do with the importation of goods knows that they have been quite as effective, if not more effective, in diminishing importations than the duties themselves.

In estimating what the agreements actually mean in the way of financial gain or loss to the country, one has to take account of other devices to which the government have resorted in order to endeavour to stimulate trade which their policies in other respects have destroyed. One has been the bonusing of wheat. Another has been the establishment of the Agricultural Stabilization fund, under which differences in exchange are made up to exporters of different products in the form of subsidies out of the public treasury. Resort to devices of the kind was not needed in previous years, and no one can estimate what it is likely to mean in the way of additional taxation of the people. There is, I might say in passing, no guarantee that the proceeds of the Stabilization Fund will go to producer. We know that, in the first instance, it is to be paid to the exporter. Apparently, it is assumed that a threat to remove the commodity from the list, if the benefits are not passed on to the producer will be sufficient to secure the latter benefitting at least to some extent. What proportion, if any,

he will receive, no one will venture to predict. We are being driven a long distance from where we were a few years ago in the matter of our export trade when it becomes necessary for the government of the day to tax the people in order to raise money to pay for the export of certain of its commodities. That sort of thing may serve a government by way of deception of the electorate for a period of time, but it is not likely to last for long.

The other feature which I spoke of as being the third item of the programme of the Special Session, was the withdrawal from Parliament of certain of its rights and powers, vesting these in the executive. That took the form, in the first instance, of voting large sums of money under general heading, but failing to specify the purposes for which the particular grants were being made. It took the former later of what has come to be known as appropriating public moneys to the executive by blank cheque, a procedure for which there is no justification whatever under British parliamentary institutions. The blank cheque seemed bad enough, but what was worse was the blanket authority to legislate, which the government took to itself, giving the executive power to pass what orders it pleased for the peace, order and good government of the country.

These measures were fought by the Liberal party as subversive of the rights of Parliament, and fought, as you will

recall, one year to the point at which the government was compelled to adopt closure. Mr. Bennett has told us that brute majority is the way in which all matters have finally to be decided, where the government is deprived of having its own way. If we have refrained from unduly prolonging discussions in Parliament to the point of again compelling closure on like measures, it is but because we have realized that this method would be resorted to in the end, and that the one prolonged struggle had helped to reveal to the public what could be expected from the present administration where it was determined to have its own way with respect to particular measures.

This withdrawal of parliamentary control or subversion of Parliamentary rights was carried to its greatest extreme by the government in connection with the so-called Ottawa Agreements. Not only were tariffs made by the executive in secret session without any authorization from Parliament, but Parliament was forced, under the procedure adopted by the government, to approve the agreements themselves before even the schedules setting forth the rates imposed, or, in other words, the additional taxation to be imposed, had been discussed in committee of the whole house. That method was unconstitutional and wrong, but it was the one employed by the government to compel acceptance of the Ottawa Agreements.

Worse still was the fact that not only was the taxation for a single year imposed in that manner, but the government sought

by the terms of the agreements to bind subsequent governments in the matter of their fiscal policies. It was provided in the agreements that the rates there fixed should, in certain particulars, remain unchanged for a period of five years, this notwithstanding what the will of the people as expressed in a general elections in the interval might be. One feature thus fixed was that of maintaining a rate below which certain of the duties could not be reduced within the period the agreements would be in force. This was done under the guise of an apparent desire to maintain a certain preference for British goods. In reality, it was intended to maintain a tariff wall of a certain height against other nations; and also, in connection with another feature of the agreements, to make impossible the negotiation of treaties with other countries on what is known as the intermediate tariff basis. This was done by raising the intermediate tariff to a level with the general tariff, so that, on many commodities with which the trade of many foreign commodities would be most concerned, it would be well nigh impossible to negotiate a treaty of any real value. It is all a part of the economic nationalism which aims at preventing foreign competition in the matter of trade. Whilst the opposition was helpless to prevent the enactment of the agreements in the form in which they were passed, we did not

hesitate to make known the position which we broadly take with respect to any act of any administration which may be unconstitutional and subversive of the fundamental rights of Parliament, namely, that, in the event of the people themselves at a general election indicating a desire for a change, we would not regard ourselves as bound by the action of any previous Parliament, but only by the will of the people as expressed through their representatives in Parliament.

I shall have to reserve for some other occasion what I may have to say about the tariff board which has been appointed within the past few weeks. All I wish to point out at the moment is that, if there is any need for a tariff board at all, whether in an advisory or other capacity, that need exists prior to, not subsequent to the time at which changes in the tariff are made. When the present administration came into office a Tariff Board had been functioning for years and rendering the greatest service. That board was immediately abolished. The changes at the Speical Session were made without regard to information or advice furnished from any official or impartial source. The same is true of the changes made at the session in 1931, 1932, and of the changes made in the tariff at the time of the Imperial Conference. Now, when all these changes have been made in accordance with the policy of economic nationalism, policies which are based upon protection, a tariff board is constituted, not for the purpose of advising

as to how tariffs may be reduced, but mainly for the purpose of ensuring that the protectionist feature shall be retained. The board is to be used not to serve the interests of Canadian consumers, but as a means of enabling British firms, where they may feel that the slight opportunities afforded them under the tariff agreements of slipping their goods over tariff walls which are recognized as adequately protectionist, to take advantage of their opportunity. The tariff board as it is functioning today is an auxiliary of the protectionist interests in Canada. In no sense can it be regarded as a tribunal before which Canadian consumers or producers can be heard with respect to grievances they may have. As a matter of fact no grievances of any kind can be so much as considered by the board where it arises from a Canadian source unless it be referred to it by the government in the first instance.

Depriving parliament of its control in the matter of fiscal policy is not the only means by which the present Administration has sought to increase the power of the Executive and its friends and lessen the authority of parliament and the people's representatives therein.

Next to the Ottawa agreements, the most important legislation of the session had to do with the Canadian National Railways, the Radio Commission, shipping on the great lakes, and redistribution. The most important subject of all, namely, the revision of the bank act, which, according to law, should have taken place this year, was postponed until next session. Practically no consideration was given at the present or the last session to the all-important question of banking and monetary reform, and the control of credit.

The measure respecting the Canadian National Railways was introduced nominally as a means of effecting economies and, in that connection, making possible more effective co-operation between the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway. To some of the provisions of the Canadian National Railways Bill no exception could be taken, but they in no way required the repealing of the old legislation nor the enactment of anything new. An amendment or two to the existing Act would have effected all that was necessary.

The aim of the new legislation was to do away with the provision for the appointment of a President and Board of Directors, and to substitute therefor a provision for the appointment of what was termed "a board of three trustees", all of whom would be appointed for a term of years, and the first for the period of seven years. To this Board was transferred the control and management of the entire railway system, which would include all appointments thereto.

The Bill was considerably modified in its course through the House of Commons. The term of office of the trustees was reduced from seven to five years. A provision was inserted which would make impossible the doing away with branch lines by the Board without previous approval by the Board of Railway Commissioners. Future appointments to the Board, instead of being made by the Board itself, were restored to appointments by the government of the day. The Government, however, sought to entrench its own appointees in office by a provision that they could not be removed by any incoming government or even by resolution of the House of Commons, but only by a joint resolution of both Houses of Parliament; which means, of course, that as along as a Tory majority persisted in the Senate, Tory appointees, regardless of how

unsatisfactory they might be to whatever Administration in office, would still be retained in office. This feature was not a part of the recommendations of the royal commission whose report had been made the basis for the Bill; it was framed by the Government itself.

The Government declined to entertain any amendments which gave the House of Commons control over the budget of the Canadian National Railways. Their whole effort was to keep the control of the railways as far removed as possible from any authority of parliament, other than the voting of necessary monies for deficits and the like. This may be called government ownership, but it is not public ownership of railways nor public control. It is public ownership divorced from public control, and divorced even from the kind of control which would govern in the case of a privately owned road. It is government ownership, combined with irresponsible arbitrary individual control. Whether this move is going to improve the Canadian National Railways, or serve to still further prejudice them in the minds of the public, as they have been prejudiced since the present Government took office, remains to be seen. The present Administration contended that the late Liberal Administration had given to the President and Board of Directors of the C.N.R. too free a hand. The power

that the Chairman and Board of Directors had under the old arrangement is nothing compared with the powers which the three individuals, and in particular the one individual who will be the chief trustee and known as the President of the road, will have over the railway system.

Whilst there was every sympathy with any measure which would lead to economies and effective co-operation on a just basis on the part of all Liberal members in the House, and while some of the members were prepared to accept the measure at its face value on the second reading, after the declaration was made by the Ministry of the purpose of some of the provisions, when the Bill was in Committee, there was not a single member of the Liberal party, and ~~indeed of any of the other groups in the House~~, who ~~were prepared to~~ supported the Administration on the third reading of the Bill.

With regard to the Radio bill, an effort was made to take away even from the Civil Service Commission the appointment of all employees, clerks, etc., in addition to higher officials and professionals. Here again an effort was made to turn over to the Government's own appointees on the Radio Commission the appointment of everyone who might have to do with radio broadcasting in Canada. Through the efforts of the Opposition, the appointment of clerks and the lesser appointments generally were still made subject to

competitive examination and the merit system, though the control of parliament, and even of the Civil Service Commission over appointments otherwise, was pretty effectively removed. In addition, the Government made provision for the purchase of public and private stations, and the erection of new stations, without authorization by parliament itself.

Just what the effect of making the National Railways and Radio Broadcasting into industrial soviets, arbitrarily controlled by appointees of the Tory Government, is going to be, remains to be seen. Certainly, sovietism, in any form, is the very antithesis of all that Liberalism stands for.

I shall not make mention of the Penitentiaries and the Mounted Police. Here again efforts were made by the Administration to remove from the Civil Service Commission the matter of certain appointments and to increase the power of the Government's own appointees.

I have spoken of the shipping bill. That was one of the most contentious measures of the session, and like other contentious matters, was held over until the last hour. It gives a practical monopoly to Canadian vessels and the great lakes - a monopoly which, in the view of those who opposed the measure, will prove nothing other than prejudical to Canadian producers.

With respect to redistribution. This measure was introduced on October 13, 1932, and second reading given on November 25th, when it was referred to a special committee of the House. On February 8th the Committee met for the first time, four months after the opening of parliament. On March 23 Mr. Lapointe protest that the Liberal representative on the Committee knew nothing of the Government's plans. It was not until May 9th that the Committee presented its first report, asking for permission to sit while the House was in session. On May 17th the Committee presented its second and final report.

In some of the provinces agreement as to the re-arrangement of the boundaries was effected by the members of the House - an agreement, in most cases, which was effected under duress and the certain knowledge that if the Government's proposals were not in the main accepted something worse would be put through by aid of the bruite majority.

The kind of thing that was done even in provinces where it was declared an agreement had been reached is best illustrated by the constituency of North York, of which I can speak from personal knowledge. The following areas which gave Liberal majorities in 1930 have been taken away from the riding:

Markham township	- Liberal majority 1930 of	- 248.
Stouffville Village	" " " "	- 282.
Markham Village	" " " "	- 25.
		555.

North York township, which gave a Conservative majority of 615 in 1930, was added to the riding. The Conservative candidate's position, therefore, has been improved as follows:

Conservative majority in 1930	- 298
Liberal majority lost	- 555
Conservative majority added	- 615
	1468

With regard to the provinces of Saskatchewan and Quebec, no agreement was reached. In both these provinces the map of the Government represented such a glaring gerrymandering of constituencies that the members from these provinces, ~~on the committee~~ and their fellow members in the Commons, could not agree to the Government's map. The kind of thing that was done in Saskatchewan can perhaps be best explained by the riding which I now have the honour to represent.

In 1930 the Liberal vote in Prince Albert was 9,283

" " " Conservative vote do. " 8,091

Liberal majority 1,192

What is left in constituency of 1930 vote:

Liberal	6,536
Conservative	6,735
Cons. majority	199

Liberal majority in portion added from Melfort	63
	136

In other words the Liberal majority in 1930 of 1192 has been changed into a Conservative majority of 136.

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Prior to the redistribution of 1933, Prince Albert was the fifth largest riding in Saskatchewan, and the third largest rural riding in that province. It has now been changed into the second smallest constituency in the province; from one having a population in 1930 of 50,896, to one having a population of 39,874 as the constituency has been redistributed.

Both in Ontario and Quebec, where we have the county system of municipal organization, it is only necessary to look at the map to see in how many instances townships and municipalities are taken in their entirety from the county to which they belong and made a part of some adjoining county, to form the new electoral constituency, the cut being made in every instance with a view to hiving the Liberals in certain communities and enlarging the Tory majority in others, by eliminating from one county sections that were Liberal, and adding in their stead some other part of the same county, or some adjoining county, the sections that were Conservative. The Solicitor General stated quite frankly that what had been done in Quebec was to make certain safe Liberal seats doubly safe, and to make safe Conservative seats now held but which might be insecure in an electoral contest. The Prime Minister himself put forward the proposition that where there were alternative courses, one or other of which gave an advantage, that that advantage should go to the Government and its supporters. I sought to point out that in the matter of justice question of advantage

is ruled out altogether - justice is impartial, avoiding anything in the nature of advantage or injustice. It has been, however, on the basis of to the victor belongs the spoils that the present redistribution of constituencies has taken place.

After witnessing the manner in which the redistribution is carried on, I do not hesitate to say that in my own view the distribution of constituencies should be taken from parliament altogether - out of the hands of the Members of the House of Commons, and placed under the direction of some commission of judges especially appointed fro the purpose. Unless this is done, what will happen in Canada is that we shall go on having certain constituencies secured as Tory constituencies, others secured as Liberal constituencies, but neither honestly representative of the opinion of the electorate.

In this same connection, I think a change in the electoral law in the matter of single unit constituencies, to election under a system of proportional representation, is highly desirable, if representation in parliament is to be as it should - a mirror of opinion of the country.

In the debate on the redistribution bill, reference was made to Quebec having no Conservative representation after the election of 1921. That was on the basis of a redistribution

effected under Sir Robert Borden in 1914. Attention might have been drawn to the fact that in six provinces out of nine not a single representative of the Conservative party was returned in 1921. Unless some event wholly unforeseen occurs, something of the kind may well be expected in the next general election, whether it comes next year or two years hence, as the case may be. If it comes, the Conservative party will only have the record of its own Ministry to blame and as yet its unwillingness to adopt a system of proportional representation, which would at least ensure to all bodies of opinion some voice in the House of Commons.

The only other matter of importance in the legislative programme was the budget, with its announcement of increased debt and increased taxation, but no indication of any change of policy. The Liberal attitude toward this measure is best expressed by the amendment which was moved and unanimously supported from the Liberal side of the House.

Exhibit

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The session of Parliament which has just concluded is one of the longest in our parliamentary history. The speech from the throne which opened its proceedings was read by His Excellency on October the 6th, and the speech which brought its proceedings to a close was read on May the 27th. It is true that the session was not continuous and that it was broken by an interval of some weeks at the time of the Christmas recess, but altogether members were in session continuously for the greater part of half a year.

In thinking over what it might be most appropriate to say to the members of the Central Ontario Liberal Association at this second annual meeting, my first thought, which no doubt would accord with the expectation of many present, was briefly to review the work of the session, drawing attention to the more significant features. The discussion and legislation of the session would, no doubt, afford much material for an address, not perhaps with respect to aught in the way of achievement, but more particularly with respect to the reactionary tendencies which it exhibited. I am inclined to agree with "Saturday Night", which has displayed a kindly and laudatory attitude towards the present administration, in its characterization of the session as barren so far as constructive achievement is concerned.

What I wish to speak of more particularly, and to give emphasis to by omitting, for the present, much in the way of

reference to the session itself, is the significance of the two conferences which stand, so to speak, at either side ofit, the Imperial Economic Conference, which was held in Ottawa during the months of July and August last year, and which drafted the so-called Ottawa Agreements, and the World Economic and Monetary Conference which opens its proceedings on Monday next.

These conferences are not without their immediate bearing one upon the other. We are perhaps too near to each of them to view their proceedings in the light in which they will be read in history. But, unless the World Conference wholly fails of what today is hoped and expected of it, it in no way needs the vision of a prophet to foresee its real significance in relation to the Imperial Economic Conference of last year. That that significance, as I view it, may become immediately apparent to your mind, let me say at once that I think the aim of the World Economic Conference about to begin its proceedings might well be said to be that of reversing the mistaken policies of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932, and what those and allied policies stand for and are accountable for in world relationships.

No one can deny that the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932 had the effect of raising tariffs on the part of the

countries of the British Empire as against the rest of the world. No one will deny that foremost among the aims of the World Economic Conference is that of lowering tariff barriers and trade restrictions throughout the world. The policies of the two conferences, considered in relation to world affairs, are diametrically opposed. They cannot both be right. If the raising of tariff barriers is the way to go about improving world conditions, that method should be continued in London this year as it was in Ottawa last year. If it is not the way to go about it, and the aim of the London Conference is to make that abundantly clear - then I submit that method of improving world conditions should never have been adopted at Ottawa a year ago.

c/ Baldwin 1932

Considering more particularly the politics of our own country, there is something even more significant to be kept in mind with respect to both these conferences, and that is what preceded the one and what is likely to follow the other. To understand aright the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932, account has to be taken of the Imperial Economic Conference held in London in 1930, of the policies which were put forth by Canada's Prime Minister as those which alone would be acceptable to this Dominion and on which alone Canada would be prepared to continue her scheme of preferences within the British Empire. The Imperial Economic Conference of 1930 is not so remote that its essential features

have wholly faded from public memory. It is all important in considering what the World Economic Conference in London will be seeking in a few days to undo, to recall what was said by Canada's Prime Minister in London in 1930 and what has since taken place in England and also in Canada. In England in 1930 a Labour government was in office. England still remained the outstanding exponent among the nations of the world of free trade policies. What was said to her government by the Canadian Prime Minister, newly installed in office? In a word, it was that unless Britain changed her fiscal policies and gave up her free trade doctrine and became a protectionist country, she had better abandon further thought of preferential trade within the Empire, that preference within the Empire thereafter would have to be on a reciprocal basis to be effected by the raising of tariff barriers on the part of the several units of the British Empire as against the rest of the world. Each part of the Empire was to become in the main a self-sufficing economic unit, and what was lacking in self-sufficiency in any part was to be made up in a self-sufficing imperial economic unit which would make the British Empire as a whole independent of the rest of the world. This was nothing more or less than the bold assertion of the doctrine of economic nationalism, to give way, if it was to give way at all, to some form of economic imperialism which was to make the British Empire one as against the rest of the world.

Economic nationalism was expounded as a doctrine by Mr. Bennett at the Imperial Economic Conference of 1930. It found its expression in the legislation enacted at the Special Session prior to the Conference and at the two subsequent sessions of our Parliament, at all of which Canada's tariff walls were raised to unconscionable heights not only against foreign countries but also against other parts of the British Empire. Economic nationalism found its expression in the Ottawa agreements of 1932 which raised still higher tariff walls of the different parts of the British Empire against foreign countries, and through the making of what, in the matter of commerce, had been hitherto the free and open Colonial Empire, into a closed preserve.

So foreign to the British mind was this doctrine of ~~of~~ economic nationalism as propounded by Mr. Bennett at the Conference of 1930, that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in answer to Canada's demand that the British government should begin to tax the nation's food supply, simply replied to the British Parliament, "We cannot do it". Mr. Thomas, in language not quite so parliamentary, but characteristically good-natured, spoke of Canada's proposal as "humbug".

This is not the time or the place to recount the circumstances which led to the disruption of the Labour party and the formation of the present National Government in Great Britain. Much less would it be becoming to be so concerned with the domestic

affairs of another part of the British Empire as to attempt to disclose by what means, after the advent of the National Government, the fiscal policies of Britain were changed and what was so abhorrent to some members of the British administration a few months before became a part of their accepted policy. The fact, however, is that Britain did abandon her free-trade policies and began to follow the example of other nations in the adoption of policies which have come to be associated with what is knownas economic nationalism. This change had no sooner taken place in Great Britain than not a few of Mr. Bennett's followers began to claim that it was the action of their leader at the Conference of 1930 which, in the main, was responsible for the change. I am not going to argue that point. May I, however, remind you that, within the past week, no less a personage than His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has found no word too strong with which to condemn economic nationalism. Speaking to a distinguished gathering of the Pilgrim's Society on the evening of May the 30th, His Royal Highness said, as reported in the Associated Press despatch from London of the same date, "in the great catastrophe which has overtaken the world, the United States is realizing with Great Britain that under the present economic system no country can propser in isolation." The despatch continues: "If the depression can teach us the vice of economic nationalism, then the great depression itself may prove the opening of a way to the ideal day when there will be no poverty."

The "vice of economic nationalism". That is a pretty strong phrase, but I believe a wholly accurate characterization. When I read those words there came to my mind, as there must have come to the minds of many who heard them, those well known lines of Pope,

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We often endure, then pity, then embrace."

I need scarcely say that, in condemning economic nationalism, as he did, nothing, I am sure, could have been further from the mind of His Royal Highness than to intend, directly or indirectly, to reflect upon the policies of any country. He was speaking in the abstract and referring to conditions generally as they have developed throughout the world under the present economic system. That, however, does not preclude those of us in Canada who are suffering from economic nationalism as the accepted policy of the administration from denouncing it in the strongest possible terms and from pointing out very clearly whence, so far as the British Empire is concerned, it had its beginnings.

Where did we first hear the cry "Canada First"? It was from the lips of the leader of the Conservative party in the campaign of 1930, when some of us were striving with might and main to further trade within the Empire, not on any economic

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nationalist basis and threats of blasting a way into the markets of the world, but on an attitude of international good-will and frank avowal of a readiness to trade with those who were ready to trade with us. It was no less a person than Mr. Bennett himself who told the British people that "Canada First" was the designation of the protectionist policy of the Conservative party, the purpose of which was to exclude from the markets of Canada those commodities which could be produced or naufactured here. In other words, it was a declaration of monopoly, not of exchange, in matters of trade as a means of furthering economic advancement.

Today, when world opinion is beginning to batter, and I trust, to shatter the walls of economic nationalism, to say nothing of economic imperialism, we hear little of blasting a way into the markets of the world; we hear very little of "no truck or trade with the Yankees." We even begin to find excuses made for the removal of tariff restrictions and the lowering of tariff walls, and something louder than whispers of the possibility of a reciprocal agreement in trade with the United States.

All of which brings me to what I am most anxious to point out at this gathering tonight and to the people of Canada at large, that, following the World Economic Conference, should that Conference be successful, we will probably find the Tory party in Canada seeking to persuade the citizens of Canada in the next general election that what Canada needs, that what the British Empire needs, is a percentage

reduction of tariff walls and tariff barriers, and, within certain limits, reciprocity of trade with the United States, and all of this as part and parcel of a great world movement which aims at the cancellation of world debts, the removal of tariff barriers, disarmament and world peace. Before that moment comes, I wish to make perfectly clear that freer trade with Britain and within the Empire was a policy on which the late Liberal government went to the people and suffered defeat in 1930; that reciprocal trade with the United States and what it meant in the way of enlarged markets for our people, was advocated by the Liberal party under the banner of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and fighting for this cause the Liberal party went down to defeat in 1911; that these policies are not the policy of the hour so far as the Liberal party is concerned but are policies which have been continuously and consistently championed and which the Liberal party will continue to champion, be the results of the World Economic Conference what they may, and whether they be accepted in whole or in part by the party which consistently opposed them whenever they have been hitherto proposed and which now, to retain office, is prepared to find refuge in any port.

The event of greatest significance to the Parliament of Canada, which occurred in the course of its sittings - October 6, 1932 to May 27th, 1933, was not something which happened either within Canada or within the British Empire, but an event which took place in an adjoining country. The defeat of the Republican party, and the overwhelming victory of President Roosevelt, the nominee of the Democratic party, was significant in more respects than one. Above all else, it disclosed a dissatisfaction of the people of the United States with the administration of the day, an administration which had staked its all upon protection and the power of special interests, which protection breeds and embeds in a nation, which had pursued through the years a policy of national isolation, and the desire of the people to see a restoration of Liberal principles and policies in matters of government, and an attitude of good-will and co-operation in international affairs.

What perhaps is even more significant than the election itself, is the part which the United States, under President Roosevelt, has taken in world leadership - moral and economic alike, since the installation of the new president. I do not believe it is going too far to say that when the nations of the British Commonwealth assembled at

Ottawa, that instead of doing what lay in their power to lower tariff barriers, and to clear the channels of trade of artificial restrictions, as almost everyone hoped and wished they would do, they adopted, with respect to trade policies, measures more strongly nationalistic and imperialistic than ever, and policies in world affairs more isolationist than ever; they permitted world leadership in these matters to pass from the British Empire as a whole to the great republic to the south - a leadership that was quickly and whole-heartedly accepted by Mr. Roosevelt the moment he came into office, and invited the nations of the world into conference with the United States, and introduced a series of Liberal measures and made declarations of Liberal policy which have already given to his name an immortality enjoyed by a very few of those who have preceded him in the great office of the president of the United States.

The leadership in Liberal measures, the leadership away from economic nationalism towards world co-operation, should have been given at the Imperial Conference of 1930 - having been rendered impossible by reasons only too obvious at the Conference of 1930, it should have been given at Ottawa at the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932. It not only should, but it is an open secret that it would have been given at Ottawa but for the attitude of Canada's Prime Minister in

his determination to have his own way, or none at all, and the unwillingness of British delegates and others to permit the creation of a scene, which, in the eyes of the world, might have injured the prestige of the British Empire.

Let us hope and pray that the opportunity to regain that world leadership in Liberal thought, and action, and example, will be seized by British statesmen at the World Conference, which opens its proceedings in London on Monday next, and that the ~~views~~ voices they have shouted so loudly and blatantly for economic nationalism during the last few years will be silenced forever. If something of the kind does not happen, then we may well despair of the future of the world itself. From all sides it must be recognized that we have come to the point in world affairs where the choice lies between co-operation and chaos.

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Opening Speech

Liberal Summer Conference

Sept. 4, 1933.

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NEW INTEREST IN DOMINION'S POLITICS SEEN

Mackenzie King Opens Liberal Summer Conference

MASSEY PRESIDES

Meetings to Be Non-Political —All Parties Are Represented

(By Gazette Staff Correspondent.)

Port Hope, September 4.—A great movement in our national life is the manner in which Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King baptized the Liberal summer conference which opened at Trinity College School on the outskirts of this pretty town and the sessions of which will continue all week with Mr. King scheduled to remain for all sessions. The conference opens due to the initiative of Hon. Vincent Massey who is presiding.

Mr. King stressed that while it is a Liberal summer conference it is by no means an official Liberal gathering. In no way did the party wish to shackle the work or trend of the conference and the Liberal party also wished to keep quite independent of any developments at the conference so that it may entirely control its own policies. At the same time, said Mr. King, the Liberal party feels grateful to the conference and expects much benefit from the proceedings and he was confident Liberal thought would be much influenced by the conference. There was never a time there was so much difficulty for Liberal leaders of the world as today, said Mr. King. On one hand we heard that the world was to be saved through democracy and on the other hand each waited for the invitation to commence from some one else.

The Liberal leader said the role of the expert in government was becoming more important each day and it was a problem of keeping touch between the expert opinion and the mass of the electorate. Gatherings such as the present would do much in this connection. He felt it was a happy augury that the conference opened on Labor Day for most of the problems concerned the people who work. How work is to be found for those ready and willing to work is a Canadian problem as well as a world issue and with it was the matter of seeing to it that those who did have work should find therein means for the fullest expression of this development.

Hon. Mr. Massey expressed gratification at the attendance, remarking the response from all parts of the Dominion was ample return for the eight or nine months efforts made in preparation for the gathering.

"This is the first time this kind of a conference has been held in Canada and also in North America," said Mr. Massey. "It is entirely an innovation. It is a meeting on a national scale of men and women of political, academic and business life. There are representatives of seven different universities, the leader of a national party and altogether about 200 men and women of various walks of life."

"There is an international aspect here for we welcome Sir Herbert Samuel, Professor T. E. Gregory, of London; W. Averell Harriman, of New York; Professor Raymond Moley, of the United States, and Dr. Hushih, one of the intellectual lights of China."

SESSION NON-POLITICAL.

Hon. Mr. Massey also mentioned the non-party complexion of the gathering for there were members of the Conservative party and the Commonwealth Federation present. It was a meeting of Liberal-minded men and women. No resolutions would be passed and only individual opinions would be expressed, and he expected such views would be interesting since as fine an intellectual group was gathered together as could be brought together in Canada, all desirous of doing a labor of love.

"We are living in a dramatically changed world which makes politics every one's business," said Mr. Massey. We have to consider this week a world which is different to the one before the war and even in the years immediately following the war. New problems present themselves which must be met by new and different methods.

"The confused winds and tides of these years and the unexpected rocks which have emerged in the path of the ship of state in most lands make it important that we revise our charts and make new charts."

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Mr. Massey made it clear that his idea of the conference is that it shall deal with practical public affairs, always having in mind the objectives desired and that too much attention should not be given to the machinery itself. The ultimate objective of all good government in any civilized state must be the happiness of the individual for if civilization means anything to men and women it must be that they receive assurance of government under which they live in protection against material ills from which the state can protect them, and must enjoy a high standard of life.

Hon. Mr. Massey said, in part:

"The complication of these problems presents new difficulties to the student and the political. We can't hope to solve them, in my opinion, unless we unite the accumulated experience of practical men of affairs on the one hand with the detached, dispassionate thinking of expert minds on the other. We must bring together in happy combination both thinking and doing, and when we turn to the functions of actual government it is not unreasonable, I fancy you will agree, that the thinking should take place before the doing. The world of action and the world of thought can mean much for each other. A man in a practical job immersed in his task and absorbed in the technique of it naturally finds it difficult to gain a perspective to see things steadily and see them whole. The academic thinker, on the other hand, if he is remote from practical affairs and the corrective which practical experience gives, is apt to see life in terms of a printed page to pay homage to ideas without testing their practicability. He may be unreasonably impatient of political action.

"If government today is asking for the help of the economist and his colleagues and needs it the expert in his ardor requires no less the mellowing influence of the experienced mind. The man of action and the thinker require each other's help.

"For long, of course, we have been accustomed to look to the man of business as our guide. It was natural, for instance, that the successful business man should represent an idea in a new and expanding country. But a change of view is discernible; business has shifted a bit uneasily on its pedestal. The public is turning more and more to the man of theory. We have acquired a new interest in ideas. Economists are positively embarrassed by the disciples who crowd to their feet. The seeds they sow are bearing fruit. Now if you now see two men talking on a street corner the chances are that they are discussing inflation or the monetization of silver. Let us welcome the new respect for thought the new interest in discussion and controversy, especially in all the great subjects that can be grouped under the head of politics. This gathering is one impressive evidence of the new spirit.

"But if we are readjusting our relations to the leadership of precept and practice it would be well if we corrected, too, our view of the man of politics in his relation to the world of thought and the world of action. It is a great pity that the words 'politics,' 'politician' and 'political' have been allowed to assume a connotation they were not meant to have neither the practical man of business nor the academic expert can solve the problems of government alone. We need the politician. I use the term advisedly. We are inclined to neglect the importance of the art of politics, the technique of political action. The politician's function is just as essential to the state as the principles of government themselves.

UNTHINKING CRITICISM

"The most eminent statesman who possesses ideas but does not know how to apply them is as ineffective as a politician with no ideas to apply. If we criticize the politician it is salutary to ask ourselves how much we do to assist him in his task. No one suffers more from unthinking criticism than men in political life. It is encouraging to see the new readiness of the expert to offer his aid. His co-operation is needed by the politician, for those who are concerned with political action must keep in touch with the ideas which after all politics exists to express. But on the other hand, the politician is indispensable to the student for it is he who must translate new conceptions into action. Book-learning undiluted by experience and the wisdom which comes from it is apt to go to the head. Therefore we must have co-operation between the two and this will be simple if the objective of both is kept in mind rather than the roads by which it is approached. The simple common goal is after all good government.

"As we sit down and discuss all these questions we will probably come to feel that Canada in the past has been a very loosely governed country. Our criticism will be measured in its severity by our view of how far government should go. In the simple days we had no need to go far. We are now in a different age. Surely a good many of the ills of this country cannot be dismissed as acts of God but come pretty close to being our own fault and if we can adjust our ideas

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of government to operation in the new spheres which it must cover we may find to our surprise how many of these evils can be made to disappear. The era of improvisation in government is certainly past.

"What I have said suggests the extension of the task of government and it may be honestly objected that individual freedom may suffer from the new functions which government is asked to assume. I think, however, that one of the things on which we may come to some agreement at this conference is this: while freedom at one time meant freedom from movement it now means freedom by means of government. It cannot mean individualism, however rugged it may be. Left to itself it must be individuality aided by the state.

"We may debate the question to plan or not to plan. But I think that our wisest course of action is to forget words and think of things. If we honestly come to grips with the problems and difficulties of our own country and attempt to solve them step by step in terms of Canadian needs we shall find that the right kind of plan will emerge The Russian plan won't do; the Italian plan won't do; even the American plan in its entirety won't suit our purpose, although we can borrow much from it. We must be willing, of course, to profit from all experience and learn all we can. We must find as time goes on, we Canadians, a Canadian plan, call it what you will. We have only to think of solutions in terms of our own needs and our peculiar orientation in the world at large.

"We cannot overlook our relation to this world in which we must subsist. We will find ourselves thinking in terms of a very new and very difficult situation, one in which sixty odd national units are each planning their own salvation with very little regard at the moment for the needs of others; a nationalistic world. Internationalism, at least as we saw it conceived, was abandoned, almost ceremonially abandoned, in London last July and we now face the post-conference world in a mood in which efforts in international co-operation have been for the moment replaced by local plans for local recovery. We must consider our own problems in the light of this event and the era which it has apparently inaugurated.

"It is important to gain some comprehension of what has happened. It is customary, of course, to deplore the dramatic failure of the World Economic Conference. It was a failure: there is no doubt of that. But there may be some by-products of this event not without their value. The conference proved the impossibility of arriving at international agreements on most of the major subjects which needed it, but on the other hand it seems to me it conferred a benefit on the world by destroying the unreal, sentimental kind of internationalism which had only created an illusion. It exploded the myth that some international miracle can solve our difficulties; it has shown that national units are not yet prepared to bring about a happier and more efficient world by any process of competitive chivalry. It has removed the alibi of statesmen who, humanly enough, have looked to distant events to solve their own problems.

"About all the lesson of the conference and its aftermath is that each nation must now set its own house in order.

"It would have been a happier event if it could have heralded a new era of genuine international co-operation. But there is a good deal to be said for the view that the new nationalism which has now gained momentum as a result of the failure of the London meeting is not without some virtue. The old nationalism from which we have suffered since the war has been a panic-stricken, fevered thing throughout, improvised and generally provocative. If we interpret it sympathetically the new nationalism represents at least a coherent policy, a comprehensible idea. It will probably possess stability because its measures will be planned ahead. The reign of self-sufficiency that may ensue may be unfortunate. But it is better than that nations should preach international goodwill in a series of conferences and practice primitive, almost vindictive, nationalism at the same time. We have at least seen the destruction of some hypocrisy.

"This new nationalism is not, I would suggest, simply self-determination gone mad. Its motive in most cases is primarily a desire to clean house. And it may well be that this policy not only means the tidying up the affairs of the national units, but is a prelude to their better integration in a world system. Real internationalism must, of course, ultimately prevail. The world is a unit and must behave as one. But perhaps the new nationalism will form a reasonable basis for a more realistic internationalism or, as Mr. Moley has called it, in a new and useful word, 'intra-nationalism.' It may be a case of the longest way round being the shortest way home. Real internationalism is best based on national pillars. I don't believe that the honest acceptance of the need of meeting the interests of national units need be in conflict with decent co-operation between them."

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Closing Speech

Liberal Summer Conference

Sept. 9th, 1933

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LIBERAL SUMMER CONFERENCE

September 9, 1933

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Following the address by Professor T. E. Gregory, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was introduced by the Hon. Vincent Massey.

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Massey, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. Massey was kind enough in his introductory remarks to refer to my presence during the past week as having given pleasure and satisfaction to himself, and, he believed also, to others. If that is true, I wonder just how I can begin to express to you what to me, personally the opportunity of being associated with the work of this Conference has meant. I have been here, if I may be permitted to say so, in two capacities: as a political student and also as one entrusted with the responsibility of political leadership. I hardly know in which capacity I have gained the most. Certainly, as one interested in the study of politics and the science of politics, as one who has great responsibility, as all leaders of political parties have in these times, I speak from my heart when I thank those who ~~had to do with the originating~~ had to do with and the organization of this Conference for what the opportunity of this week has meant.

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I feel that what more than anything else, ~~this evening~~ this morning you would wish me to do, is to renew at the close of this ~~somerbons~~ earnestful week, the expression of thanks that at the outset I sought to convey to those responsible for the founding of this great institution. I ventured, a week ago, to express the opinion that a movement was being started which would have a far-reaching effect in the political life of our country. Tonight, I feel that a movement has been started in Canada which will have a far-reaching effect, not in the life of Canada only, but in the life of other countries as well.

I cannot begin to say to Mr. Massey, who was the originator of the idea, and who, with his enthusiasm and great organizing capacity, was responsible for associating with himself a large number also earnestly concerned over the political affairs of the times, ~~and having them join with him~~ in bringing this great institution into being, what we all owe to him, and always will owe to him for what he has achieved. (Applause).

I should not like to confine the thanks I am seeking to convey ~~simply~~ as being simply from those who have assembled here during the week. ~~I think that~~ Mr. Massey has earned again, in the founding of this institution - I intend to continue to call it such - the thanks, ~~again~~, as he has on previous occasions, of our country as a whole. And I hasten, as I did before, immediately to

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associate with the name of Mr. Massey, the name of Mrs. Massey, as well. (Hearty Applause).

One of the pleasant features of our politics - we have been hearing a good deal about some of the unpleasant side of things in the world as it is today - one of the really pleasant features of political life is that it brings together in a more extended way than is possible in other spheres, men and women in united effort and common service. The example which Mr. and Mrs. Massey have set has shown the many-sidedness of public service, and is one which will mean a great deal, in the enrichment not only of our individual lives, but of our national life, as well.

And, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I now say a word which I know Mr. and Mrs. Massey will wish, above all else, should be said. It is a word of very deep appreciation and thanks to those who have been associated with them in the work of the Conference, particularly those, who, at the very beginning, had to do with planning the preliminary studies which have formed the bases of discussion here, who have prepared the various papers and theses, and who have directed the round table discussions, and also to those who have contributed the addresses given from this platform. (Applause).

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If I may be permitted to do so, may I say that ~~I think~~ a word of very special thanks ought to be expressed not only on behalf of those who belong to the Conference and who have participated in its proceedings, but also on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada. When I speak of the services ~~it~~ this conference has rendered, I wish to speak particularly of the service which ~~this Conference~~ it has rendered to the party of which I have the honor to be the Leader.

And, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not forget at this moment, that in carrying on a work of the kind, there is opportunity for an endless variety of service - not only opportunity, but need, ~~for an endless variety of service~~; and I am sure that all of us have been more than pleased with the efficiency of the work of organization of the Conference from beginning to close. ~~That~~ This means that we owe a very special debt of thanks to the staff. They have given of their services and their time, voluntarily, in this great cause. (Applause) I cannot begin to mention them by name, but they are all known to those of us who have been here this week. In the efficient staff, may I be permitted to include the very important branch, the Flying Squadron, or the Guides, Mr. Lionel Massey, Mr. Hart Massey and the young men associated with them. We have had, through their good offices, an added element, not only of

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efficiency, but of delight to all of us. Their services have meant a very great deal, indeed.

Sir Herbert Samuel and Professor Gregory, I wish I could say to you how much it has meant to the Liberal Party of Canada, and, indeed, to the people of Canada, to have had you with us this week, to give, not only to this Conference, but to the men and women who are anxiously thinking out the great problems of our day, the very helpful counsel and co-operation which you have so generously and so eloquently given. (Applause). We feel very much honored that the great leader of the Liberal Party in the United Kingdom should have found it possible to spare the days which he has spared for the Liberal Summer Conference here in Port Hope. (Applause).

Sir Herbert Samuel has played such an illustrious part in the public life, not only of Great Britain and the British Empire, but of the world, that it would be out of place in his presence to say anything about it. All I shall attempt, therefore, is to thank him for his cordial remarks of last evening - including, if I may be permitted, remarks personal to myself - and for the very generous greetings which he brought from the Liberal Party, and in particular his colleagues in Great Britain, and to reciprocate toward him and them, in the fullest measure possible, our warmest greetings and the kindliest of feelings. (Applause) We have had the great privilege of not only hearing

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Sir Herbert and his splendid eloquence, but of coming to know him as well. We shall follow with even deeper interest than in the past, his work in the promotion of the ~~great~~ cause of Liberalism in the world. Our good wishes will be with you, Sir Herbert, and I know that those of us who have followed your career thus far believe that the best is still to come.

After what you have listened to, Ladies and Gentlemen, from Professor Gregory, I am afraid my remarks are going to seem very commonplace and ordinary, indeed. I doubt if any of us have witnessed a finer intellectual achievement than we have had this evening, to say nothing of what has been disclosed in the way of knowledge of events, of political philosophy and of prophecy, and of wide experience and range of thought. It is very difficult to say what the presence and influence of Professor Gregory who has come to us from a great University with his mind keenly alive to the problems of the day, has meant. I am certain he has caused all of us to resolve that in our political discussions, we will hereafter take greater care to see that our thoughts are clear, and that we view, as far as we are able to do so, the problems that are before us in a larger way and, above all, that we will have as our great objective the desire to arrive, above all else, at truth, and the bearing of the truth upon the great problems of today.

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I do not intend to speak of the others who have participated here - the gentlemen from the United States, our distinguished friend from China, and those who have come from our own universities. No doubt, Mr. Massey, himself, will wish to do that. I do feel, however, that it has been the greatest possible privilege for us all to have had the opportunity, in ~~this~~ a short space of time, and in this quite exceptional environment, of hearing from so many of those especially qualified to speak on the ~~great~~ questions of the day in this, as well as other lands.

I haven't, Mr. Chairman, prepared any special address. As a matter of fact, when I came to the Conference, I came as a student, and on Mr. Massey's invitation to say at the outset only a few words of introduction. I was surprised when I found my name on the program for an address at the close, and I have not in any way prepared anything special for this evening. But I have during the course of the week, as a student and a political leader, been observing, and I have been listening to and, to a slight extent, participating in the proceedings, and I have thought that, perhaps, this evening you might be interested in having from me just a few observations and reflections which have arisen out of the opportunity thus afforded. I don't know that I could render a greater service, if I can render any at all to this gathering, than to say to you, quite frankly, what has appealed

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to me most in the discussions, in order that those who have to do with the shaping of political thought may appreciate, perhaps, in a more intimate way than might otherwise be possible, its relation to political action.

The first impression that I would like to speak of, and which must be in the minds of all present, and which immediately grows out of the subjects that have been discussed and the nature of the discussions, is the magnitude of the problems with which the peoples of the world are confronted today. Never before in the history of mankind has the world known a period of such rapid transition, and of such great unrest as it is experiencing in these very years. It would be singular, indeed, if, with the knowledge of that circumstance impressed upon us as it has been in the course of the addresses delivered here, we all did not, from now on, take our political duties and our political responsibilities more seriously than we have in the past. That is the thought that comes to me, first of all.

The days when political discussion was an easy matter, when almost any man or woman who wished to do so could ~~get up~~ and say something about almost any question of the day and receive a certain amount of applause, especially if the remarks were made in a sufficiently entertaining way - that day is gone by forever.

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We are, today, no longer dealing with questions which are confined within even national boundaries. The questions which we are concerned about today are world questions. I have thought, too, very often during the discussions when mention was been made so frequently, and sometimes scornfully, of world economics, that, ~~after all,~~ the economic side ~~is, perhaps,~~ may be only a small part. I am afraid at this time there is a tendency today to imagine that the economic side constitutes pretty much the whole matter. I am inclined to believe that there are great moral issues, as well as great economic issues of which account has to be taken. I am inclined also to feel that what we are dealing with more today than perhaps more than anything else is that very vital and baffling thing we describe as human nature. Anyone who understands all about human nature ought to come along and tell the rest of the world what he knows. We are dealing with some very subtle forces which it is difficult, indeed, for anyone wholly to fathom.

There was a time, not so very long ago, in our country, when most of the questions that public men were concerned about were related to government in one form or the other, matters pertaining to constitutional rights and political liberties, questions of law and the maintenance of order, and, later on, other questions that had to do with the settlement and development of the country, questions of trade, immigration, transportation, public

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works and the like. Today, in their old form, these are but a fraction of the questions that are uppermost. That is why it seems to me, we need more than we have ever needed before, the kind of service we have had here this week. We have need of a new perspective.

Professor Gregory, in the earlier part of the week, referred to the significance to be attached to the word "expert". He gave reasons for not particularly caring for the word itself. I must say that I was very happy to hear him refer to the subject, if only for the reason that I feel we have to get away from the continuous use of special labels and designations, and remember, that after all, those thus designated and who come to speak to us, are just ordinary men, entitled, however, to speak because of some special knowledge they may possess. What the governments of today are or should be concerned with not so much to get the so-called expert to work, leaving everything to him, but to get the person with special knowledge to bring his contribution from the particular field with which he is especially acquainted the wide realm of considerations of which public men have to take account. I believe that the need of the specialist is greater than it has been at any previous time. The problems are world problems, they are human problems and as such it is

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necessary that we have to aid us in their solution the special knowledge not only of the economist, but of the psychologist and of many others. But just because we need special knowledge, there is equal reason why we should seek to guard ourselves against ~~feeling that any part of it is~~ coming to view special knowledge as in any sense synonymous with the whole. Special knowledge is just exactly what it purports to be, it can be immensely helpful if kept in its true ~~perspective~~ relationship to the whole. What I feel is that today we must continually be reminding ourselves that while our age is specializing on economics, there have been other ages that have also specialized, as we were reminded by Sir Herbert Samuel last night, on philosophy, on political freedom, and on other phases of knowledge, and that all of these fields of special knowledge must play some part in helping to solve any of the very complicated problems we have today.

That is my first thought: the magnitude and many-sided nature of our problems. If it is correct, we will go away from this Conference, perhaps, not quite as cocksure as some of us were when we came, but with an attitude of greater humility. I feel that the man who faces the problems of this century in other than a very humble and reverent spirit, has not discovered as much as the approach to his subject.

There is another thought which came to my mind frequently. It came to my mind with renewed emphasis tonight, as Professor Gregory

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was speaking. It is not merely the magnitude but the seriousness of the questions which we are called upon to consider. A few years ago, we were in the midst of the greatest war that the world has known. Many of us hoped and prayed that it was the last of wars for a long time, but you have heard from the lips of a student of world affairs this very evening, his conviction that the possibility of war in the immediate future is something that should be considered by all who are here, and by the public at large.

Some years ago, when the Republic of France was honoring that great scientist, Pasteur, by associating his life and work with the Institute that bears his name, Pasteur himself was called upon to address the assembled gathering. Humble-minded as the great scientist was, he was overcome with emotion at the tribute being paid him. When called upon to speak he handed his manuscript to his son to read. In the manuscript appeared the following words:

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays: the one, a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefields - the other, a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God, alone, knows."

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Those were the words of Pasteur, the words of one who with the aid of the microscope had studied the struggle of contending forces that goes on within the human organism, and who brought forth the famous germ theory of disease. Lifting his eyes from the microscope, bringing the trained intelligence of the scientist to bear upon the affairs of the world, Pasteur observed a vaster struggle among mankind, yet a struggle, in its nature largely akin. His words were prophecy at the time. We have all seen how rapidly the prophecy was fulfilled. I wonder if, from what we have heard tonight, we have reason to believe that we have reached the end of that prophecy! If we haven't, there is certainly placed a very heavy obligation and responsibility upon the men and women who are attempting to deal with present day questions. Think of the ~~vast and terrible~~ alternatives! In its ~~as I see it,~~ essence, the struggle of today is whether these forces which are making for blood and for death ~~on the one side~~ are going to have their way, in international war or in civil war, or whether the objectives which all of us here are working for, the forces striving to bring about peace and health and work are going to be made to prevail. Is there conceivable a greater task which mankind can set itself, than to take a right stand on ~~the right side, and deal with this mighty problem aright?~~ momentum an inch!

You ask what Liberalism is? I believe that Liberalism is the leaven which will make prevail, or the means of making prevail the law

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of peace, work and health over the law of blood and of death, no matter where this conflict of laws may be found. This is the very work that we, as Liberals, are engaged upon today. Whether we are discussing the questions of trade, ~~whether we are discussing~~ monetary problems, ~~whether we are discussing~~ or the relations of our country to other countries, no matter what phase of almost any question we take up today, we touch at some point that great issue - whether as a result of our action, the law of peace and work and health is going to be made to prevail in our own land, and among the nations of the world, or whether we are going to have ~~operating~~ instead the law of blood and of death bringing in its train war, and confusion, and destruction. That ~~encouraging~~ the alternative certainly ought to make our task worthwhile, and give to us, as Liberals, a reason to be prouder than ever of ~~the greatness of~~ the cause in which we have enlisted and which I trust we are prepared to serve with greater zeal and ~~energy~~ than ever before.

~~Having~~ Regarding the seriousness of the situation, the next thought that comes to one's mind, ~~and one arising~~ out of discussions here, is how Liberalism can best perform its part, ~~in seeking to work out that great world task.~~ How is Liberalism to play the part expected of it in these times? I may be wrong in this but, as I have listened to the discussions, I have seemed to gather that there were some who felt that Liberalism would best perform

the service expected of it by starting out anew, as it were, and separating itself wholly from the past. I have listened to others who have stressed rather the wealth of knowledge that has come from the past, and all that it may contribute to the present. Perhaps the contrast might be best expressed in the use that has been made at different times of the two words, experiment and 'experience', and the relative emphasis which has been placed upon each. If those two words have necessarily to be placed in opposition to each other, it is going to be a most unfortunate thing, indeed. ~~Methods seem that~~ Liberalism, in its method of proceeding, has always been anxious not so much to emphasize differences, as, where it is possible, to reconcile them. I see no necessity, myself, why there should be a line, a sharp line of division drawn between experiment and experience; why we should jump into experiment, simply because it is experiment, and repudiate, so to speak, the past, any more than that we should continue to dwell in the past and be unprepared to take a forward step, simply because in direction it is farther than we have gone at any previous time.

Liberalism, ~~It seems to me,~~ is the continuous releasing or unlocking of a great onward force. It resembles a stream that ~~finds~~ has its beginnings somewhere in the undisclosed vastness of mountain recesses, finds and winds its way through rocky crevices, sweeps

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out beyond the forests and across the prairies, flows on and on and on through an ever changing scene, but ever onwards toward the sea. It is always running through changing territory, but it brings with it from the rivulets which feed it on its way something of added strength that makes it capable of bearing larger burdens.

That to me is a true picture of the method and work of Liberalism - an energizing force, a vital force, a force that is forever serving mankind, and it is a force that is ever seeking and finding a wider outlet. It may begin in a remote place, it may be narrow at its source, but like our great rivers, it keeps on widening and widening, taking in, and adding to itself as it travels along, more and more of the strength and vitality that comes from the experience of the years. The experience of past years is continually making its contribution, and the farther we are able to ~~follow~~ trace the stream back to its source the wider the experience will be which greets us in the present.

That stream may change in appearance as it passes through different countries and by different shores. The appearance of the stream will not be on the plain what it is in the mountains; there will be times when the passage may be smooth; and, times, when rapids and cataracts will appear. But the stream, though ever changing outwardly, will remain the same

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as it continues to flow on and on, an ever widening and stronger force, capable of bearing heavier burdens as it draws nearer to the sea.

If that is a true picture of Liberalism - I believe it is - we can well afford at this time to put an even greater emphasis on what the past has to tell us, than ~~perhaps~~ many of us are, perhaps inclined to do. Experience surely has some great contribution to make. I would reconcile with experience what seems to be meant by experiment as it is conceived in the minds of many as they discuss political problems today, especially in the minds of those who want to make a rapid onward march, by saying that there is no necessity why these two things should be opposed, ~~that~~ but rather that in devising new means and methods to meet new conditions, as we are bound to do in we should bring all we can of the knowledge of the past, and make it serve the present in a larger way than it has ever done before.

That, Ladies and Gentlemen, leads me to say that, ~~to my mind,~~ Liberalism must always be moving on; it must always be going forward; it ceases to be Liberalism the moment it becomes stationary or backward in relation to the problems which await its solution. (Applause).

When I hear men and women talk about Liberalism not going far enough, I feel that they do not know what the word means. They

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must have something other than Liberalism in their mind. Liberalism is an onward moving force. That is the nature of it. If it is not moving as fast as some would like to have it move, the thing that those who wish to have it move a little faster should do, is to get in and help. I really fail to understand the mentality of the man or woman who says that the reason he is leaving the Liberal party to join some other party or to create some new party is because Liberalism isn't moving fast enough. The party doesn't belong to any one, except those capable of making it as a force as onward moving as it can possibly be made. If there are men and women who wish to see Libberalism proceed at a more rapid rate, then let them come into the party and work for the party. Why should their effort be to throw by the way all that as a force has come down to us from the past?

That brings with it the further thought - the reference made, time and again, to the old political party, as though there were something about a political party merely because it is old that makes of it something with which we should not wish to have association. What is the old Liberal political party? I might as well ask, what is Liberalism? We heard Sir Herbert Samuel tell something about the beginnings of Liberalism in British history and its relation to the history of British freedom; how Liberalism in turn

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fought the battles of civil liberty, of political liberty, of religious liberty, of social liberty. Of how Liberalism is not only seeking today to maintain all that has been won in these fields, but ~~it~~ is fighting, as never before, the battle of economic liberty, all a part of the greater freedom of the life of the individual. And we have heard tonight, from Professor Gregory, something of what Liberalism has done in bringing nations out of servitude into the freedom that some of them enjoyed a few years ago, and which some continue to enjoy today.

What has happened that makes a man or woman who calls himself or herself a Liberal, wish to be disassociated from a great stream of influence and power of that kind, coming down from the past and bringing with it as it does much that alone can serve the present in the way of vast experience, and knowledge to be gained only through experience. Political knowledge, ~~I say~~ is gained in wider measure through experience than in any other way. I doubt if it can be gained except by experience. So I repeat, what is there to create such a desire? That is the question I would like to have answered.

Last night, one of our friends, ~~in order, I think,~~ to emphasize the importance of not being held by anything of the past, in order that we should get along a little faster in the present, mentioned that he, himself, had once had great pride in the fact

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that his ancestors were "George Brown Liberals", that his whole family were "George Brown Liberals", and that he himself was a "George Brown Liberal", but ~~he~~, he added, he had now left that all by the way, because he was now looking for something beyond the Liberalism of today. What is it, may I ask, that so-called 'George Brown Liberals' stood for which should make us wish to forsake it? If I am not mistaken, the motto that The Globe still carries, from day to day (Laughter) is: "The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures". That, as ~~he~~ George Brown saw it, was the essence of Liberalism in ~~George Brown's~~ his day. It was what George Brown stood for.

May I ask, ~~this question at~~ at a moment when the world is ~~beginning to~~ resorting to arbitrary measures; when men in public life are not only advising but increasingly ~~taking~~ adopting arbitrary measures ~~in dealing with~~ so subversive of the liberties of the people, are we, who call ourselves Liberals, to cease to have pride in the fact that we, or our ancestors, were "George Brown Liberals"? I must say that I feel this tendency towards arbitrary action on the part of the State is a reason why we ought to proclaim today, as perhaps we never did before, our relation, as Liberals to, George Brown, and what The Globe stood for in his day. ~~We~~ ought, as Liberals, to fight arbitrary action no matter where or when it occurs, and not ~~in~~ give to it any support. (Applause).

What about responsible government? You have heard from Professor Gregory tonight how not alone responsible government, but government in any true sense of the word, is disappearing, and has completely disappeared off part of the map of Europe. Every man or woman who has followed politics in this land knows very well that we in Canada today are getting a long way from responsible government, as it was understood a few years ago, in the management and control of many of our own affairs. Why should we wish to separate ourselves, to disassociate ourselves from the struggles of those men and women who were prepared to sacrifice, and some of whom did sacrifice their lives in order to gain for us that corner stone of constitutional freedom. I don't understand it. I wish some one would tell me. In the working out of a larger economic freedom, some of our friends are anxious that it be brought about very quickly. Very well, I am with them in that desire. But are you going to get anywhere, may I ask, with economic freedom, if you lose responsible government; if you get arbitrary, despotic government in exchange for what we have today in the way of recognized methods of procedure under that great safeguard of all our liberties which we call British Parliamentary Institutions?

One of the greatest tasks of Liberalism today, let me say, is not only to get a step farther on in the economic freedom which we wish to have our fellowmen enjoy, but to see that in

political, as well as economic freedom, we don't get many steps back from where we are at the present time. The task of Liberalism is not only to advance on the path of freedom but to head and to carry with it all of liberty it has gained in the past. That is our real task today.

One of the reasons it is often so difficult ~~often~~ to get ahead with new measures is that so large a part of the time of men in public life is taken up with trying to save from destruction the things which we know have made for the freedom we already enjoy. ~~at the present time.~~ That is what I have mostly in mind in regard to the talk about separation from its ~~the~~ past of a political party, whether it be its history or its achievements. I say that we need both. And I wonder if a political party which is, after all, a great fighting instrument, an instrument for the purpose of making ideas prevail, and which requires as many legitimate agencies as it can muster to achieve its end, is going to be any less well off by forgetting the past, than a great regiment would be were it to seek to separate itself from the achievements its name suggests? Who would think of telling a soldier ~~who~~ belonging to any of the great regiments, which bearing historic names, that he would be better to get out of his regiment and into something with a new name, just because ~~it~~ his regiment was related in ~~some~~ more ways than one to the past?

The very things that make the history of a political party lend an added influence, and an added power, to those who seek association, through a political party, with efforts of a like kind. By membership in an old political party, we secure not only the benefit of association, which extends from one end of the country to the other, but we derive also, the great benefit which comes from association with all the powerful influences which come down to us from the past, and with great spirits of the past who are still with us, whether we know it or not. (Applause)

Another subject has been frequently referred to in the discussions. It is what is termed 'planning'. Planning has been spoken of as though it were something entirely new; something to be aimed at, to the exclusion of anything else. Planning! Here again, all depends on what is meant by the word. If you mean an intelligent direction of national affairs, a definite national purpose, a conscious understanding of the objective aimed at, it might well be said a man would be foolish even to discuss a political question without some such end in view. If by planning is meant something beyond that, some new concrete arrangement of society to be substituted for what we have today, I would have to ask who are the one, or two, or three persons who alone are capable of conceiving the one idea, and who possess such superior powers, for the governing of men, that they should be permitted to dictate what is to be done as respects the great body of the people as a whole?

That is the objection I see to so-called "planning" as put forward by some individuals, and furthered by much present day propaganda. It is, to a large extent, equivalent to telling ~~the great body of~~ people that they haven't intelligences of their own, and that they needs must have something cut and dried and placed before them, which must be carried out, regardless of all else.

Please remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, ~~in saying this,~~ I have already stressed carefully what I mean by "planning", when I speak in that way. If it is the final thing to be done, the one thing to be done to the exclusion of all other things, I say that no plan can be devised which is sufficiently comprehensive to meet all the situations that have to be met by a political party, or by the State, and this for the very reason that events must determine, more than anything else, what a political party must give its attention to. No one except to a limited extent can accurately foretell events. We may be meeting ~~today~~ one situation today and as we meet it, there may sail into the orbit of our political skies, ~~something~~ from an outside source, something never even contemplated before, and then we are obliged immediately to meet an entirely new situation.

That is why too much in the way of definiteness in any comprehensive outline of what is to be done, is almost impossible of accomplishment. Definiteness may become a restricting thing, instead of being something which really enables us to meet a situation in a comprehensive way.

Another term frequently used, concerning the exact meaning of which we cannot be too clear, is "Laissez-faire". As a Liberal, I want to protest against ~~this~~ the oft repeated assertion that "we are through with the Liberalism that simply means 'laissez-faire'". ~~^~~ In liberal policy "Laissez-faire" has its place ~~in Liberalism~~ as well as State interference, in the nature of control and regulation. "Laissez-faire" is not necessarily a negative thing; it may be, and where most applied, has been distinctly the opposite. It may mean, and usually does mean, getting rid of restrictions in order to permit ~~of~~ more in the way of freedom. To get rid of ~~some~~ restrictions which are strangling the trade of the country is a policy which might well be applied today, as in the past. But "Laissez-faire", even as regards the past, is only one phase of Liberal policy. Control and regulation have been quite as important; and quite as generally applied.

We heard, last night, from Sir Herbert Samuel, the record of Liberalism in Britain, in the matter of its contribution to the factory laws, the mining laws, to education, and to a multitude of other things that have paved the way for, ~~increased~~ more in the nature of social service and the betterment of human ~~well~~-being and welfare. Social insurance in its many phases is all a part of the record of Liberalism. There is nothing in the nature of "Laissez-faire" about that aspect of British or Canadian Liberalism.

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We have heard, tonight, of the still wider advances in other directions which aim at making the individual secure, and nations secure.

Let me come to our own country. Will anyone who knows the history of Liberalism in Canada say that the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat in Ontario, and of Liberal premiers in other provinces across the continent, which have been responsible for the greater part of the social legislation which finds its place on our statute books today - the factory laws, workmen's compensation laws, and the like, mothers' allowances and widows' pensions, old age pensions - that those were governments whose actions were actuated by and based upon a "Laissez-faire" motive?

Come to the Federal field. I am not going to attempt to quote at any length, but let me speak of a very limited sphere - a field, which I, personally, have had a good deal to do with in an immediate way. I refer to the Federal Government's relation to Labor; and here please remember that most of Labor's problems have to be worked out in provincial arenas, and that the federal jurisdiction as regards dealing with social problems is distinctly restricted. Take the Federal Government's action in the matter of Labor. Was "Laissez-faire" the motive when a Liberal Government established a Department of Labor in

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Canada, and secured for all time the presence of a Minister of Labor at the Council table? Well do I recall the protest made against this step at the time. It was said that we were giving representation in the Cabinet to a class, ~~at the cabinet table.~~ The reply made to that observation was that the Minister of Finance, ~~was~~ the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Minister of Railways and Canals, as well as several others, might be considered as affording representation to the capitalistic class which found its interests thereby pretty well looked after.

When the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier established the Department of Labor, and instituted the Labor Gazette, that government was interfering with the right of capitalists to do as they pleased without intervention on the part of the State. It marked the beginning of continuous investigation into matters of any concern to the working classes in our country. The Labor Department's activities have continuously expanded. Since the depression that department has had sole charge of the distribution of federal relief to the unemployed. ~~in these recent years.~~

Let us take some of the other legislation. Can you call a party that sought to abolish the sweating system on government contract work, and which introduced in this country and in the Old Country, "the fair wages policy" in relation to public works and government employment generally - whether direct or indirect, can you call that party a party of "Laissez-faire"?

Those who are praising some of the things being done in the United States at the moment, say that they aim at securing for the workers fair wages, shorter hours and fair working conditions. Who, may I ask, started the movement for fair wages, shorter hours and proper working conditions in this country, other than a Liberal Government? It was laid down under a Liberal administration and is part of public policy in Canada today, that a contract shall not be awarded for any public work in this country which does not set forth in concrete terms the rates of wages, the hours of labor and the conditions under which the workmen to be employed shall be obliged to work, and the man who is awarded the contract is liable to a penalty if he doesn't carry out its provisions. Is that "Laissez-faire"? Yet that is what a Liberal Government has done, and began doing many years ago. ~~in the lifetime of all of us.~~ For a very considerable time past it has been doing, so far as the federal jurisdiction makes possible, some of the very things that many say should be done today, by way of following the example of the United States.

Take the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. There is another Liberal measure. Will anyone say that that measure is based on a policy of "Laissez-faire"? The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act gives to Labour, in the adjustment of industrial disputes, the right to choose its own representative, endows

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Labour's representatives with all the powers of judges of a high court. It allows the representatives of Labour the right to enter upon the premises of manufacturers or mine owners, or other industrialists, to examine their books, to examine the manufacturer or industrialist himself under oath and to have every phase of the industry gone into fully. Is that a "laissez-faire"policy? That enactment was one of a Liberal Covernment. The Combines Investigation Act, which was discussed at length this morning was another enactment of a Liberal Administration. ~~It~~ that Act was said by some of this very liberal-minded gathering to go too far in the way of what it permitted of interference.

I could mention several other enactments. The Old Age Pensions Act, in particular. The first venture towards social insurance in any form in the federal field. This was a Liberal measure. These are but a few of the enactments which I, personally, have had to do with, and about which I am unable to speak with a certain degree of authority. They constitute ~~are~~ only a small part of what Liberal Governments at Ottawa have done. I might speak of what has been done for Technical Education under federal direction, as well as much else, if time permitted, all evidencing a policy the direct opposite of "Laissez-faire". I hope that those who want to be fair will just cease talking about the Liberal Party as a party that stands for "Laissez-faire." They will

reflect, not upon the Liberal Party but upon their own intelligence if they continue to do so.

Another statement sometimes made regarding the Liberal party, which is equally without foundation, is that it is a party without a program, that it hasn't a policy. The question was asked here the other day: What is your plan? If you ask me, as the Leader of the Liberal Party, "Have we a plan which is in the nature of a panacea or cure-all?", I will say, "We haven't, we never had, and we never will have." I don't believe that such a thing can be found anywhere. No party, no individual, in the course of all time, has ever possessed anything of the kind.

It is a very different thing to say, "Have you a policy or policies which relate to the great problems of today?" Have you a carefully thought out, directed course of action in relation to ~~the~~ existing conditions? If you ask that question, I have no hesitation in telling you that we have something very effective ~~and great~~ one, and I am going to give you, if I am not talking too long (Applause, and cries of No! No!), a reason for so believing, which I think will appeal to you.

I have in my hand the program of this Conference. I believe I am right when I say that those who have prepared the program have sought to include in it, the most important questions of the present day, so far as Canada is concerned. They have sought

to bring together the problems which are creating common concern in the minds of the people of this country, and they have endeavoured to secure those especially gifted, and especially informed, to speak on these problems, or to conduct round table conferences in reference to them.

In looking over the program, here are the subjects I find have been discussed: Unemployment; Trade, Tariffs and Preferences; Canadian Banking and Monetary Policy; The Protection of the Investor; Problems of Transportation; Problems of Agriculture; The Relations between Government and Business; Federal and Provincial Relations; Electoral Reform; The Problem of the Budget and Canadian Foreign Policy. ~~These~~ All, then have been the subject of round table discussions, there have been some addresses in addition, on subjects largely included in the group I have just mentioned.

I believe I am right in saying that list includes the main problems of the present time. We have spent a week on them. The first question I wish to ask is this: Will anyone who has been attending this Conference say that this is not a pretty complete program of the questions that the minds of the people are mostly concerned about? Will you say, for example, that because there is no mention in the program, or because there has been no discussion of 'Provision for War Veterans and Their Dependents' that that is a matter in which the Conference is not interested?

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Unless you are prepared to go that far, I would say that, in fairness, when dealing with Liberal policies and programs, you must treat an enumeration of subjects ~~topics of the kind~~ in exactly the same manner. You must make the same kind of allowance for the non-inclusion of certain topics as you are prepared to concede to the men who have planned this program, and directed the studies ~~of study~~ in this particular environment. Public men, when they seek to place a program before the public, endeavour to give prominence to subjects in which they believe the people are most interested at the time. If something is omitted, that does not mean that they are not interested in that particular matter, or have no policy upon it. It may well be that they are of the opinion that their policy upon a particular subject has already been so thoroughly demonstrated and is so well known that there can no longer be any doubt concerning it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hold in my hand another little statement. It is called "The Liberal Party's Position on Some Immediate Problems". What are the subjects mentioned? They are: Unemployment; Liberation of External Trade; Liberation of Internal Trade; Development of Primary Industries; Control of Credit; Control of Investments; Safeguarding of National Railways; Democratization of Industry; Restoration of Responsible Government; Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty; Electoral Reform; A Balanced Budget; International Relations; and "More Equitable Distribution of Wealth".

Under each heading there is a statement of the position of the Liberal Party on each one of those subjects. I ask you, is there any subject in the program of this Conference which has been discussed this week, that is not included in what I am holding in my hand? Here in my one hand is the program of the Conference, and here in the other, is the statement of policies of the Liberal Party. Compare them for yourselves. There is my answer to those who say that the Liberal Party hasn't any policy or oany program.

Some there are who say that the Liberal policy is concerned only with questions or trade. I have just read to you a statement of what the Liberal Party is at the moment mostly concerned with. Before I say how this particular statement was brought into being, may I say a word as to the significance of the wording applied to the statement: "The Liberal Party's Position On Some Immediate Problems". The wording indicates the method of Liberalism itself. This statement is not a plan that, for all time, is going to save everything, and everybody. It is a statement of how the Liberal Party, if entrusted with power, proposes to deal with the great problems before it; a statement of Liberal policies; a statement, moreover, which the party, as a whole, has agreed to, and is prepared to stand or fall by. If the statement is not sufficiently comprehensive, if there is any policy enunciated that doesn't go far enough, it is open to any

member of the party or group of members, to bring to bear the influence of their opinion and their judgment on other members ~~of the party~~, and have more included, or the policies extended. What we of the Liberal Party are endeavouring to do is to go as far in our statement of policies ~~as far~~ as we can possibly go with unanimity in our ranks ~~and a~~ certainty of success.

Let me say ~~about this statement~~, that I think this statement should appeal especially to those who have participated in this Conference for ~~this, if for no other~~ the reason, that what you find set forth therein is the result of a process of discussion and agreement wholly similar to that which you have been following this week, namely, a careful study, in the first instance, on the part of those who were ~~was~~ charged with special responsibility in connection with the statement of the Liberal Party's position on the problems that they believed to be uppermost in the minds of the people at the present time, followed by discussion on the part of the entire parliamentary party, and agreement as to what was to be authoritatively stated as the policy of the party.

I would like to say this, as a political leader, if I may: I do not recall, in my public experience, anything which has been more useful to me, personally, which has meant more in many ways than this Conference this week, with the exception of two other experiences, not wholly dissimilar. One is the experience

I, have had as a member of a Cabinet and the other, the experience, as the leader of a party in the party caucus. Those two great opportunities, I put side by side with the work of this week. I put these side by side for the reason that many of the questions that have been discussed in the Cabinet and in party caucuses have been identical with the questions discussed here, and the method of discussion in each case has been very similar to what we have had here. I am quite prepared to say that in the Cabinet we may not have had, in the numbers to be found here, the advantage of minds as specialized and highly trained, ~~in all the subjects under discussion,~~ although I am inclined to believe that the level of intelligence is fairly high in Cabinets and parliamentary parties, but in caucus and in Cabinet, the aim is the same as here, to get at the truth, and the method followed the same, namely, frank and open discussion, with this added consideration, ~~perhaps,~~ that whatever is considered by way of solution of any problem must have as a sine qua non something that can be done in a practical way.

One question I wish to put to you here, to you who are all liberal-minded, if you were asked tonight, as a result of this week's discussion to sit down and write out what as a result of discussion you were all now unanimous upon, and agreed to, would you not experience some difficulty in making out a platform or statement of policies to govern with respect to the general

matters discussed? I have not heard a subject discussed on which there have not been conflicting views expressed. I have discovered unity of opinion up to a certain point; beyond that, opinions have divided, and in some cases there has been a very wide division, possibly one which is irreconcilable. Every word and line of the statement I have in my hand of the position of the Liberal Party on some present day problems, was agreed to, after many months of discussion and argument in party caucus, by every member of the Liberal Party in parliament present at the caucuses which all were free to attend, a membership representing ~~as they did~~ constituencies in every province of the Dominion. I wonder how long it would take to secure like unanimity on the part of this gathering with respect to policy on the subjects discussed. Do you think it would be possible to go farther than the Liberal party in the statement of its position has gone, and to be able to say that up to this point, at least, we are all agreed?

If among those who wish to be known as Liberal-minded men and women, in their attempt to solve problems according to Liberal principles, you have seen the difficulties there are in reaching agreement on any one of the subjects discussed, I hope the experience of the week will give to you all a fuller appreciation of the difficulties of those who encounter this task in public life. I am not going to narrow my reference to men in public life to just those who happen to be in parliament. I include those

who are endeavouring to form public opinion, whether in the press or on the platform, and who in their endeavours are obliged and prepared to endounter the misrepresentation of their motives and often of their words, and to take the blows which inevitably are the portion, in greater measure or less, of those who face the public in the attempted solution of its own problems and affairs. If the Conference is to stand for anything in the lives of every man and woman here, it should at least make all more charitable, and less critical in their treatment of public men than some at least have been in the past. (Applause).

It is a very easy thing for a number of kindred souls associated together in a classroom, amid delightful surroundings such as we have here, and among friends who are congenial, to discuss in a lady-like and gentlemanly way the conflicting aspects of different questions. Come, however, to the point where you have not only to make findings and to put your findings in the form of resolutions which will stand for the opinion of the Conference as a whole, how far will you be able, ~~to agree~~ to reach agreement with the expectation of united support? I venture to say that the language used in the resolutions wouldn't be the language we have heard in some of the addresses - it would be a little more restrained, and in part modified, I imagine, very much. ~~In some particulars.~~

To give point to what I have just been saying may I now add, that this is where your work, so to speak, ends, and where my work begins. Your work, as preceptors and students, is to express the ideas, and go as far as you can in developing them. Mine, as a political leader, is to see that they are so developed and expressed that they will meet with general acceptance, and acceptance not alone by those who have been participating in the class-room discussions, but by the general public. The minute what has been said within these walls is over, you then have the next problem. Just here may I say what I omitted to say before: I trust that the proceedings of the Conference will be preserved in permanent form. I further wish to say that I do hope that what has been commenced this year will be continued without interruption through years to come. Assume that both of these things are accomplished and that the public of Canada, generally, have the advantage of reading what many of us have had the additional pleasure of hearing, and, as a consequence, an effort is made to make the views expressed, to a very considerable extent at least, prevail and find permanent expression in legislation - assume that to be achieved, then you are only beginning on the next problem.

I wish to say that it is not by any means an easy problem to be able to persuading your fellowmen

in sufficient numbers in party caucus, in the country, and in parliament, that the thing you are trying to do is a thing that the majority of the people in the country ought to, and will support.

I remember, as a young man, having a somewhat protracted discussion with my father, as no doubt many here have had with theirs, as to the differences that exist in social relations ~~and human relations and~~ and the injustice of it all. No one can live and work in a social settlement, in the slums of a great city, and come back to a comfortable home without having discussions of the kind ~~arise~~ with those of his immediate family. I have been through that experience, and I recall a good deal about it. I think I know how young men and women ~~particularly~~ feel, and rightly feel on all these social problems, and what ~~the~~ their desire naturally is for drastic and necessary reform. If one were to ever forgot that, one would cease to be worthy of oneself. I remember, ~~as well,~~ in response to some of my ideas, how my father used to say to me, "No extreme man ever got anywhere". Not that he was lacking in sympathy with my aims or point of view; it was only that his experience in what was essential to achieving results was a little larger than my own. I have thought of that observation over and over again in my public life. The more I have watched public men, the more I have watched those who have tried to influence their fellowmen, the wiser I have felt that precept to be.

It is all right to be in earnest and to have deep convictions. The world, too, needs the men who are ahead of their fellows, who are away on, in advance of the procession. But the political leader has to see to it that he, and the few eager souls who may surround him, don't get so far ahead of the great body of his army, that others of a totally different mind and purpose, may find it possible to come in between, and ~~separate them~~ to their utter confusion, divide his forces. The extreme person may be able to create much in the way of excitement, and to ~~secure~~ an immediate following, but, in the public life of a country, he will never for long carry the great body of a nation with him. Extreme men have received much more, in the way of prominence in these days than they usually secure. They always do in times of great unrest and distress. Perhaps it is well they should, though I doubt it. Be that as it may, I do submit, that as a result of what has been discussed here, and what you yourselves now know, you have reason to feel a greater confidence of ultimate achievement and ~~of what it did stand for in~~ enduring reform, in ~~a body of opinion moderate though it may be that was~~ moderate opinion, likely to be generally accepted, than in ~~what is to far~~ opinion, however good, too much in advance of what the people as a whole are likely ~~prepared~~ to accept, ~~that it may ever find expression in legislation.~~

I am not going into any discussion of third parties, but before I conclude I must say one word about a misapprehension or misrepresentation of something which has arisen out of a discussion here the other day. I have noticed - I have not read the press despatches - a couple of editorials which take exception to what I am reported to have said at this Conference concerning third parties. It has been represented that I was favourable to groups in parliament, and that, in statements I had made here, I was trying to range myself and the party alongside the C.C.F. by having its members feel I would welcome groups in parliament, in order that in some mysterious way the opportunity offered later on, I might be able to carry on government with their aid. I am at a loss to know how any such interpretation could have been put on any words of mine. Let me say, in passing, it only helps to illustrate wherein public men have continuously to count upon much that those in the academic world know very little of, namely, having their words misrepresented, their motives misconstrued, and their aims misjudged and distorted. Apparently, to some, it is all part of the party game, and a man who is too thin-skinned to stand that sort of thing should not think of public life. But, the man or woman who is not prepared to face that sort of thing should think twice before being over critical of those who do.

We were discussing, as I recall it, the question of Electoral Reform, and the question was as to the effect of groups in parliament, on the frequency of elections. Some one asked if elections were not likely to be more frequent if there were groups than if there were large parties. I was appealed to, I think directly, to make a statement based on such parliamentary experience as I have had. My answer was that members of parliament, whether they belong to groups, or to big parties, were not, according to my observations, particularly keen about the frequency of elections. I said I thought that they might be expected to generally find some way of avoiding an election unless the issue was clearly one sufficiently important on which to stage an election. I made a reference more particularly to the parliament that I had the honor of leading for a time when we had an official majority of only one. I mentioned the fact that that parliament in recorded history was the parliament of large majorities, which strikes one at first sight as amazing. I added that it was because the government brought in legislation which it believed would appeal to the majority in parliament that it got the majorities it did. Surely it is not wrong for a government to seek to govern in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons. If I am wrong in this statement of what I said, I hope those present and those who

heard the discussion will correct me. The last thing I wished to say was that I favored a parliament of political groups. I believe that today, as never before, we need strong parties, and parties with majorities of their own sufficiently ~~strong~~ large in ~~its own~~ numbers to be able to carry out the legislation they deem necessary to solve the problems with which they are faced. I believe that any party that seeks to maintain its existence and influence in parliament only by what it can achieve through other political parties is, to use an adjective that I don't think too strong, simply a parasitical party; parasitical because it is avowedly prepared to make its existence depend on that of other parties. The contention ~~saying~~ that there ought to be a group large enough to be able to control the old political parties is something that I haven't any sympathy with at all. I mention this only because I want to correct an impression which apparently has gone out from here, and which, therefore, ought to be corrected before the Conference ends. ~~I notice that a~~ section of the press is ~~seeking~~ endeavouring to circulate the view that I am in favor of group government. I am not.

Let me conclude with one further word: The experience of this week - what I have listened to in discussion, what I have seen of the spirit evinced, has madd me prouder than ever, first of all, of being - may I use the word - ~~of being~~ a Liberal. It has made me prouder than ever of our British Parliamentary Institutions and all they stand for; prouder of the Cabinet system of government and settlement of our public issues by discussion and agreement in parliament - two things that we are in danger

of losing, and the benefits of which we have already sacrificed to a very considerable extent. I don't think there is enough emphasis today on the importance of discussion and decision in Cabinet by its members as a whole; and what, in this particular, a Cabinet really signifies in the affairs of the country. We have gone much too far in the way of setting up a dictatorship in Canada. I believe it is an unfortunate thing for any country where the views of any individual becomes too dominating in its affairs, and where, even if because of very great qualities, a single view can be made to prevail over the collective view of a group. I believe more wisdom is to be found in the collective mind that in the mind of any single individual. With regard to power and its exercise in matters of concern to the people at large, I have come to feel, more and more, that, while we need Cabinets and experts endowed with special knowledge to advise governments, there is an even greater wisdom to be found in the representatives of the common people, and free expression of opinion on the floor of parliament, and that the old-fashioned way of arriving at agreements, in the open, as the result of argument and discussion, is one of the greatest safeguards of liberty. Anything that we have done, or may do, in our parliaments to take away these practices and methods whereby in the past others have sought to safeguard, on the one hand,

the treasury of the country, and, on the other, the freedom of the people, will make it worse in the end for our country.

Lest it may be said I have spoken of Liberalism not having a plan, and have not made clear how Liberalism proceeds in matters of progress and reform, let me say, in words which you will have permanently before you on record, that Liberalism proceeds in the manner set forth in the words of the little quotation at the head of the Conference program. Let me read what is there set forth: "Surely it is clear that we have moved into an age when conscious, deliberate direction of human affairs is necessary and unavoidable". Conscious and deliberate direction, expressed in carefully thought out policies to meet each new situation as it presents itself — that is the method of Liberalism. That means deliberate direction of human affairs by many minds brought to influence the minds of those in authority; it means the conscious direction of human affairs by such thought as is engendered in a gathering such as this; it means conscious deliberate direction by the resolutions of party conventions and associations; it means, as well, the conscious direction by a Cabinet and parliament. Not direction by the caprices of a single will, but direction by a concensus of opinion carefully formulated as the result of much thought and consideration. If there be aught of reserve or caution in the conscious direction on the part of those who have to do with the shaping of its

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policies, it is because Liberalism in Canada has sought to put forward only policies which it believes it is possible to make prevail in the minds of the people at large.

Many years ago, at the time of the Revolution in Britain, to which reference has been made tonight, men strove, as they are striving today, for what they believed would best of all secure their liberties, regardless of the class to which they belonged, or the creed they professed, or the stock from which they sprang. At that time of great struggle, one of the most illustrious statesmen of any day, the great statesman, Pym, gave utterance to this very sound political maxim: "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good."

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the desire for wider liberties and greater freedom, liberalism has continued to work on for the last two or three hundred years, in that belief. Its endeavours have brought our political institutions today to the point where the form of government that now exists is capable of giving in the largest way, on behalf of all classes and creeds of people, the right kind of conscious deliberate direction of human affairs. Let us not be quick to part with so great a heritage. I believe this gathering has helped to bring home to all who have attended its proceedings the importance of keeping this precept ever

before us. ~~May I add that it has been to the work of a Liberalism that we owe in largest part the great inheritance we possess at the present time in our free political institutions.~~ Let me repeat, as being fundamental to the solution of all our problems, even more today than at any previous time, "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good". (Prolonged applause and cheers).

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L'Assomption, Que. - Meeting

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary
of Election to House of Commons of
P. A. Seguin, M.P.

October 14, 1933 .

Oct. 14/33 D20382

b/o L'Assomption

Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs,

Je suis vraiment heureux de me trouver à L'Assomption cet après-midi, ~~afin de me joindre à ses concitoyens et à ses nombreux amis,~~ pour rendre hommage à mon vieil ami et collègue à la Chambre des Communes, monsieur Séguin, qui célèbre aujourd'hui le vingt-cinquième anniversaire de son élection au Parlement du Canada.

Vingt-cinq ans - un quart de siècle - c'est une bonne partie de son existence qu'il a consacrée au service de son pays et de ses compatriotes. Même si les surprises d'une élection générale avaient brisé la chaîne, les états de service de monsieur Séguin n'en seraient pas moins remarquables; mais, nul anneau ne manque à cette chaîne: la carrière politique du héros d'aujourd'hui compte sept victoires ~~successives~~ consécutives aux polls. Avec votre appui, et pour vous représenter, il est sorti victorieux de chaque élection générale ~~depuis 1908, date~~ depuis vingt-cinq ans à laquelle lui et moi sommes entrés au Parlement; ~~nous étions tous deux âgés d'environ 34 ans.~~ nous avions le même âge. C'est depuis ~~cette époque~~ lors qu'il représente, sans interruption, votre beau comté à la Chambre des Communes.

Au cours de ces vingt-cinq années, notre ami Séguin a continué de grandir dans l'estime de ses concitoyens et, comme tout bon canadien-français, il est entouré aujourd'hui d'une nombreuse et brillante postérité. Le comté qu'il représente s'est

également agrandi depuis un quart de siècle. Ce fut, tout d'abord, L'Assomption; puis L'Assomption-Montcalm, et ce sera à l'avenir, Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm. Si notre ami Séguin vit aussi longtemps que nous le lui souhaitons, il se peut que sa circonscription électorale arrive à renfermer autant de comtés que sa maison contient d'enfants et de petits-enfants. Les conservateurs de la province de Québec savent que Séguin est invincible. Inutile pour eux d'espérer la victoire, non plus, dans aucun des comtés qui entourent L'Assomption. Pour régler la difficulté, ils tentent de les fusionner tous en un seul.

C'est pour la même raison, je le suppose, qu'ils font disparaître Yamaska. Ils sentent que, ce comté élira un candidat libéral aux prochaines élections générales. A l'élection partielle dans Yamaska, les conservateurs verront que leurs craintes sont fondées. Ce serait amusant, n'est-ce pas, qu'un comté voué à la destruction par un remaniement conservateur, élise pour le représenter un partisan du gouvernement qui a décrété son arrêt de mort. Est-ce qu'un homme remercie le juge qui vient de le condamner à être pendu ? Je doute que même les conservateurs de Yamaska en aient le désir. En tout cas, espérons qu'ils ne le feront pas. Espérons qu'ils feront sentir au gouvernement actuel toute l'ineptie de sa politique et la manière désinvolte avec laquelle il a ravalé toutes ses belles promesses.

Permettez-moi de dire à monsieur Séguin comme je suis fier de lui et de ses électeurs. Je désire vous remercier, vous tous, et lui-même, de votre constant appui à la cause libérale. Je désire le remercier tout particulièrement des longues années qu'il a vouées au service de son pays, ~~je désire le remercier~~ de son ~~noble~~ constant loyauté, non seulement envers les principes du libéralisme, mais envers les chefs du parti. Il a été loyal au grand chef Sir Wilfrid Laurier, et à moi-même, humble successeur de Sir Wilfrid, comme chef du parti libéral.

Je lui souhaite encore de longues années au service de son pays ~~et de ses concitoyens~~; que sa belle carrière professionnelle et politique se continue longtemps et lui apporte la reconnaissance et les honneurs qui lui sont dus.

Et ceci me ramène, mesdames et messieurs, à une autre raison pour laquelle je suis fier et honoré d'être au milieu de vous aujourd'hui. Cette ville et ce comté sont plus intimement liés à la jeunesse de Sir Wilfrid Laurier qu'aucun autre endroit. Plus tard, Québec et Ottawa ont connu Sir Wilfrid ~~Laurier~~, l'homme politique, mais c'est ici que ses parents ont vécu, c'est ici qu'il est né, c'est ici même que l'adolescent étudia, durant sept années, au collège de l'Assomption. Jusqu'au soir de sa vie, il revint chaque année, avec Lady Laurier, passer une partie de la belle saison à St-Lin.

~~J'ai visité l'ancienne demeure, aujourd'hui, et~~ Au milieu de vous aujourd'hui, mon esprit est tellement hanté de souvenirs de Sir Wilfrid et de Lady Laurier que je ne puis guère penser à autre chose. Vous qui les connaissiez si bien, tous les deux, serez vous étonnés que moi qui partageai leurs dernières années ~~d'aussi près que vous le fîtes autrefois~~; moi qui fis partie du cabinet de Sir Wilfrid et qui lui succède maintenant à la tête du parti libéral; moi qui vis dans l'ancienne demeure de Sir Wilfrid et de Lady Laurier, à Ottawa, serez-vous étonnés que je partage en ce moment votre émotion et tout votre orgueil ?

Vous et moi, nous connûmes intimement Sir Wilfrid. Un tel privilège nous impose l'obligation de poursuivre, en notre temps et pour notre génération, le même but que Sir Wilfrid et de perpétuer l'oeuvre à laquelle, en son temps et pour sa génération, il voua si complètement son intelligence, ses forces et sa vie. C'est pour ce noble but, que mon ami Séguin a servi vingt-cinq ans au parlement du Canada. Ce n'est pas pour une autre raison que je suis parmi vous aujourd'hui, car en présentant mes félicitations à votre député je viens aussi rendre hommage à mon grand chef dans la région qui le vit naître.

J'ai suivi, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, humblement peut-être, mais, j'en suis sûr, fidèlement. Je l'ai suivi à cause de sa personnalité, pour les principes qu'il représentait, pour la politique qu'il s'efforça de faire prévaloir. Je me suis rangé derrière lui

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parce qu'il était un grand homme d'état et un grand Canadien. Je savais que, mieux qu'aucun homme de son temps, il connaissait notre pays et comprenait notre population et ses besoins. Je crois, aujourd'hui, que notre pays n'a besoin de rien tant que de revenir à ses principes, et à sa politique, en matière de gouvernement. Je suis ici pour soutenir cette politique et ces principes; et parce que je vois l'oeuvre de Laurier menacée de destruction, je suis prêt à me battre pour ces principes et cette politique que je crois nécessaires. En des temps comme aujourd'hui, c'est notre seule chance de vivre !

Je veux vous aider, - vous de la province de Québec de même que mes compatriotes des autres parties du pays, - je veux vous aider à maintenir l'unité de notre pays et ses libertés, comme le fit Sir Wilfrid, et donner un meilleur gouvernement au pays. Voilà ce dont le Canada a besoin: un meilleur gouvernement ! Non pas un gouvernement tory, de l'espèce dont nous souffrons à l'heure actuelle; non pas un gouvernement de coalition que l'on songerait à nous proposer, ~~sous peu,~~ en dépit d'une expérience trop récente; mais un gouvernement libéral de la qualité de celui qui apporta la prospérité au Canada, au temps de Laurier, ou de l'administration libérale qui nous redonna la prospérité jusqu'à il y a trois ans.

Dans cette grande entreprise, je demande à la population de la vieille province de Québec d'être avec moi comme je fus avec Laurier ! Ensemble, nous aurons bientôt la joie de voir la réalisation du grand rêve de sa vie: Un Canada heureux, prospère, paisible et uni.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am indeed delighted to be in L'Assomption this afternoon to join with his fellow citizens and many friends in doing honour to my old friend and fellow member in the House of Commons, Mr. Seguin, on the completion of his twenty-fifth year as a Member of the Parliament of Canada. Twenty-five years - a quarter of a century - is a long time for one to serve one's country in its legislative halls. It would be an indication of long and faithful public service even if there were a few breaks in the chain which unites one general election with another. But in Mr. Seguin's chain there are no breaks. There are seven successive victories at the polls, uniting the parliamentary links. With your support, and on your behalf, he has won every general election since and including 1908, the year he and I first entered parliament, each of us at the time about the age of 34. He has sat continuously in parliament as the member for this constituency all that period of time.

In that twenty-five years, while our friend Seguin has seen himself grow in the public estimation, and like a good French-Canadian has seen his family grow in size, he has also seen the constituency grow in size. First it was L'Assomption;

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later it became L'Assomption and Montcalm; hereafter it is to be Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm. If our friend Seguin lives long enough he may come to have as many counties in his constituency as he has children and grandchildren. The Tory members of Quebec know that Seguin Seguin cannot be beaten, and that they cannot hope to win any of the constituencies which are round about L'Assomption, so they are trying to unite into one as many of them as possible into one.

That is the reason, I suppose, they are doing away with Yamaska. They have felt that, if left alone, it would at the next general election return a Liberal member. I think, at the by-election in Yamaska on a week from Monday, the Tories will find out that in believing this they were right. It would be a funny thing, wouldn't it, if a constituency which was to be wiped out of existence by a Tory redistribution was, in its last year of life, to return a supporter of the government that had issued its death warrant. It would be like a man returning thanks to the judge who had ordered him to be hanged. I doubt if even the Tories in Yamaska will want to do that. In any event, we will hope they will not; also that they will let the present government see that they do not like its policies, and the manner in which it has forgotten all its promises.

Let me say to Mr. Seguin how proud I am of him and of his electors. I want to thank both you and him for your unfailing support of the Liberal cause. I want to thank him particularly for his life long public service, and for his unswerving loyalty, not only to the great principles of Liberalism, but also to the Chiefs of the Party: to the great chieftain Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and to myself as Sir Wilfrid's humble successor in that great and responsible position. I want to wish him also many more years of service in the public life of our country, and much more of well merited distinction and honour in his professional and political career.

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And that brings me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to another reason why I am very pleased and much honoured to be with you all today. This city (or town) and this county has a more intimate association with the early life of Sir Wilfird Laurier than any other in Canada. In later years, Sir Wilfrid's political life came to be identified more closely with the cities of Quebec and Ottawa, but it was here that his parents lived, it was in this county that he was born, and it was here that he as a youth attended L'Assomption College for seven years. To the end of his life, he and Lady Laurier returned from year to year to St. Lin, the place of Sir Wilfrid's birth, to spend at least a part of their summers. I have visited the old home today and my mind is now so full of associations and memories of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier that I can think of nothing else. You who all knew them both so well, will you wonder that I, who shared their later years almost as closely as you of this county did the early ones; I, who was a member of Sir Wilfrid's Cabinet and who am now his successor in the leadership of the Liberal party; I, who today live in Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier's old home at Ottawa, should share at this moment all your feelings and all your pride?

To you and to me, who knew Sir Wilfrid so well, there arises from this privileged association a very great obligation to further in our day and generation the great aims, the great purposes, the great work to which Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his day and generation gave so completely his years, his strength, and his life. It is in furtherance of that aim, of that great purpose, that my friend Seguin has given his twenty-five years of service in the parliament of Canada, and that I am here with you today, not only to do honour to him, but to honour the memory of my great leader in the county of his birth.

I was a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, an humble follower, perhaps, but a true follower, I hope and believe. I followed him for what he was, and for the principles for which he stood, and the policies he sought to make prevail. I followed him because he was a great man, a great statesman and a great Canadian. I believed he knew our country and understood its people and their needs better than any other man of his day. I believe it is a return to his principles and policies in matters of government that more than all else our country needs today. I am here to uphold those principles and policies, and because I see much that Sir Wilfrid stood for, threatened with destruction, I am here to fight for them

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as well. I want to help you, in this province of Quebec, as I want to help my fellow-countrymen in all parts of Canada, to maintain the unity of our country and its liberties, as Sir Wilfrid sought to maintain them, and to help to bring about a better government in our country; that is what Canada needs more than all else today - a better government. Not a Tory government of the kind we have at present; nor any coalition government such as we hear proposed from time to time; but a Liberal government such as brought prosperity to Canada in Laurier's day, and as brought prosperity again under the Liberal administration which was in office until a little over three years ago. In that great endeavour, I ask the people of this old province of Quebec to work with me as I worked with Laurier, and togather we will share in the fulfilment of the great purpose of his life, a happy, a prosperous, a peaceful, and a united Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Date October 16, 1933

Subject At L'Assomption, Que. - Oct. 14th.

KING ATTACKS GOVERNMENT

Liberal Leader Opposes High Tariff Policy for Canada

Urges Reciprocal Trade With Rich Markets of United States

(By Gazette Staff Correspondent.)

L'Assomption, Que., October 14.—There is no better way of rendering Canada and the Bennett Government a service than by expression by the people in pending federal by-elections in Quebec, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick of "dissatisfaction with the restrictions placed on Canadian trade," the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, said here this afternoon in addressing the Liberal rally held to honor P. A. Seguin, notary and M.P. for L'Assomption, upon the occasion of his 25th anniversary as a parliamentarian at Ottawa. In a stirring address which saw the Liberal leader flay the Conservative Government at Ottawa for its high tariff policies which "cut Canada off from the rest of the world," and assert that one aim of the Government should be "reciprocal trade with Canada's rich market to the south, the United States," the Rt. Hon. Mr. King addressed a special message to the electors of Yamaska who go to the polls on October 23rd:

"Your verdict will not put the Government out of office, but it will go a long way to force that Government to change its policies in a way that will help the country," said, adding that the time had come when either the policies of the Government, particularly as regards trade and commerce, must change, or the Government itself must be changed.

Party stalwarts flanked the ex-Premier, including the Hon. Athanase David, K.C., Provincial Secretary, who, in his address, gave the lie to a recent address by the Hon. Alfred Duranleau, K.C., Minister of Marine, who had charged that the Quebec Government was apathetic in regard to colonization, and that its refusal to intensify the "back to the land" movement had resulted in only 527 colonists being settled in Quebec since 1930. "Where does this temporary minister get his information?" the Provincial Secretary wondered. "Of what value are his figures? If he addressed himself to those who know, he would find that, since 1929, 8,000 colonists have been settled on land in the Quebec north woods. And as the average number of members in a family in this province is set at five, it is obvious that upwards of 40,000 persons—men, women and children—have been settled on the land."

SEGUIN FELICITATED.

From many speakers came messages of felicitous tribute addressed to Mr. Seguin, who has sat in the Dominion Parliament for L'Assomption since 1908. L'Assomption was "en fete" for the occasion, flag bedecked and cannons booming a salute to Mr. Seguin and the Liberal leader, both of whom visited first L'Assomption College, which was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's alma mater, where they were received by the superior, Abbe Pierre Gauthier, and where they addressed the students. They then proceeded to the town hall where a large public meeting was held, and where Mr. Seguin's friends presented him with a silver-tipped cane and a purse, and where Senator Lawrence A. Wilson presented him with a silver tray.

The ceremonies were organized by a committee headed by Hector Grepier, with which Arthur Corbin, local Liberal organizer, co-operated. Chairmen were the Hon. J. F. Daniel, M.L.C., and Dr. Victor Geoffrion, mayor of L'Assomption. Present were the Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King, Senators L. A. Wilson, J. P. B. Casgrain and J. E. Prevost, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, K.C., the Hon. J. P. A. Cardin, K.C., the Hon. Athanase David, K.C., the Hon. C. J. Arcand, the Hon. Raoul Grothe, M.L.C., Pierre Casgrain, K.C., M.P., Vincent Dupuis, M.P., Cyrille Dumaine, M.P., Hon. Victor Marchand, M.L.C., Oscar Boulanger, M.P., L. E. Parent, M.P., Dr. Arthur Denis, M.P., E. C. St Pere, MP., Amedee Geoffrion, K.C., Bernard Bissonnette, K.C., Claude Prevost, Rodrigue Langlois, Paul Gouin, Yves Choquette, Jacques Geoffrion, Liguori Lacombe, Dr. Ernest Poulin, M.L.A., Joseph Jean, K.C., M.P., Anatole Decarie, Gaston Lacroix, Hermas Deslauriers, M.P., Paul Mercier, K.C., M.P., Mayor A. Morel of St. Lin, Olivier Morin, Jules Desmarais, K.C., Roger Ouimet, Joseph Francoeur, M.L.A., Joseph Filion, M.L.A., Charles Marquette, Lucien Dugas, M.L.A., Cleophas Bastien, M.L.A., Adelard Fortin, M.P., Martial Rheaume, M.P., C. E. Ferland,

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Date .....

Subject .....

M.P., Joseph Thauvette, M.P., Robert Taschereau, K.C., Salluste Lavery, K.C., J. C. A. Turcotte, Dr. Anatole Plante, M.L.A., M. Duval, M.L.A., E. Sabourin, M.L.A., Ald. Georges Caron of Montreal and many others.

Opening addresses lauded Mr. Seguin's parliamentary career. They were made by Dr. Geoffrion, Louis Lavallee, prefect of l'Assomption County; Joseph Duval, prefect of Montcalm County, and Joseph Marion, mayor of St. Jacques. Then Mr. Seguin spoke, noting that his years of service at Ottawa "were years of devotion to my electors, my province, my country." That his friends had seen fit to honor him upon the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his political career, was appreciated greatly, he said, adding: "I can but regard it as the greatest moment of my life!"

The Hon. Ernest Lapointe, the Hon. Mr. Cardin, the Hon. Mr. David, Senator Wilson, Walter Reed, M.L.A. for l'Assomption; Mederic Duval, M.L.A. for Montcalm, and Pierre Casgrain, K.C., M.P., then spoke, the former ministers at Ottawa touching on questions political; the Hon. Mr. David recalling in an eloquent address the greatness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Messrs. Reed, Duval and Casgrain bringing to the fore the fact that Quebec's debt to Notary Seguin was great, for he had spent a quarter of a century "in the service of his country."

MacKENZIE KING'S ADDRESS.

The opening remarks of the Rt. Hon. Mr. King were made in French. He expressed himself as being happy to join in the tribute paid to Mr. Seguin, noting that the latter had devoted 25 years of his life to the service of his compatriots—"a remarkable career!" And during that quarter of a century, he had continued to grow in the esteem of his colleagues as a parliamentarian of great worth. It was such men as Mr. Seguin who had enhanced the Dominion Parliament and the Liberal party and who had lent to their tasks the devotion of true citizenship.

The Liberal leader then delved into matters political. Premier Bennett, he said, had been making many addresses during the last week or so in the West, and at a time when public issues were so important, it was imperative that careful thought and attention be shown by citizenry at large to public expression of governmental policy. A study of Mr. Bennett's western speeches revealed one thing—"a marked difference between the discourses he made when he first assumed power." Then, perhaps, he was arrogant; now, he seemed to be spending most of his time in endeavoring to explain his policies—"as a matter of fact, he is apologetic; he assumes an air of apology that was not evident in the past."

In 1930, he continued, Premier Bennett openly asserted that he was going to improve economic conditions—"that prosperity was just around the corner." His ministers have joined repeatedly in this anthem. Thus Ryckman, in 1930, said that things were improving; Stevens, back from the west, remarked that Canada was on the verge of great prosperity; Manion held that it would only be a short time before prosperity would be in our midst, and even the late Minister of Labor, joined in this popular chorus." He added: "And Premier Bennett, with those superlatives of which he is so proud, said the same thing."

The Premier talked about tariffs—higher and higher tariffs—while in the West, the Right Hon. Mr. King said. Tariffs were his weapon; he would have them fight for Canada—for the farmers as well as the manufacturers. He was building a gigantic top-heavy tariff wall around the Dominion, and cutting the country off from the rest of the world. His policy was one of ecenomic nationalism — "national self-sufficiency.

"If Canada was the only country in the world," he stated, "this might be very well, but the Dominion is one of many nations—and a country with great natural resources which constitute its primary industries. And it is through the development of these basic industries—mining, lumbering, agriculture, fishing, etc.—that prosperity will come to Canada. But the Dominion cannot absorb the products of its basic industries alone. What it needs is trade, and instead of trying to cut Cantda off from the rest of the world, the Government should try to exchange its produce."

Extensive trade, he continued, is the basic condition of prosperity in any country. It would solve unemployment, reduce taxes and rehabilitate the nation. But the Conservative Government was killing all hopes for development of trade by its high tariff walls. Such barriers were only temporary, Premier Bennett held, but when was he going to reduce them?

"We hear Premier Bennett talking about favorable trade balances," he added. "The Liberal Party was in power nine years before Bennett, and during eight of those nine years, it had favorable trade balances. Year by year, they were as follows: 1922, $6,000,000; 1923, $143,000,000; 1924, $165,000,000; 1925, $286,000,000; 1926, $84,000,000; 1927, $401,000,000; 1928, $237,000,000; 1929,

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Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

$142,000,000 and [illegible]30, $123,000,000. Under the Bennett Government, there was an unfavorable trade balance in 1930-31. In 1932, there was a favorable balance of $9,000,000, which rose to one of $74,000,000 for 1933.

TRADE FIGURES QUOTED.

"But that is only a small part of the story. The thing that counts is the total trade of a nation. During nine years of Liberal Government, the total trade, year by year, was as follows: 1922, $1,509,000,000; 1923, $1,744,000,000; 1924, $1,952,000,000; 1925, $1,878,000,000; 1925, $2,256,000,000; 1926, $2,298,000,000; 1927, $2,360,000,000, and 1929, $2,665,000,000. Under the Conservatives there was a decline down to $1,166,000,000 in 1932, while in 1933, total trade dropped to $887,000,000. It is obvious, therefore, that Canada's return to economic stability; an improvement in her economic realm, can only come about through a betterment in her trade, and this cannot be realized unless we remove the restrictions on trade."

Of the Ottawa Imperial Conference, the Liberal leader affirmed that it saw Bennett make an effort to follow up his "Canada First" movement by an "Empire Trade First" movement, and of this he remarked: "He sought to earmark all Canadian trade for the Empire, but what we need is not only trade within our own borders, and trade in the Empire, but trade throughout the world."

And while the Bennett Government was raising tariffs, he continued, other nations were lowering them. In this regard, the Liberal leader had this to say: "What about reciprocity? Canada has to the south her largest and most important market. What is Bennett's stand in regard to this market? No one knows! We are prepared to foster reciprocal trade relations if it will help the prosperity of this country. Bennett should have been busy right along in this regard."

He continued to point out that, today, the United States was busy after the trade of South America. Why was Canada making no effort along this line? Great Britain was instituting reciprocal trade treaties with the Argentine. Why is Canada indifferent? The world was Canada's trade avenue; why confine it to the British Empire?

Of Premier Bennett's recent statement as to Canada's need for immigration, the Liberal leader had this to say: "Bennett advocates increased immigration in Canada. What are the Dominion's needs when the cities are jammed by unemployed armies, and the farmers cannot sell their produce? Is it time to venture into state aid for immigration?"

He also had a word to say about what he termed the Bennett Government's "assumption of powers extraordinary." Certain Canadian newspapers had announced, recently, that the Canadian banks had guaranteed the advancement by the Canadian Government of a $60,000,000 credit to the Canadian Pacific Railway, he said. Liberal leaders, it was stated, had conferred with, and had concurred in, this move on the part of the Government. This was false! The Liberal leaders has not been approached on the matter; no one had conferred with them. "As representatives of the people," he said, "the Liberal Party has a right to have some say in the matter, particularly before such a guarantee is made, and we think it is time that the people come and tell the administration that they can at least expect some control of the House of Commons over expenditures made from the public purse."

D20396

Restigouche-Madawaska By-Election

Meetings:

October 19th - Campbellton, N.B.
October 20th - Edmundston, N.B.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20397 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Ottawa Citizen

Date October 20, 1933 At Campbellton, N.B.--October 19th. (Restigouche-Madawaska By-election)

Subject

King Questions Right to Lower Wheat Acreage

Prime Minister Initiates Policy of Scarcity Without Consulting Parliament, Says Liberal Chief

Asserts High Tariffs Govt.'s Basic Weakness

Says Trade Policies Which Make For Isolation Tend To Produce Strife.

(Canadian Press.)

CAMPBELLTOWN, N.B., Oct. 19.—Trade policies which make for isolation tend to produce strife, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal leader, asserted here tonight. No country on earth, he added, had gone as far as Canada in raising tariffs during the period that the present government had been in power.

In a fighting speech the Liberal leader called upon people of Restigouche-Madawaska to record disapproval of government tariff policies. The prime minister, he declared, was beginning to weaken on the policy of high and higher tariffs. Mr. Bennett was telling the West that tariffs which he had applied were not permanent in their nature. If the three constituencies in which by-elections would take place on Monday were to record their disapproval of government policy, the administration at Ottawa might make some beneficial changes.

Two Crowded Meetings.

Mr. King addressed two packed meetings here. An audience which filled every available seat, crowded into the aisles and stood where a foot of standing room was available, awaited the coming of the Liberal leader long before he was due to arrive at the meeting place. Hurriedly another meeting was arranged, speakers on finishing their addresses at the main meeting hurried to the overflow. It was midnight before the second meeting had dispersed with cheers for the Liberal leader and the candidate in the Restigouche-Madawaska by-election, J. E. Michaud, former minister without portfolio in the New Brunswick government.

While attacking the tariff policy of the government as the basic weakness shown by the present administration, Mr. King had other points of assault. He was particularly caustic in reference to the policy of restricting production of wheat.

What right, he asked strongly, had the Prime Minister of Canada to interfere with production. "Without even consulting Parliament, Mr. Bennett initiates a policy of scarcity," he continued. "Surely it was never intended," he said, "that as a matter of policy we should tell our people that they are not to produce at a time when there is starvation in the country."

Grimly he referred to predictions of improved conditions which he said the Prime Minister had been making in the West. He had, he said, looked up Conservative speeches for the past three years, and found that similar predictions were dotted through them. From these speeches, it appeared that the country was suffering from "slight improvement," Mr. King commented, as the audience laughed.

He regarded it as "an insulting thing" for a Prime Minister to make deliberate and specific promises during an election campaign, fail to implement them, and then return and ask for support, the Liberal leader said. He declared the opinion that a prime minister had not the right to make promises as he claimed that Mr. Bennett had made in 1930.

For Trade Agreements.

On trade he drew applause when he declared that the Liberal party stood ready tomorrow to conclude trade agreements with the United States, countries of South America or any other country in the world which was willing to trade on a fair basis with Canada.

The Liberal policy, Mr. King said, insisted on development of basic industries. This could be accomplished by cheapening the cost of instruments of production, in the first place, and furnishing markets for Canada's surplus, in the second. Development of the basic industries meant growth of the secondary industries and the return of prosperity to the Dominion.

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On the platform with the Liberal leader were a number of lieutenants who have waged the campaign during the past few weeks. Mr. Michaud addressed the audiences at some length declaring that he stood for better living conditions and higher wages for industry.

He charged the prime minister with adopting an "I can't" attitude in the face of serious conditions.

J. F. Pouliot, Liberal member for Temiscouata, referred to the prime minister as "the gramaphone of the C.P.R." and asserted that there should have been no $60,000,000 guarantee extended to that railway without the approval of Parliament.

Tomorrow the Liberal leader goes to Edmundston for a night mass meeting.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20399

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Ottawa Morning Citizen .....

Date ..... October 21, 1933 ..... At Edmundston, N.B. - Oct. 20th

Subject .....

CROWD JAMS ARENA

(Canadian Press.)

EDMUNDSTON, N.B., Oct. 20.—A crowd of nearly 4,000 jammed into the arena here tonight and heard Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal leader, denounce the tariff and trade policies of the government.

It would have been "a thousand times better for Canada if Mr. Bennett had done nothing" instead of adopting measures which had "strangled trade," Mr. King declared.

Rapidly he gave his hearers figures to indicate decreased total trade of the Dominion. How could a country expect to trade all one way? he asked.

"This is the time you have to decide if you want Mr. Bennett's policies," he said. "Mr. Bennett has built a great blockade around this country. You electors now have a chance to help destroy it."

Mr. King asked the electors to support the Liberal candidate and thus register disapproval of government tariff policies.

Mr. King's address tonight was one of the high spots of the Liberal campaign in this riding. For weeks a strenuous three-cornered fight has been waged for the seat formerly held by Max D. Cormier, Conservative.

On Monday electors go to the polls.

The Liberal leader spoke briefly. He explained that it was necessary for him to catch a train and that he would turn the meeting over to Hon. Ernest Lapointe, member of Parliament for Quebec East, and former minister of justice, who was on the platform and would address the meeting in French.

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The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Morning Citizen .....

Date ..... October 21, 1933 .....

Subject .....

Rhodes Replies To Charges Of TradeHindered

Deals With Accusations Made Against Govt. By Liberal Leader in Address at Campbellton.

King at Edmundston Scores High Tariffs

Electors of Restigouche-Madawaska Cast Ballots In By-election Monday.

(Canadian Press.)

CAMPBELLTON, N.B., Oct. 20. — "We are not a high tariff party nor a low tariff party. We regard the tariff as an instrument to protect Canadian trade and to give employment to Canadians in Canada," Hon. E. N. Rhodes, minister of finance, declared tonight while speaking here in the interests of Paul L. Dube, Conservative candidate in the Restigouche-Madawaska Dominion by-election to be decided next Monday.

While Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal leader, was speaking at Edmundston tonight in support of the Liberal candidate, J. E. Michaud, Mr. Rhodes dealt largely with accusations made against the government by Mr. King, including a charge that Conservative policies were "strangling trade."

If the Liberal policy of lower tariffs closed outside markets to Canada, the Dominion did not want that kind of a policy, stated Mr. Rhodes. He quoted figures of Canada's trade before and after the Fordney-McCumber tariff, involving 43 commodities, went into effect in the United States. As one result, he said, cattle trade with the United States had dropped from $15,277,000 in 1930, to $763,000 in 1931. The net result was that Canada's trade with the United States dropped from $142,000,000 to $10,000,000.

If policies of the Farmer-Labor by-election candidate, J. L. G. Annett, were given effect, said Mr. Rhodes, the embargo placed by Canada on Russian imports would be removed immediately. This would be disastrous for the lumber industry of New Brunswick.

Mr. Bennett's promise to end unemployment, given in the campaign of 1930, was made in good faith and if conditions in Canada had remained normal he would consider the Prime Minister bound by that promise, said the speaker. But Mr. Bennett could not foresee the world-wide depression and it was not fair to hold him responsible.

Answering a statement that prosperity prevailed when a Liberal government was in power, Mr. Rhodes said the country entrusted power to the Liberal party when seas were calm but called upon the Conservative party in times of stress. To support his argument he cited the years 1867, 1908, 1911 and 1930.

Regarding Mr. King's statement that his government had reduced taxation and given surpluses to the country, Mr. Rhodes spoke of the sales tax. The Liberal party had increased this from one to six per cent and then, each year, had taken off one per cent, he said. Canada was a debtor nation and not in a position at present to reduce taxation.

The government of Prime Minister Bennett had helped Canadian trade by concluding trade agreements with the United Kingdom, South Africa, Ireland, Australia, Austria, New Zealand, Germany and Brazil.

Did Not Respond.

"The United States did not respond to our overtures when we had a low tariff," said Mr. Rhodes. "On the contrary they adopted a policy of protection. Now that our tariff has been raised against them and they are feeling the adverse effect we are in better position to treat with them."

Instead of reducing the national debt, as claimed, the King government had increased it by about $410,000,000, said the speaker. In 1929 the King government had an unfavorable trade balance of $123,000,000 and in 1930 the adverse balance was about $90,000,000. As a result of the Bennett government's

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The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

emergency tariff, the adverse balance dropped to $9,000,000 in 1931 and last year the Dominion had a favorable balance of $50,000,000, this increasing to $144,000,000 this year.

The government, said Mr. Rhodes, had loaned the Canadian Pacific Railway a million dollars to keep men in the shops at work. He denied a statement alleging recent purchases of government bonds by the C.P.R.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
34	129	Toronto Men's Liberal Association: Tariff Policy; Imperial Economic Conference, 1932; Liberal Party Policy; Conservative Party Policy	15 Dec. 1932	D 20147 - D 20180	C-2800
34	129	Toronto Commercial Traveller's Association: Toast to Canada	16 Dec. 1932	D 20181 - D 20239	C-2800
Chronological Files, 1933-1939					
35	130	Chronological Files	Jan.-Oct. 1933	D 20240 - D 20401	
35	131	Chronological Files	Jan.-Nov. 1933	D 20402 - D 20499	
35	132	Chronological Files	July-Aug. 1933	D 20500 - D 20581	
35	133	Chronological Files	Feb.-June 1934	D 20582 - D 20687	
36	134	Chronological Files	Mar.-Dec. 1934	D 20688 - D 20841	

D 20402

1933

Notes of Speeches
by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Leader of the Opposition

Outside Parliament.

	Occasion	Date
1.	Quebec Young Liberal Association - Banquet.	Jan. 14th.
2.	Twentieth Century Liberal Association - First National Convention - Luncheon.	June 3rd.
3.	Central Ontario Liberal Association - Annual Meeting.	June 7th.
4.	Klotz-Hardy Wedding, Portland, Ontario.	June 24th.
5.	Western Tour:	July 19th-Aug. 22nd.
5a.	World's Grain Exhibition and Conference - Opening.	July 25th.
5b.	Prince Albert Board of Trade - Banquet.	July 27th.
5c.	Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks - Convention.	Aug. 2nd.
6.	Restigouche-Madawaska, N.B.- By-election.	Oct. 19th 20th.
7.	Farewell Reception to Rev. Dr. George E. and Mrs. Ross, Erskine Presbyterian Church.	Nov. 10th.

1933 Notes of Speeches by Mr. King
page 2.

	Occasion	Date
8.	National Liberal Federation, Second Annual Meeting.	Dec. 1st.
9.	The Canadian Legion presentation of Badge re Life Membership.	Dec. 16th.

D20404

Quebec Young Liberal Association

Banquet

Quebec City

January 14, 1933

D20405

Introductory

Thanks for indulgence.

Proud to be in Quebec and present company -

especially with young Liberals.

A young man in 1896 -

first meeting with Laurier in North York;

historic association;

subsequent association with constituency.

Truth stranger than fiction.

Another truth - fine tradition inherited;

Glorious company in making of Canada.

Not time to trace development or similarities.

2 Subjects:

(1) Canada's position - Trade;

(2) Canada's position as a nation.

Parallels with the past.

D20406

I. Canada's Position in the matter of Trade.

Colonial days - trade the objective.

Mercantilist theory -

results of.

Shattered by Liberal doctrines of freedom.

"Wealth of Nations."

England's greatness under freedom.

Canada's position today =

England in throes of mercantilist theory.

Effect of restriction and prohibition -

Only cure, end cause.

Canada needs trade - with every country -

world trade.

Canada our country - responsible for;

attend to our own business.

Re: Empire -

"Canada First"
"Empire First"

II. Canada's Position as a Nation.

Position in Trade -

position as a nation inseparable.

(1) Colonial trade.
(2) Empire "
(3) World "

Colonial trade and status gone -

(1) Due achievement of Liberalism

due to what Liberalism has achieved in 100 years.

Responsible Government.

Canadian Nationality.

Wipe away last vestiges.

The Halibut Treaty 1923.

The Chenack Incident.

The Lausanne Treaty.

Establishment of Legations - United States
France
Japan

Declaration of position of Governor General.

Equality of Status - Conference of 1926.

Statute of Westminster.

Paris Treaty for Renunciation of War - 1928.

D20408

(2) undoing of work of a century - Commonwealth to Empire

Canada's Prime Minister

begins to undo the work of a century.

Reactionary reversion

from National Sovereignty to Imperial Sovereignty.

Under reversion in matters of Trade

to Mercantilist theories.

Resurrection of an old issue.

Commonwealth vs. Empire.

The advantages of the Commonwealth of Nations conception.

Dandurand - President of League.

Recognition and distinction.

Greatness of service vs. a Colossus.

Commonwealth vs. Empire - the issue.

Consolidation vs. Co-operation.

the real issue

Empire versus the world

Protection

D20409

As Evidenced by Facts and Statements of P. M.:

Tariff Structure -

Increases in general tariff;

Increase in Intermediate;

Lowering of slight significance

to create margin;

to be maintained five years.

Agreements arrived at in secret conclave, in nature of Council -

Imperial Council; imperial policies;

Taxation for imperial ends;

Fiscal autonomy, freedom of parliament sacrificed.

National policy to give way to imperial.

3 Quotations from Mr. Bennett - Declarations of Policy:-

Calgary, Sept. 5, re "Tribute".

H. of C., Oct. 12, re "Imperial Policy"

London, England, Dec. 12, "Common Ground"

Outline of Change taking place in Canada's Position

Trade to be restricted;

Policies and taxes settled in advance of parliament;

National policies to give way to Imperial;

To what end is change in Position being made?

Substitute Imperial Sovereignty for National;

Such a thing never before attempted.

Not result of British policy

but Canada's own government.

New brand of Imperialism.

Only a beginning

Beginning of the end.

III

(I) Results of change in position in trade & nation

(1) Effect on trade

(2) " " inter-imperial relations
destruction of unity

(3) " " International relations
attitude of nations, [illegible] relation

(4) " " [illegible] of Nations
& world conference
path of good [illegible] - no stimulating block
to [illegible] peace & progress

(5) Duty as [illegible] - keep [illegible] [illegible]
do [illegible] [illegible]

D20411

Twentieth Century Liberal Ass'n

First National Convention

Luncheon

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa.

June 3rd, 1933

D20412

20th Century Liberal Association of Canada.
Luncheon - June 3rd, 1933

Thanks - invitation;
association.

Personal - honorary membership;

Party - to all who have come distances;

promise to future of Liberalism.

Welcome - prophecy re lives of those present.

Congratulations - on achievement convention - 1893
1919.

Resolutions.

Voice of Association - voice of Liberalism;

20th century note.

What is Liberalism - attitude of mind;

way of looking at things,
generous, liberal;

respect and uphold rights
of others,

whoever they may be,
wherever they may be.

Based on Convictions - all members one of another;

human personality sacred.

Aims of Liberalism - greatest good to greatest number;

equality of opportunity;

develop personality, self-reliance, initiative.

Principles of Liberalism - a general truth;

general against particular interest;

people vs. privilege.

Policy - application of principles to solution of problems as they present themselves;

policies change, but not principles -

e.g. policy of self-government and representation;

free trade, not laissez-faire but regulation.

peace.

D20414

Party - a means to end;

a school of co-operation;

many members - diverse gifts;

Nat. Lib. Federation(
20th Century) accommodation
Liberal Conference (

World co-operation;

Place to reform from within;

advantage of one party.

Liberal Party distinguished from C.C.F.

Reconstruct human society in accordance with preconceived plans of particular school of thought.

Liberalism incompatible with rigid regimentation of human activities under control of State -

abhors dictatorship.

Liberalism conceives function of statesman -

gardener.

Positive conditions; not house builder (reconstructing)

not general
but [illegible]

D20415

State for individual, not individual for State.

Distinguished from Tories.

2 dictatorships - central control.

Progress - development of human personality, self-reliance, initiative.

Relation of politics to lives of individuals.

Ramsay MacDonald.

"We have all to make our own roads, not only our roads, but the homes which we inhabit at the end of our roads."

Dinner.

3 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Fascinating story - rough road - broad not narrow - lead to Westminster.

Conferences.

Lossiemouth to World Conference.

D 20417

D20418

Central Ontario Liberal Association

Annual Meeting

Belleville, Ontario

June 7, 1933.

D20419

Banquet
Annual Meeting
Central Ontario Lineral Association
Belleville, Ontario
June 7, 1933.

Introductory:-

Congratulations:

Size of gathering;

Mr. Duffus - President;

Mr. Holton - Secretary.

Organization:

Out of 16 ridings 12 candidates officially nominated by conventions;

every riding in area has had annual meeting, and official organization is functioning;

great importance of organization of the constituencies.

National Federation Liberal Women's Clubs;

National Liberal Federation (office);

20th Century Liberal Association;

Liberal Summer Conference;

Provincial Associations -

Ontario Liberal Association;
Central Ontario Liberal Association.

D20420

Central Ontario Liberal Association
Annual Meeting - June 7, 1933.

Congratulations - re meeting
& organization.

Recent session of parliament

Keynote furnished by session of 1930:

(1) Unemployment - dole;
re insurance.

(2) Tariff Increases - Ottawa Conference
agreements.

Government has made tariff a real
issue.

re other issues (Prog)

cf. Manufacturers Association.

(3) Power of Parliament lessened -

Power of Executive Increased:

towards dictatorship -

Ottawa agreements
National Railways
Radio
Shipping
Redistribution
(Speech from Throne)

D20421

Inevitable Result:

Loss of Trade;

Increase of Debt;

Increase of Taxation.

Conferences before and after session -

Conferences a means of shifting obligation.

Vice of economic nationalism.

Election ~~t~~ following World Conference.

Election of 1930:

~~Liberal policies~~ - reduction of tariffs;
reciprocal trade;
debt;
disarmament;
international co-operation.

~~Secc in 1934-5.~~

The Roosevelt Victory and Policies.

Comparison with Liberal position on present day problems. — leaflet

~~Lab~~ progressive.

D20422

The Answer to the C. C. F.

What more have Progressives to offer?

A political party - which aims at change in social order.

Liberalism - an attitude -

a way of looking at things.

Subjecting particular to general interest.

Progress dependent on self-reliance and initiative -

Make positive conditions for freedom.

Captain of a team - free play

vs. general of an army - regimentation.

D20423

World's Grain Exhibition and Conference

Official Opening

July 25th, 1933

Regina, Sask.

D20424

Your knows — 1st word — [illegible] & [illegible] [illegible] for
Thanks & Gost for invitation — [illegible]
Opposition: Gost — left: to [illegible] we may differ
all one — in welcome & purpose

Phoenix at representative character of delegation
Bt. Empire, U.S. — Europe & Orient
all parts of world
& spirit expressed.

Conference fixed for 1930
postponement good — Prosperity or adversity.
Failure of world Conference to achieve results.
this too an advantage
discloses [illegible] & method
one refers at a time — Expert opinion
Conference vs Cabinet
Democracy — Problem of
voting masses. Electorate
Opinion world of ~~ask a matter of opinion~~ & Experts
No longer clearly defined [illegible]
world [illegible]
The function of the legislature
the Expert
~~Conference vs Cabinet~~
Promote internat. good-will
[illegible] — Closer cooperation
~~law of peace [illegible]~~

D20425

D20426

Post : opposition

world increasingly one

All one in [illegible] delegation

Problem not national but world wide

Post position of Conference 1930 to 1933

Brs Empire
USA.
Canada
Europe
Brazil

not a misfortune
prosperity vs. adversity.

Fixed time of world Conference to
a fixed attendance
not a good time [?]

not sure this too may not mean
advantage

need for reason a way of
[illegible]

" " " " " of
cooperation

Conference vs Cabinet.

Post a matter of opinion

Post by making opinion general

Post by expert × function of legislation

" " expert

promote internally good-will
promote closer cooperation
in contemplation.

D20427

Speech No. 2
Part 11

(5) Be Prepared to be Guided by Expert Opinion -

Outside of parliament,

as well as in.

Ideas are the controlling force -

demand study.

Liberal Conference at Port Hope.

Questions such as banking.

(6) Cease to put Faith in Promises, in Panaceas, Plans, Dictators.

Put faith in people -

Elect those in whom you have confidence, with understanding they shall speak in parliament.

(7) Determine that in every question that Comes up -

It will be considered from the point of view of general interest rather than the particular.

D20428

Speech No. 2
Part 11

(8) World Co-operation -

on a genuine basis of good-will.

Intent to save ourselves by helping to save others.

No ? economic nationalism,

but build up national strength,

by entering into the arena of world affairs -

e.g. Legations.

Liberal Attitude - What it is.

14 points.

Need for union.

Need for education.

National Liberal Federation.

Re C. C. F.

Socialism not to be condemned

but analyzed.

D20429

Speech No. 2
Part 11

It Can Be Done.

Note first depression -

Note 1896 - followed by 15 years of Liberal rule.

Note 1921 - followed by nearly 9 years of Liberal rule.

Canada pulled out of depression by

policies considered in general interest:

(1) between provinces,

(2) lowering of tariffs -

Implements of production,

Necessaries of life.

Reduced debt and taxation;

Increased trade and prosperity.

The shadow of depression has disappeared under Liberal rule.

Third parties have vanished with it.

Those who belonged to them have become Liberals.

The sun of prosperity has shone again.

D20430

Speech No. 20
Part 11

It is with a nation as an individual -

Root causes have to be discovered and dealt with.

The garden must let in the sun -

the plants must be left to develop strength of themselves.

(See speech Young Liberals).

D20431

Prince Albert Board of Trade

Banquet

July 27, 1933.

Board of Trade Banquet
Prince Albert
July 27th, 1933.

D20432

Pleasure at acceptin g invitation

Thanks to officers:

Chad. McIntosh	-	President.
R.R. Manville	-	Vice-Pres. (Pres. Cons. Ass'n - Mr. King had to L.H. when in Ottawa)
E.T. Bagshaw	-	Sec. Treasurer.
Mr. Diefenbaker	-	Member of Executive (Mr. Diefenbaker will move vote of thanks - at his own request)
Mayor Sibbald	-	Member of Executive.

Pleasure at being in Prince Albert again

Non-Political Nature of Banquet

Delighted to have opportunity meet with people of all shades political opinion.

As member, have had interests of all at heart, regardless of politics.

Interested primarily in well-being of people of constituency and development of district -

e.g. Prince Albert National Park -

recreational centre for all citizens;

serving to open up Northland to benefit of constituency, province and Dominion.

D 20433

Fitting I should address business men of Prince Albert in view of depressed conditions:

Know only too well conditions facing you -

e.g. Farmers received as low as 20½ cents per bushel for wheat here last winter -

lowest price in history of Canada;

" perhaps in world in 300 years.

Cord wood used for currency in centres not far from city -

conditions so bad money just dropped out of sight;

farmers cut wood and bartered for food, etc.

Have been forced to admire courage and cheerfulness of people in their distress.

Believe way can be found out.

Social and Industrial Reconstruction

In circumstances of kind, have felt I might speak for few minutes on some of the principles which I believe must underlie any successful attempt to reconstruct our industrial and social order in interests of Mankind as a whole

D 20434

Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks

Dominion Convention

Prince Albert, Sask.

Banquet

August 2nd, 1933

D20435

Benevolent & Protective order of Elks.

Grand Exalted Ruler – ~~[illegible]~~ E. S. Hand Vehicle (P.A.)

| " " Mr Schuler P.A.

(N.M. Anderson)

Toosts – P.A. – Sort – Dominion – Centigrade

Command – Elks Lodge Hall

Problems of the State – Industry – a number of actions

Economic major
World aspect
Human life aspect } coin { material – spirit – Spiritual – quantity – quality

Confusion or progress.

Sun dial – fear – faith – hate – love

Mr Sphinx.

Plans
Motive } Jim Buck.
(Theosophy)

Conception of Social Service
Industry serve Humanity
not destroy " (as in war)

D20436

By-Election

Restigouche - Madawaska
N. B.

Campbellton - Oct. 19, 1933
Edmundston - Oct. 20, 1933

D20437

Klotz-Hardy Wedding

Portland, Ont.

June 24,

1933.

Klotz - Hardy Wedding

D 20438

Invitation of Mrs Klotz to propose health [illegible] 93

[illegible] for sources of information

[illegible] down [illegible]
[illegible] on [illegible]
~~[illegible]~~

old friend of family - [illegible]
[illegible] - [illegible]
[illegible] - long [illegible]

not only old friend of family - [illegible] of both [illegible]
~~[illegible]~~ bride & groom
being ~~[illegible]~~ united by this marriage

my acquaintance with groom family

back to college days
friends with groom's father [illegible] - [illegible]
acquaintance with groom grandfather
[illegible] A.S. Hardy - [illegible] of [illegible]

acquaintance with bride family [illegible]
[illegible]

to days of ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]
[illegible] out of nursery

[illegible] to [illegible] on my [illegible]
[illegible] - [illegible]
[illegible] Klotz
grand old man of S. [illegible]
in [illegible] days.
one who had [illegible] in
[illegible] - [illegible]
[illegible]

Education
good [illegible]
[illegible]

Mr Klotz the astronomer
one of the great scientists of
the world

Dr Mrs Klotz - beloved father of
the bride - leading physician
[illegible]
~~[illegible]~~
This is not grandfather day - but bride day
not an old boys reunion, but friends of bride
[illegible]

> Fulford (
[illegible] Sharing [illegible] happiness

D20439

D 20440

1933 Western Trip

July 19
to
August 22

Manitoba
Saskatchewan
Alberta

1933 Western Trip D20441

Speech No. 1

Return to government of the people,
by the people, for the people -
Effected by supremacy of parliament -
Not by a dictator
for a group,
Or by a group
for themselves,
But by parliament for all.

Purpose of trip West -

To meet and talk with the people;
to study conditions at first hand;
to present the Liberal point of view on problems.

D20442

Reasons why trip so long delayed:

Give government of day a chance to carry out its promises and program.

Government given every opportunity.

1. Ministers allowed election by acclamation - all Ministers:

(a) Mr. Stevens defeated - another seat in B.C.

(b) Mr. Rhodes - to secure seat.

Government since has passed Jacobs' Bill, freeing Ministry from necessity re-electing Ministers.

2. The special session of parliament:

Measures all passed - little opposition;

$20,000,000;

Changes of tariff.

3. The Imperial Conference in England:

Bennett's proposals;

Bennett responsible for failure of Conference.

(See Speech H. of C. 2nd session Speech from Throne).

D20443

4. The 2nd Session of Parliament:

More tariff legislation.

Blank cheque.

Legislation by Order in Council -

Peace, order and good government.

Power to do as they please.

(Beauharnois)

Depression - Government claimed to be dealing with problem;

not time to discuss policies.

5. 3rd Session:

Blank cheque - some modification.

Peace, order and good government again -

while parliament in session.

Closure.

Preparation for Imperial Conference.

By-election - Royal, N.B.

re greater freedom in trade.

6. Imperial Conference:

Co-operation not sought in any way;

remained at Ottawa - did not criticize

D20444

7. South Huron By-Election (Oct. 3/32):

Tried to secure approval of Trade Agreements with only portion published.

8. 4th Session -(Oct. 6/32):

2 months - opposing agreements.

9. Session renewed January -

Concluded end of May.

10. World Economic and Monetary Conference

Opened June 12th.

11. Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Conference.

Opened Regina - July 19th.

(Trip postponed to have program of all parties before the people).

A

D20446

2. Discussion in Parliament:

Mr. Bennett says Cabinet is
Board of Directors of Nation;

true version House of Commons
is Board of Directors.

House of Commons ignored,

Cabinet ignored.

Need for return to parliamentary
government.

Price at which people secured

their liberties -

free institutions, etc.

Theory of delegated authority vs expert

pass bill,

give power to Cabinet.

The struggle for freedom -

all the other way.

Limit the royal prerogative.

Latest thought - re titles.

Always Situation is going to be saved by Conference.

Situation will be saved by people themselves.

Must not discuss Economic Conference 1932 -

though they did in British House of Commons -

had a sane view.

Must not discuss World Economic Conference -

though they did in Great Britain.

A word about Economic Planning,
National Planning,
World Planning.

The latest idea being put forward.

Who is to do the planning?

A group - Cabinet = dictator
- C.C.F. = dictator.

The planning idea means handing over government to group - to dictators -

sacrificing parliament.

"As being Lords over God's heritage"
1 Peter V.

instead of "examples to the flock".

(See Alton Locke re Job - p. ?)

D20448

Planning idea mistakes the nature of political phenomena -

A fluid state - constantly changing.

What is required is proper methods of control -

applied in light of conditions as they develop in our own country -

the world over.

World Conference -

a group of government heads -

not parliaments.

What right to bind:

e.g. restriction acreage -

that is for parliament.

First Step - Put our own House in Order.

1. Not by Conference, but by Parliament.

Conferences all right in their place;
occasional, but not too many.

A co-operative spirit necessary -
not blasting into markets of world.

A willingness to help in world affairs.

Laws so framed as to evidence
co-operation.

2. Not by Dictators, but by Parliament.

 D 20450

3. In Parliament - Not by the Executive -

a dictator - however authority exercised.

Not by a Group - with a pet panacea:

be it State Socialism -

Nationalization of socially necessary means of production, -

But by the people's representatives -

by men and women who feel and think alike, and ready to co-operate for the common good.

Place to begin co-operation is in Parliament - on all measures.

My record as Prime Minister:

Plea for co-operation all forces;

more co-operation in parliament of all forces -

supported by Liberal-Progressives of Manitoba - 1925-26,
1926-30.

D20451

Illustrate what I mean:

Brown - the question of implement parts - duties on, etc.

Beaubien - the problem of the finances of Manitoba;

the affairs of the Bank.

Weir - the grasshopper plague

re (?)

(See leaflet Gordon Ross).

In face of this is not restriction of acreage ridiculous?

Grasshoppers,

drought.

Contrary to prayer book.

(See Deachman letter).

D20452

Third Parties vanished under Liberal rule.

? on Industry and Indendents) 1896 disappeared.

War - Progressives an outcome of National Gov't) 1917-20.

(See pamphlet on third parties by Alex Smith).

Why Co-operation with C.C.F. not possible.

It takes two.

Two reasons:

(1) They won't co-operate -

they have a political party in opposition to other parties in State.

Declared open hostility -

(See Globe article)

(2) Do not believe in their policy.

Not same as Progressives, which was an advanced Liberalism -

free trade, etc.

C.C.F. = change in function of government -

revolutionary effected by evolution.

See statements by Garland.

Arguments against socialism.

D20453

Get back to govt. of the people by the people
for the people
effected by supremacy of Parlt.

not " " " " by dictator for a group or special interest.

not " " " " by group or class itself (or classes, e.g. Farmer-Labour.

but " " " " by Parlt. for all.

In multitude of counsel there is wisdom;

(?) maxim of government.

Eliot a saner view of govt. than Cromwell

(See Green; Morley; book on (?))

Hampden's spirit needed - e.g. ship money;

We are taxed on everything -

without Parliament;

arbitrary taxes, valuations, etc.

D20454

Significance of a Political Party - Affords This Opportunity

All classes required in Parliament; all parts of country.

Wisdom is found among the humble.

The intuitive powers.

The learned - in philosophy, history, etc., to bring the past to bear.

The workers - practical problems.

In Canada no single plan possible or just -

Is it to be for manufacturers or producers; primary industries?

Extremes bound to bring trouble -

Bennett's mistake extremes;

"Economic Nationalism"; then

"Clear the Channels of Trade";

Not just or fair suddenly to change whole policy of a country, even if change right.

- You can bend or break a tree.

D20455

Need of Right Candidates -

Young men and women to take part.

Need of Political Education -

Education vs. Propaganda.

Liberal Point of View -

National Liberal Federation.

Liberal Summer Conference, Port Hope.

Nature of Liberalism - an attitude, spirit;

See 20th Century Club Speech.

freedom; economic freedom.

social justice, etc.

Policies - Brandon Convention.

Invitation to all to join.

1933 Western Trip D20456

Speech No. 2
Part 1

The Problem of Today -

How are people to live?

Problem stated in letter of

"white collared" man;

no place to fit in;

period of transition.

1930 - The Coming Depression Foreseen.

Comparison with eclipse -

Shadow approach and pass over

face of earth.

Speculation,

Failure of crops,

World conditions,

Loss of Markets,

Falling off of trade.

D20457

Efforts to Meet the Situation:

(1) Re Temporary Unemployment -

Call Conference of all classes immediately effected:

Labour,
Capital,
Manufacturers,
The Community.

Provide for National Unemployment Committee to organize nation as in time of war for raising and distribution of National Patriotic Fund, on which State, provinces, municipalities and individuals co-operated.

Re permanent measure -

improve trade to help Railways, etc.

(2) The Budget of 1930 - so-called Dunning Budget.

Secure British market -

clearing the channels of trade.

Stress importance of representation at.

Defeated by promises of what would be done under a plan -

blast markets.

Speech No. 2
Part 11

D20458

The Policies that have helped to Intensify the Depression, and those that may help to Lift it.

Policies that have helped to Intensify Depression:

I. Those of Special Session of 1930 -

they represented a plan -

a plan believed in;

might be called Economic Nationalism.

No expert advice as to either:

(a) Unemployment,
(b) Tariff.

Tariff Board abolished.

(i) Employment could be provided by raising tariffs -

home market - so-called;

tariffs raised.

D20459

Speech No. 2
Part 11

(ii) Economic Nationalism could be furthered by taking powers from parliament and giving them to Governor in Council.

To raise tariffs -

by artificial valuations for exchange;

by dumping duties.

(iii) Fight with tariffs -

Make tariffs fight for you.

"Blast a way into markets of the world".

Don't blame Mr. Bennett -

it is what he said he would do

and you voted for it;

a mistaken plan which you supported.

That phrase, of itself, ought to have been sufficient to cause you to oppose a policy of the kind.

D20461

Speech No. 2
Part II

II. Next Step in Plan -

Imperial Conference of 1930 - London.

Canada's policy stated.

Demand on Britain to change fiscal policy.

A new conception of preference -

Economic Nationalism vs. Britain;

increased exclusion against world.

(a sort of Economic Imperialism).

10% increase of existing rate -

reciprocal preferences so-called.

This was blasting.

Conference a failure -

plan described as "humbug".

Threat of break-up of British Empire if not carried out.

D20462

Speech No. 2
Part 11

III. 1931 Session.

(i) Further tariff increases applied at home.

Order-in-Council method of tightening restrictions.

(ii) Unemployment - Expenditure of more money.

Blank cheque.

Still no National Committee;

left to Minister of Labour who was in Senate.

(iii) Order-in-Council powers increased to relate to "peace, order and good government".

Powers of an autocrat.

To let plan work more perfectly,

power left in hand of one man -

No Minister of Finance.

No expert advice.

D20463

Speech No. 2
Part 11

IV. 1932 Session:

More changes in tariff -

No Tariff Board.

More money for unemployment -

No National Committee or Commission.

Minister of Labour broken down, as was inevitable.

Prime Minister finds it necessary to appoint Minister of Finance.

V. Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa:

Oppose British suggestion go further in plan.

No discussion in parliament of Government's policy, -

no expert opinion;

ignoring peoples' representatives;

more economic nationalism.

D20464

Speech No. 2
Part 11

V. Imperial Economic Conference (Cont'd):

Make 5 year agreements.

Raise duties against Britain.

Do away with intermediate tariff,
so as to make negotiation of
trade treaties more difficult.

Raise duties against world.

Emphasize change in nature of
"preference" -
thereby antagonizing rest of
world and raising suspicions
re an "economic imperialism".

By-Election - South Huron:

People asked to vote on an
unknown agreement.

D20465

Speech No. 2
Part 11

VI. 1932-33 Session:

Before Xmas -

Put through United Kingdom-Canada agreement;

power taken away from parliament to modify -

agreement made for 5 years;

mistake or no mistake,

fiscal policy not capable of change;

Clauses of agreement put through before Resolutions re tariff changes brought in -

before items even discuused.

Contrary to British method.

Changes meant further vast increases.

Tariff = taxation.

Nothing done re Unemployment -

Agreement only question.

No Committee or Commission,

continue spending money.

 D 20466

Speech No. 2
Part 11

VI. 1932-33 Session:

After Xmas -

More tariffs - duties on sugar, etc.

Blank cheque again.

Increase Order-in-Council powers.

Exempt from Civil Service Commission:

Penitentiary staffs,
Radio Commission staffs, etc.

Taken National Railways away from supervision of parliament -

3 Trustees
(don't know yet who);

cannot remove except resolution of Senate and House of Commons.

D20467

Speech No. 2
Part 11

World Economic Conference.

No discussion in parliament.

No statement of policy to parliament.

A volte face on Reciprocity -

on invitation of Roosevelt.

He was to lead World Conference -

another plan.

(See Manion ?)

Would not permit resolution to carry.

Other Important Questions

re Currency and Banking

To be discussed at Imperial Economic Conference -

Not by parliament or Committee of

Bank Act postponed -

to discuss currency and credit

at World Economic Conference.

D20468

Speech No. 2
Part 11

Nothing done re Labour -

No Committee or Commission;

policy of the dole -

not a policy of work.

Tariff Board appointed for 10 years -

Chairman's salary.

Not for consumers -

for British Government;

to help protectionist element in tariff;

only matters referred by Government.

World Conference:

Condemns tariffs - Economic Nationalism.

Prince of Wales.

Bennett: "clear channels of trade"

Abandoned discussion re tariffs.

Conflict of monetary and currency problems -

the gold standard.

D20469

Speech No. 2
Part 11.

World Conference (Cont'd):

Advocate mistaken policy of restriction of production -

Having stopped trade

now try to stop production.

To such tragic ends have the nations of the world been brought by plans in the hands of individuals, instead of common sense of people as result of discussion by their parliament.

Bennett view House of Commons:

Cabinet a Board of Directors -

General Manager and President.

Mistaken view -

Parliament is the Board of Directors.

Result of Policies:

Stagnation of trade.
Increase of Public Debt.
Increase of Railway debt - crippling of railways.
Increase of taxation.
Increase of Unemployment.

Country trying to rise
but is strangled.

D20470

Speech No. 2
PART 11

Policies that will Help to Save Situation:

(1) Put our own House in order - trust ourselves.

(2) Regain the ground that has been lost, and clear the field for action.

(3) Restore the supremacy of parliament.
Cease to put faith in dictators, or plans, and trust the common sense of the people's representatives in the House of Commons.
Restore the restraints upon Executive - get rid of government by an autocratic Executive.
Bring certainty out of instability.
Restore fiscal freedom.

D 20471

Speech No. 2
Part 11

(4) Get rid of restrictions that are strangling trade and industry.

Re Tariffs:

Put an end to "blasting" as a method of negotiation -

Get rid of mistaken plan of economic nationalism.

Clear the channels of trade -

Restore greater freedom.

Trade with nations that will trade with us.

Consider trade within Empire by lowering tariffs -

Not only internationally

but also internally.

Reciprocity -

Combines, trusts, etc.,
equals restraint of
food of people,
fuel of people,
clothing of people.

Re Labour -

Have National Committee;
foster trade;
Unemployment insurance.

D20472

Restigouche-Madawaske By-election

Campbellton, N.B. - Oct. 19, 1933
Edmundston, N.B. - Oct. 20, 1933

The occasion and significance of by-election.

Not defeat of Government, but change of policies.

(1) Are you satisfied with present Administration?

(2) If not - Will your interests not be better served by supporting the Liberal than the Farmer-Labour candidate?

(a) Who can render you greatest service in parliament?

Mr. Michaud's career in parliament and future prospects -

knows the province;

knows both languages;

has experience 18 years in Legislature in government of Walter Foster
Peter Veniot.

Personal permission to run.

It is your interests to be considered.

D20473

Re: Present Administration:

Have deceived the electors.

Are you going to vote for more in the way of deception?

Of what value is anything the Government may undertake to promise?

Bennett Promises.

Statement of Conditions -

How much faith can be put in improvement?

Tariff and Trade -

Policy of restriction.

Raise first session - necessary - temporary.

Several raises.

Strangulation by restriction,
artificial valuations,
dumping duties,
continual change.

Chambers of Commerce crying out against.

Tariff to protect market?

Agreement - Imperial Economic Conference.

Tariffs raised - fixed for five years.

Bargaining tariff done away with -

difficult to effect agreements.

(See A - British Federation of Industries).

Purpose:

Economic nationalism - Canada First;

or a step to

Economic Imperialism - Empire First.

What we need:

Home markets,
Empire markets,
World markets.

Possible exclusion from British markets of agriculture.

Significance at present time -

Fosters spirit of war - "blasting" "fighting".

Nationalism making nations hate each other.

Trade essential to neighbourly feeling.

Merchants and Manufacturers, etc., competitors -

don't hate,
need not love,
can respect.

Need to foster peace by trade.

rocity and Trade Agreements -

What done?

U. S. policy;

U. S. invitation to Washington.

Debate in House of Commons -

U.S. our greatest market.

U.S. making agreements with South America.

Britain making agreements with Argentine (B)

Australia lowering tariff against Britain 10%.

 D20476

Wheat Agreement:

Spending time, explaining agreement,
restricting acreage of production.

Having destroyed trade -
now destroy production.

Policy of scarcity
for policy of plenty.
Make country prosperous by scarcity.
Price of wheat has gone down since
agreement entered into.

Increase of employment by cutting
down production of goods.

No Dictatorship.

What right has any governmentto say
what a man shall do with his labor
or his property?

Government exists to enable man to gain
fruits of his labor.

D20477

What right has government, or Prime Minister,
to make an agreement of the kind
without consulting parliament?
What are representatives for?
Have you been consulted especially
where a provincial matter?

Why not buy the wheat?
Give the farmer purchasing power;
give men in mills employment making flour;
give bread to needy.

A species of blasphemy -
to limit the bounty of Providence.
Days of famine and retribution.

What is needed is better distribution -
problem of production solved.

D 20478

Based on false theory -

Effort to raise prices of agricultural products through scarcity -

should mention drought
grasshopper
hail.

To reduce margin between

price of manufactured goods -

kept artificially high by tariff,

and price of farm products -

reduced by tariffs.

(See strangling trade schedule)

Create a monopoly of supply.

Exactly what protectionist policies aim to do re manufactured goods -

keep up prices to help the capital investor -

not labor;

labor competing with itself.

D20479

Immigration being advocated -

Sauvé said Conservative stopped.

Mistaken policy -

in light of world situation -

Europe today

1914.

Tariff an instrument of national policy.

Re: Favourable Balance of Trade:

8 favourable balances during years Liberals in office.

Obtained not by cutting down imports

but by growing and thriving total trade.

Tory balances result of destroying imports -

cutting down trade.

Total trade	1928	-	2,360,000,000
" "	1929	-	2,655,000,000
	1932	-	1,166,000,000 = less than ½ of 1929.
	1933	-	887,000,000 = 1/3 of 1929.

 D20480

Re: Preference:

Bennett calls old preference

"one sided" preference.

Canada has had a favourable balance of trade with Great Britain every year since preference introduced in 1898 - 1932 = 34 years:

Total Favourable Balance $5,978,000,000.

Re: Home Market

What about consumers.

Conferences -

"Our own house in order".

Effect of Mistake Trade Policies:

Falling off revenues;

Need for increased taxation.

D20481

Bennett, at Winnipeg, to Students - October 9, 1933:

"We have had our failures and disappointments"

"We have also had such successes as no other country of our size has achieved in all time."

"The benefit of an age of florious achievement and tremendous failures to guide - yes".

Glorious Achievement:

"Such successes as no other country of our size has achieved in all time."

Under Liberal Administration:

Trade increased.

Favourable balance 7 years in succession.

x Debt reduced.

Taxation reduced.

Employment plentiful.

Prosperity highest ever known.

x Reduced in 1931, over 1922 = $ 160,000,000

Tremendous Failure:

"We have had our failures and disappointments."

Failure to give employment;

failure to promote trade;

failure to redeem provinces;

disappointment in Government from beginning to end;

trade decreased;

x debt increased;

taxation increased;

unemployment increased;

depression continued.

x Increase 1933 over 1931 = $ 337,000,000

 D20483

Railways:

Liberal record with C.N.R.

Conservative record with C.N.R.

Sir Henry Thornton;

rolling stock;

stations bad shape.

Increase in wages and employment -

secret of employment.

4 system bankrupt.

C.N.R. a good name -

now C.N.R. a bad name.

Favourtism of C.P.R.

Loan to C.P.R. without interest -

guarantee banks re loan $60,000,000

Parliament no say.

"After having conferred with Liberal leaders and after having obtained their assent ready to endorse promissory note of".

D20484

Labour -

Department of Labour 1900.

Labour Gazette.

Fair Wages policy.

Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

Combines Investigation Act.

Eight Hour Day all government work.

Old Age Pensions.

Unemployment Insurance.

Representation on Commission:
Technical Education Com.
C.N.R. Board of Directors.

No representation on Commission to investigate Railways - Duff.

No representation on Banking and Currency Commission.

A Commission to deal with Unemployment advocated.

My own view -
Four Parties to Industry -

a voice in industrial policy.

D20485

Bennett - Topics

At Winnipeg

Conditions Improving -

How often told that?

Canada and world.

"I am thankful that in Canada we have reason to believe that we are on the road to recovery."

Record of Government:

Mr. Bennett declared the record of the federal administration would compare favourably with that of any other government which had weathered the depression years.

Canada maintained "an enviable place among the nations of the world".

"We have had failures and disappointments.....also had such successes as no other country of our size has achieved in all time."

Young men:

"You will have an age of glorious achievement and tremendous failures to guide you."

Achievement Failure

D20486

Farewell Reception

to the

Rev. Dr. George E. and Mrs. Ross

Erskine Presbyterian Church

November 10, 1933.

Notes by Pickering

D20487

Farewell Reception to the Rev. Dr. George E. and Mrs. Ross

Expression of Thanks:

To Women's Missionary Society -

for extending invitation to be present.

To Dr. Leathem -

for personally conveying invitation on their behalf.

Congratulations:

To Dr. Ross -

The summons to his new charge in Fredericton, N.B., a tribute to his abilities and accomplishments.

To Mrs. Ross:

Not less a tribute to Mrs. Ross, as a good help mate to her husband in calling where gracious and tactful wife so all important.

Fitting that this particular gathering to do honour more particularly to Mrs. Ross.

Their Going Will Occasion Loss:

To Erskine Church -

at which they have ministered for 5½ years, and which extended on Wednesday evening so many tokens of good-will and affection at its farewell congregational gathering.

To Sister Congregations of Presbyterian Church in Ottawa -

in work and activities of which they have taken so generous a part.

To Dr. Leathem and other members of the Presbyterian clergy in the city, there going will occasion special feeling of loss

To The City of Ottawa -

Community as a whole, in whose life they have shared so fully, will miss their presence and helpfulness in many directions.

Missionaries and Settlement:

As matter of fact, early missionaries were often at same time explorers and founders, e.g. Champlain.

History of country inseparably bound up with story of organized religious effort.

Church as Educational Factor -

Church has served not only as centre of religious thought, but often as sole centre of educational and cultural activity as well.

Even today, with other great educational institutions in existence, it remains a a great force for the building up of an enlightened and humane public opinion.

Here, the importance of trained, cultured and well-educated Ministry and their contribution to well-being of society cannot be overestimated.

D20491

Religion and Citizenship:

Teachings of Church -

Service to one's fellows - the well-being of Mankind - the common good - are among foremost teachings of Church. These of very essence of good citizenship. Good government and public-spirited nation impossible without them.

Peace and good-will towards men also great teaching of Church. If men are to live in good relations towards each other as individuals, and countries as a whole towards each other in the family of nations, this must increasingly find its practical application more and more in the lives of men.

The Church and the Problems of Today -

World today suffering from great problems which have arisen in part at least through selfishness, greed and hate. Perhaps more

D20492

today than ever before, does the world need a return in good measure to those virtues of love, faith, unselfishness, and the desire to serve which are the core of the Christian faith, and which it is the Church's task on earth to inculcate and foster.

Our Good Wishes:

Dr. and Mrs. Ross leave Ottawa next week to continue, in another place, this all-important work of the Church.

Our good wishes and our prayers for their guidance and efforts in its prosecution, go with them.

D20493

2nd Annual Meeting

National Liberal Federation

December 1st and 2nd, 1933

6 PM 2/11/47

D 20494

2nd Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation, Dec. 1 & 2, '33

Word of Welcome to Delegates -

Pleased to see such goodly representation - vs. 50 and 60 delegates;

Every province represented;

Appreciate many have come at personal sacrifice.

2nd Annual Meeting of Federation -

3rd gathering of kind if we include meeting of National Liberal Organization Committee in 1931;

Organization has had its trials and tribulations but now rapidly becoming an established institution.

Personal Word of Appreciation of Federation's Services

Have turned to its Hiings and staff for assistance in many directions -

Mr. Massey; Mr. Matthews;

Mr. Lambert and his staff -

Deachman, Savard, Miss O'Malley.

Federation has afforded sense of security -

colleagues and self fighting in front line ~~lines~~ trenches; Federation acts as reserves and services of Commissariat.

1933-8

D20495

Federation's Assistance to Party as a Whole -

Numerous activities outlined in report of Pres.

Co-ordinating work of various associations, etc.

Publicity - to limit of its resources has exploited points made in and out of Parliament by colleagues and self, and party's position generally;

Organization - Federal By-Elections

where would party be if we had not won all three?

what would our position be if we had not fought all three?

doubt if either of these could have been attained without assistance of Federation.

1939.
By election now
Last year - 3 + 3 [illegible]
Same year 4
at present vacancies - [illegible]

Liberal Summer Conference -

Not official gathering under auspices of Fed.

Nevertheless an outstanding event in year;

Mr. Massey and associates to be commended highly;

"The Liberal Way" published and available at Federation office.

D20496

Liberalism in Ascendant -

Results of 3 Federal by-elections;

Results provincial elections N.S. and B.C.

Growing realization that Liberalism offers practical and progressive policies;

middle of road vs. Socialism & Toryism.

South Oxford By-Election -

Must at all costs retain seat by good majority;

Must fight C. C. F. on their own ground;

Must look to party in Ontario, not to one or two at Ottawa for vigorous prosecution of campaign;

- Regret re illness of Mr. Elliott.

General Election -

Govt. may stay until 1935, but election in 1934 probable;

Must be prepared for election next year;

Provincial organizations should work on this basis;

Federation must have literature, etc. in readiness;

Meeting should discuss other requirements for facing at moment's notice, dissolution.

D20497

The Canadian Legion

Presentation of Badge re Life Membership.

December 16, 1933

Presentation of Badge D20498
By Officers of The Canadian Legion
Honorary Life Membership
Dec. 16, 1933

North York Campaign 1917:

stressed the necessity of justice to the returned soldier.

Liberal Convention 1919:

was chosen leader of Liberal party; attitude of party towards returned soldier set forth at length in resolution.

General Election 1921:

stated that first duty of government was to dependents and relatives of those who fell overseas.

Minister Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment:

appointed sympathetic Minister - Dr. Beland, who had been in prison camp.

Ralston Commission:

Appointed 1922; reported 1923; Federal Appeal Board, recommended by Comm. authorized by Parl. 1923, gave right of appeal against decisions of Pensions Board.

D20499

Co-operation With Legion:

In 1928 provision made for $10,000 grant to Legion to maintain adjustment bureau at Ottawa.

Unemployment Relief by Department of Pensions and National Health:

to veterans.

Over 6 millions spent fiscal years ending Mar. 31, 1921 to Mar. 31, 1930.

Committee House of Commons, 1930:

Major Power, Chairman;

Committee recommended and Parliament enacted to

1. give returned man benefit of doubt in application for pension;
2. set up regional tribunals for fuller examination of applications for pensions.
3. to give veteran definite allowance, if indigent, at sixty.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
34	129	Toronto Men's Liberal Association: Tariff Policy; Imperial Economic Conference, 1932; Liberal Party Policy; Conservative Party Policy	15 Dec. 1932	D 20147 - D 20180	C-2800
34	129	Toronto Commercial Traveller's Association: Toast to Canada	16 Dec. 1932	D 20181 - D 20239	C-2800
Chronological Files, 1933-1939					
35	130	Chronological Files	Jan.-Oct. 1933	D 20240 - D 20401	
35	131	Chronological Files	Jan.-Nov. 1933	D 20402 - D 20499	
35	132	Chronological Files	July-Aug. 1933	D 20500 - D 20581	
35	133	Chronological Files	Feb.-June 1934	D 20582 - D 20687	
36	134	Chronological Files	Mar.-Dec. 1934	D 20688 - D 20841	

D20500

1933 Western Trip

Index of Speeches

	Date			Place
1.	July	21.	Night	Winnipeg, Manitoba.
2.	"	22.	Afternoon	Rock Lake, "
3.	"	23.	"	Ninette Sanatorium.
4.	"	24.	Morning	Brandon, Manitoba.
5.	"	24.	Afternoon	Virden, "
6.	"	25.	Morning	Regina, Sask - Opening World's Grain Conference.
7.	"	26.	Luncheon	Prince Albert, Sask. - Prince Albert Liberal Ladies' Ass'n
8.	"	26.	Afternoon	The Ridge, Sask.
9.	"	26.	Night	Leask, "
10.	"	27.	Afternoon	Meath Park, "
11.	"	27.	Banquet	Prince Albert Board of Trade.
12.	"	28.	Night	Wadena, Sask.
13.	"	29.	Afternoon	Henribourg, Sask.
14.	"	29.	Night	Emma Lake, "
15.	"	31.	Night	Silver Grove, "
16.	Aug.	1.	Garden Party	Shellbrook, "
17.	"	1.	Night	Debden, "
18.	"	2.	Afternoon	Prince Albert, " - Golden Jubilee Exhibition
19.	"	2.	Banquet	" " " - Elk Order Grand Lodge Convention.
20.	"	3.	Afternoon	Sturgeon Valley, Sask.
21.	"	4.	"	Duck Lake, "
22.	"	4.	Night	Rosthern, "
23.	"	5.	Afternoon	Samburg, "
24.	"	5.	Night	Christopher Lake, "
25.	"	7.	"	Prince Albert, "
26.	"	8.	Afternoon	Saskatoon, "
27.	"	8.	Night	Wilkie, "
28.	"	9.	Afternoon	Wainright, Alberta.
	"	9.	"	Vegreville, "
	"	9.	Night	Vermilion, "
	"	9.	"	Mundare, "
29.	"	10.	Afternoon	Camrose, "
30.	"	10.	Night	Edmonton, "
31.	"	11.	Afternoon	Wetaskiwin, "
	"			Millet, "
				Ponoka, "
				Lacombe, "
32.	"	11.	Night	Olds, "
				Red Deer, "

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1933 Western Trip

Index of Speeches
page 2.

	Date			Place
33.	Aug.	12.	Luncheon	Calgary, Alberta.
34.	"	14.	Morning	High River, "
35.	"	14.	"	Claresholm, "
36.	"	14.	Luncheon	Macleod, "
37.	"	14.	Afternoon	Lethbridge, "
38.	"	15.	Night	Assiniboia, Sask.
39.	"	16.	Night	Estevan, "
40.	"	17.	Afternoon	Wynyard, "
			Evening	Kelvington, "
41.	"	18.	Afternoon	Preeceville, "
42.	"	18.	Night	Pelly, "
43.	"	19.	"	Dauphin, Manitoba.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20502 Office of The Leader of the Opposition 1.

Name of Publication ..... Winnipeg Free Press .....

Date ..... July 22, 1933 ..... Winnipeg speech - July 21st

Subject .....

King Assails C.C.F. Plans; Charges Exploitation of Unrest of Present Day

Plans of the new political party, the Co-operative Commonwealth federation, for the creation of a socialistic state were assailed by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King when epeaking at a banquet held in his honor at the Fort Garry hotel, Friday night.

The Liberal leader charged the C.C.F. with taking advantage of the discontent and unrest of the times, and declared that under the new social arder being advocated, with control of industries, the people would be subject to some dictator or group that would impose the most burdensome restrictions.

Liberalism, on the other hand, Mr. King asserted, stands like a great searchlight, looking into conditions as they exist. It laid down certain regulations, but these were aimed at securing true security, combined with real liberty and freedom.

Speaking of the distress caused through the economic depression, the Liberal leader recalled the depression that existed when his party went into power. He stated that a short time after Liberal policies were put into effect, trade increased and unemployment decreased, until the time came when there was hardly a man or woman who could not find employment of some kind.

"If we were able to do that then," declared the Liberal leader, amid the applause of the large company, "my own feeling is that if our party is entrusted with power, we will do much the same kind of thing again."

Condemns Bennett

Mr. King condemned Prime Minister Bennett and the government for ignoring parliament in connection with trade agreements which had been concluded, and in criticizing the movement for restricted wheat acreage, asked: "What right has anybody to go to London to settle what we have to do in Canada regarding the restriction of wheat acreage? If the thing is right, let our own house of commons decide what should be done."

The Liberal leader made a rousing appeal for activity on the part of Liberals in the matter of organization.

J. C. Davies, president of the Manitoba Liberal association, presided at the meeting, with which Mr. King opened a tour of the prairie provinces for the purpose of getting first-hand information about conditions in the west.

Among those at the head table were: Hon. T. A. Crerar, minister of railways in the King government, and Manitoba Liberal members of parliament.

Today the Liberal leader will leave for Rock Lake for a meeting in the evening.

Says C.C.F. Plans Revolutionary

The plan of the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth federation is revolutionary in character, said Mr. King. It advocates state control of the great industries of the Dominion and of Canada's financial organizations. It assumes that state control of everything will result in liberty. In reality the effect will be to destroy liberty.

He did not, Mr. King said, use the word "revolutionary" as indicating violence on the part of the C.C.F. But, while the C.C.F. leaders might not have in mind any violence, Mr. King asked his audience how it would attain its end save by the use of force. State control of industry and finance inevitably meant that individuals must accept the decisions of those in power as to where they would work, what they would do, and how and when they would do it. And a force would inevitably grow up to see that the will of those in authority was carried out.

The Liberal leader contrasted the attitude of the C.C.F with that which had been assumed by the Progressive party when it came into being.

He had always felt that the Progressive movement was not antogonistic to Liberalism, he said, and he had been glad that Progressives and Liberals had been able, after a time in many cases, to get together. Now, he was sometimes asked if he was prepared to include the C.C.F. in his idea of Liberalism.

Says Co-operation Essential

"You cannot include anyone who will not co-operate with you," said Mr. King. The effort of the C.C.F. manifesto was to antagonize the old parties. One part of the C.C.F. manifesto was a gathering together of all the policies which Liberalism had adopted long ago and which it would have been better for the new organization to have left to the Liberal party. But the [redacted] part contained the revoluti[redacted]an to which he was opposed.

"Do you realize what it means?" asked Mr. King, in speaking of the C.C.F. proposals to nationalize industry and finance. "How is this Socialistic state to be brought about?" Did the C.C.F. propose to buy the industries and organizations of Canada?

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20502

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

King Assails C.C.F. Plans; Charges Exploitation of Unrest of Present Day

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

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If so, a great increase in taxation would be inevitable. If the plan was not to buy, but to seize them, then it meant Communism, nothing else.

Forecasts Dictatorship.

The C.C.F. was taking advantage of the discontent at present prevalent in the country to present to the people a plan which it claimed would lead to a haven of safety and comfort. But the effect of the plan would be to place the people under the direction of some dictator or group of dictators. He contrasted the Liberal attitude, which, he said, was one of the greatest freedom to the individual provided that he or she accepted general rules drafted for the benefit of all.

Liberals, declared the Dominion leader, must constitute themselves missionaries to combat the false ideas which were being spread.

"You can't combath false ideas today by leaving them to breed and grow," he said. This was not a time for petty bickering over minor differences within the party. The Liberal party stood not for any particular section or any special plan, "but for the whole people and the common good." Canada was facing the great human problem—the problem of life itself.

"What is important is how men and women are going to live from now on," declared Mr. King. "Thousands of women in Canada today are wondering just how their children are going to be fed." He insisted that he was not concerned with party victory as much as with the question of finding a solution for the life and death problems presented. And he did not believe that the solution lay in such plans as restriction of wheat acreage. Supposing acreage was restricted and subsequently the world experienced a great drought or some similar disaster.

Careful Analysis Necessary.

"The solution of our problems is not going to be found by change for the sake of change," said Mr. King. It was going to result from careful analysis of the situation and by applying to it the necessary remedies. He stated that when the Liberal party came into power in 1921 it was faced with depression and unemployment.

"What did we do?" he asked. "We did not start to raise tariffs. We did not begin to strangle trade. We began to see how we could lower tariffs, to remove trade restrictions, to take the duties off implements of production. And little by little we saw that thade figures increased and unemployment decreased."

Consequently, having been through this experience, the Liberal party felt that, if entrusted with power, it would be able to meet present conditions.

His present trip was not for the purpose of making campaign speeches, the Liberal leader asserted. He wished to learn conditions in western Canada at first hand and to gather all the information he could. He expressed pleasure at the large "family gathering," and caused some amusement by remarking that it gave him particular satisfaction to welcome into the family Col. H. A. Mullins (Conservative member for Marquette), who was among those present. It was a pleasure to see Col. Mullins "in such good company."

Liberal Party's Planks

Mr. King briefly touched on plank in the platform of the Liberal party, and said they included plans for reducing unemployment, liberation of external trade, liberation of internal trade, which is being subjected to all kinds of price controlling agencies, development of primary industries, and control of credit.

"I have been asked why we have not made any provision for control of credit as in the United States," said Mr. King, commenting on the last mentioned point. "Well, there is a national central bank in big letters there, and it was placed in the programme of the Liberal party before Mr. Roosevelt became president."

Other planks were for the control of investments, because the Liberal party believed that financial mis-management of industry was largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today; safeguarding the national railways, democratization of industry, reassertion of personal liberty, electoral reform, a balanced budget, and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

These were some of the things the Liberal party stands for, said Mr. King, and the facts should be known throughout the length and breadth of the country. They indicated that Liberalism stood not for advancing the interests of any particular class or interest but for promoting the welfare of the people as a whole.

Introducing the Liberal leader, Mr. Davis said Liberals were united in believing that if Mr. King became prime minister, Canada would march forward from the unfortunate position she is now in to greatly increased prosperity.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition
D20504

Name of Publication ..... Winnipeg Free Press .....

Date ..... July 24, 1933 .....

Subject ..... Speech at Rock Lake - July 22nd. .....

King Says People Must Vote For Restoring Rights

Liberal Leader Charges Tyrannous Dictatorship Set Up by Present Government—Says Choice Lies Between Tory or C.C.F. Autocracy and Liberal Ideals.

By T. H. HART

Restoration and safeguarding of representative government in Canada was one of the most important questions that the people will have to decide at the next election, Rt. Hon W. L. MacKenzie King told an enthusiastic gathering of nearly 1,000 Manitoba electors at Rock Lake, Saturday. The crowd cheered itself hoarse in approval of a thoughtful and fighting speech delivered in splendid style by the former prime minister.

The present government, Mr. King said, had set up a tyrannous dictatorship, that, in many cases, had prevented free discussion by the representatives of the people in the House of Commons. The first duty of the voter, he suggested, must be to restore to parliament all those rights and powers won for the people by the Liberal party in years gone by, after long-continued serious, and sacrificing struggle.

"At the next election, you will have three choices. You can vote for the Tory autocracy which is bad, the C.C.F. autocracy which is worse or for the Liberal party, which, as always, will deal with the great public questions as from time to time they arise, in the best interests of everyone as decided in parliament by the people themselves.

Mr. King has no confidence in the C.C.F. programme, and he frankly and plainly said so.

"This new party which you are being asked to join is a party that is going to revolutionize things" he declared. "They are going to have the state take over and run everything. They plan—so they say—to nationalize the great industrial plant, the forests, the mines, the fisheries, and the transportation systems. All are to be taken over by the state and the state will manage them." We are to have "political" managers rather than "business" managers, so you know what would happen."

Autocratic Body

"Today we are all free to go about in our own way. You are free to send to parliament those whom you think are best able to serve you. The C.C.F., however, is an autocratic body who will tell you what you shall do, where you shall work and what you shall be paid, if ever you gave them control of the government.

"If this went through, I personally would no longer want to live in Canada," he said with emotion.

"We have examples in Russia and Germany of what has happened when the people lost control of their own affairs, and I am satisfied that my fellow countrymen love peace and freedom too much to surrender their destinies to any untried group of desperate adventurers."

And then in a humorous vein he asked, "Do you think I want to be told by Miss Agnes Mcphail, M.P., where I shall work tomorrow? Or the way I shall make my daily living?" The crowd rocked with laughter, and there was deafening hand clapping as the questions were answered with an emphatic "No."

Rock Lake is one of the beauty spots of the province. Hidden away in a valley it is delightfully surrounded by groves of majestic trees, with a back ground of hills, and the lake in the centre. Saturday its water was as smooth as velvet, and scores of visitors in motor and row boat took advantage of its friendly mood, to spend an afternoon in its company.

Attentive Audience

The Liberal leader spoke from the balcony of the old hotel. His audience, stretched out before him in an inspiring semi-circle, covered the ground right back to another building and gave the appearance of a crowded hall. Many of the women had blankets and sat on the ground. The men folk stood up. Not a single man or woman dropped out while

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Mr. King was talking. And the meeting lasted for a little more than an hour.

It was past eight o'clock when it was called to order by J. B. Baird, veteran Liberal, and a former speaker of the provincial legislature.

On the platform with the Liberal leader were Hon. T. A. Crerar, former minister of railways; J. L. Cowie, president of the new Liberal-Progressive organization; J. L. Brown, M.P., W. G. Weir, M.P, Arthur Beaubien, M.P., J. C. Davis, president of the Manitoba Liberal association, L. P. Bancroft, Norman F. Stewart, E. J. Greenway, George Simpson, J. T. Thorson, K.C., Messrs. Foster, Schlutz, McIntosh and Dr. Wiebe, members of the provincial house and H. R. Veals, of Darlingford, one of the fathers of the progressive movement.

The chairman lost no time in making a speech, but merely welcomed Mr. King to the district.

"We welcome the former premier of Canada," he said "and we pledge our hearty support to make him the future prime minister."

Crerar Extends Greetings

Hon. T. A. Crerar also extended greetings to his former chief. "Mr. King has a message for all the people, and will tell you the place that the Liberal party can fill in a world gone wrong. Liberal ideas, Liberal thought and the freedom that has come down through the centuries is the only hope for the future," he said. "The Bennett idea is the negation of Liberalism. Mr. King, on the other hand, has come honestly by his Liberal principles. His illustrious grandfather William Lyon Mackinzie, in times of stress, took his life in his hands to fight for the freedom we today possess, and I am therefore convinced that his equally illustrious grandson will bring Liberal principles into play in the government of Canada."

Warmly Received

Mr. King, when called on by the chairman received a generous handclap. After thanking former speakers for their kindly remarks, he expressed pleasure at being present at Rock Lake, and gratitude to the people for their turn out in such numbers.

"I have come to the west," he explained "to meet the people at a time when there is not the excitement of a general election. I want to study your problems, I want to hear from your own lips, and to see with my own eyes the actual conditions in Western Canada.

"All countries of the world are suffering, and the present quiet hour—politically speaking—is an opportunity to carefully think over those important questions—vital to the country's welfare—so that the people can make up their minds as to how they shall vote, when the time arrives for an appeal to the country.

To Visit Rural Sections

"My trip for the greater part will be spent in the rural parts of the west, and I plan to talk with as many people as possible from the rural sections. Already I have seen things and heard things that—if possible—has increased my admiration for the courage and heroism of my country men from Western Canada."

The success of the farmers, Mr. King went on to say, meant the success of all Canada. For this reason it was vitally important that agriculture—the basic industry — should have every support and assistance that the country could give.

"Some people contend that we must protect, by tariffs, what is popularly known as our own "home market." What is a home market? he asked. It is not—as many people suppose—a place where goods are brought for sale but is rather the market made by the purchasing power of the people—the actual money that finds its way into the pocket of the people of the country." This purchasing power can only come from the sale of the products of the sea, the land, the forests and the mines, he declared. The people of Canada cannot sell all their wheat in Canada. Neither can they sell the entire output from the sea, the mine, and the forest within the country, but have to sell to the outside world. And only those who produce cheaply and efficiently can hope to successfully compete in world wide trading he contended. He frankly admitted that the tariff question was a big one—too big to be dealt with in a single short meeting—but contended that, generally speaking, tariff walls—high tariff walls—do everyone injury, and impede the free flow of trade between the nations. And without friendly trading, every nation will suffer, he said.

Conditions Serious

Conditions, in Canada, began to be serious at the time of the last election, the Liberal leader declared. "We saw the shadow of depression rising in Europe, and we knew it was likely to spread all over the world.

"What did we do?" he asked. "Well we knew that an imperial conference was planned, so we asked ourselves could we not do something to make the people of Great Britain more friendly. With that end in view we lowered the tariff on a number of commodities made in that country, in an endeavor to increase the volume of trade from Great Britain, so as to make up for the loss that we might reasonably expect in outside countries. Mr. Bennett, however, had other plans, and after blaming the Liberal policy for the conditions, he said he would provide work for every man and markets for all our goods, if he were elected to power.

"'I will make tariffs work for you,' Mr. Bennett declared, 'and will blast my way into the markets of the world.' Incidentally he also promised to end unemployment.

"I leave it to you to say how well he has succeeded," Mr. King went on.

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"When any political leader tells the people of other nations that he is going to 'bast' his way into their country, he is effectively closing the doors that might otherwise be opened.

Took Mr. Bennett's word

"The people took Mr. Bennett at his word. They put him in power. I will again leave you to say if he has found you either markets or work.

"The Liberal party, and I as its leader, gave Mr. Bennett every opportunity to carry out his promises. Fair play demanded that we should not obstruct him. And we did not do so. We allowed him without much opposition, hitherto, to put through his policies, which he declared, were necessary to the country's welfare. We thought the Conservative policy was wrong, and we frankly expressed our views in the house of commons. But there was no obstruction.

"The Conservatives in carrying out their policy not only have increased the tariff, but what is infinitely worse, they have given the government the power to altar the tariff by order-in-council, instead of leaving the power in parliament."

Another matter criticized by Mr. King was the agreement reached at the Imperial Conference in Canada.

Agreement Raised Tariffs

"This agrement," he said, "raised tariffs and made trade more difficult between the rest of the world. But parliament was not allowed to discuss the agreement and we were told that we either had to accept or reject it, but we could not change the details."

This action on the part of the Bennett administration was, in effect, a denial, Mr. King said, of the right, won after long centuries of struggle that the people cannot be taxed—all tariffs are a tax—without the consent, as expressed by their representatives in parliament.

"And now that the World Economic Conference seems to have ended in failure, the affairs of the Empire are being dealt with in the country houses of Britain, and at Downing street, instead of in the parliament of the severa countries."

Canadian affairs, Mr. King argued, should only be settled in the Canadian house of commons. The people's representatives, he said, are the only persons authorized to make a final decision after free and full discussion on the floor of parliament. Instead they are being settled at so-called conferences. Parliament, Mr. King said, was much more important than a conference. He further thought too much money was being wasted, as well as a lot of time, in conferences, which acomplished nothing or very little of the work they started to do. In the meantime there were many Canadian problems that remain unsolved and neglected.

Liberals Trust People

The Liberal party, he claimed, had always been willing to "trust the people" realizing as he stated, that the "wisdom that will tend to good government is the wisdom that comes from the people'" instead of that of some little group, self appointed or otherwise.

"Don't be carried away by any such group," he implored. "Elect the Liberal party to power, and we will put on the statute books of this country laws that will help all the people to better days.

"This is not the first time there has been a depression in Canada," he continued. "There was a depression in 1921, but when we went into power there was not a man or a woman in Canada who did not benefit by the Liberal policies.

"Taxes were reduced, postage was reduced, the sales tax was reduced, and the income tax lowered. Notwithstanding all these reductions, the public debt was also cut down. We didn't borrow a dollar, and although we spent a lot of money, we spent it out of ordinary revenue.

"Between now and the time of election think well where your best interests will lie, and cast your vote where you think you will best be served."

Three Choices Open

"There are three choices open. The Conservative party, the party favoring special interests is one of them. Then there is a new party, that asks for support, with a promise that it will revolutionize things. It is going to have the state take over and run everything, so its leaders declare. Where are they going to get the money? It is going to nationalize the great industrial plants, the forests, the mines, the fisheries and the transportation systems all are to be taken over by the state and the state will manage them. It will be "political" rather than "business" management.

"Today you are free to go about in your own way. You are free to send to parliament those whom you think are best able to serve you.

"The Co-operative Commonwealth is an autocratic body, who if it captures the government will tell you what to do, where you shall work, and the rate of pay you shall get. They will be your masters instead of your servant, and you will have nothing whatever to say.

"Personally I would no longer care to live in Canada, if any such an autocratic body got control of the government.

"We have an example in Russia and another in Germany. Both are dictatorships. There is no parliament. In Germany parliament has been closed for five years. Do you want the same thing to happen in Canada?

"I don't think you do. I think the Canadian people love freedom too well to surrender their destiny to any untried group who will promise anything and everything to gain their ends.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

D20507

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Will Have to Answer

"Eventually you will have to settle the question as to who shall govern Canada, and you have a choice of three parties: The Tory autocracy—bad; the C.C.F. autocracy, worse, and the Liberal party, best, who will deal with the great public questions, as they from time to time arise, in the best interest of all the people of Canada.

"The Liberal party, and I as its leader, have no fear as to the result of an appeal to the people.

"In the meantime I urge that you get better acquainted with the Liberal platform, and the stand of the party on the larger questions."

The meeting closed by singing the National Anthem.

On the way to Rock Lake stops were made at Carman, Winkler and Darlingford, where brief speeches were made by the Liberal leader. Howard Winkler was host to Mr. King at Morden, and he also drove and placed his car at Mr. King's disposal for the Manitoba trip. It is estimated that the Liberal leader met and shook hands with, nearly 2,000 people as a result of the trip on Saturday. E. A. Pickering, his secretary, accompanies him on his western tour.

3.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20508 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date July 25, 1933 At Ninette Sanatorium - July 23

Subject

MACKENZIE KING PAYS SANATORIUM AT NINETTE VISIT

(Special Despatch to the Free Press.)

Ninette, Man., July 25.—On their way from Rock Lake to Brandon Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Hon. D. G. McKenzie and party, called at the Sanatorium Ninette where they were received by Dr. Stewart and staff.

The chairman, John McEachern, and members of the sanatorium board, Major G. W. Northwood, Col. J. Y. Reid, Ivan Schultz and the Honorable Charles Cannon, who had been visiting the sanatorium, joined in the reception. Patients and neighbors were gathered on the lawn.

After walking through some of the wards Mr. King was brought to a microphone on the lawn and spoke to those gathered about him and also those lying on the balconies.

He was introduced as one who had ever been deeply interested in the battle against tuberculosis.

He told how that interest had begun in the fight against tuberculosis, his own brother, Dr. McDougall King, had waged for several years and won and of the book on that fight his brother had written.

D20509 4.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date July 24, 1933

Subject At Brandon, July 24th

KING NOTES HOPEFUL SPIRIT IN MANITOBA

Liberal Leader Sees Reason for Gratification After Tour in Province

Expresses Pleasure at Social, Economic and Political Sentiment Indicated

(Special Despatch to the Free Press.)

Brandon, Man., July 24.—Beaming and debonair, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King arrived in the city at 9.51 on Sunday night, unmistakably delighted with all that he had seen and heard during his journeyings from Rock Lake to this city. "I have really had a wonderful trip," he said, "and have been more than pleased with the hopeful spirit that I have found throughout Manitoba."

Mr. King said that though there were places where he could have hoped for better crop conditions, he had seen some very fine crops during the day. Generally speaking, he had been more than pleased with the social and economic, "and I might add," said the Liberal chieftain, with a smile, "the political sentiment that I have found everywhere."

Mr. King was accompanied from Rock Lake by a party of prominent Brandon Liberals, including Hon. D. G. McKenzie, A. L. Campbell, R. H. Smith and Dr. H. O. McDiarmid, while J. E. Matthews, president of the Brandon general Liberal association, R. M. Matheson, K.C., and others were at the Prince Edward hotel several hours before the arrival of the party to extend a welcome to the distinguished statesman.

Mr. King, according to those of the party who were with him, had had something like a triumphial procession, as there were so many people in the localities through which they passed, who wished to shake hands with the Liberal chief. This was particularly the case at Ninette, where Mr. King visited the famous sanitorium. He shook hands and cheerfully chatted with every patient in the institution.

In a brief but exceedingly heartening speech to the patients , Mr. King cited the case of Sir Wilfred Laurier, who in his younger days was declared to be tubercular; Cecil Rhodes, who had gone to South Africa in order to combat the dreaded ailment, and Roosevelt who, with the the courage to endure, had fought physical ills and had survived to do great and useful work for their countries and for the world at large.

While the distinguished statesman will not give an address during his present visit to this city, he will hold an informal reception between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock this morning in the Prince Edward hotel.

At 1.30 this afternoon, a motorcade which will include the party and manw Brandon citizens, will leave for Virden for a monster Liberal picnic, where Mr. King and Hon. J. Gardiner will be the principal speakers.

5.

D20510

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Empire-Advance, Virden, Manitoba.

Date July 26, 1933

Subject At Virden - July 24th.

RT. HON. MACKENZIE KING GREETED BY LARGE CROWD AT COMMUNITY PICNIC HERE

The visit of Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former premier of Canada, to Virden Monday afternoon was an event of unusual interest. The town was in gala attire and Victoria Park was attractively decorated for the occasion. Seating accommodation for more than a thousand was provided and other hundreds found seats on the grass under the trees. The loud speakers installed at the platform made it possible for everyone in the park to hear clearly.



RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Dr. George Clingan, former M.L.A. for Virden, was chairman, and extended a cordial welcome to the large audience. "You have come to this political meeting to hear speakers who by study and experience are qualified to speak with authority on public questions," said the chairman. He then called to the platform the following men and women, distinguished in the public life of the country: Hon. Jas. Gardiner, Sask.; Hon. D. G. McKenzie, Brandon; Hon. D. L. McLeod, Melita; J. Allison Glen, Russell; J. W. Breakey, M.L.A., Souris; R. H. Mooney, M.L.A., Virden; Hon. Robt. Forke, Senator, Pipestone; Mayor Higginbotham, Virden; R. T. Smith, J. E. Matthews, D. E. Clement, Brandon; Mrs. Gee-Curtiss, Neepawa; Mrs. Loftus Johnston and Mrs. Geo. Clingan, Virden.

The chairman made announcements relative to the picnic arrangements and the table provided for guests by the ladies of the Liberal Women's Study Club, and then called on Hon. James Gardiner, of Saskatchewan, who said he was delighted to see so much interest in public affairs as indicated by the large crowd, including a number from his own province.

While not expecting to speak at any length, he said that whenever Liberals are gathered together speakers are always pleased to have something to say on questions of public interest. Farming conditions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are somewhat similar. Reviewing the depression, he quoted a story relative to elimination of the word depression, and referred to his province as enjoying or otherwise the smallest boom in its history. Conditions are not altogether due to the fact that we have a Conservative government at Ottawa, or have not a Liberal government in Saskatchewan.

He dealt with previous depressions, with particular reference to that of the early nineties, when an oat straw tick was the height of comfort. He remembered in 1893 a time when he found himself dressed in a suit made from one of these ticks. He touched on the difficult times of 1907 and of 1914, when conditions would have been impossible had it not been for the great war with its solution of the

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unemployment problem. None today surely want to see such a solution for our present difficulties. Statesmen throughout the world are striving to prevent such a solution. There are some, said he, who would destroy all that we have builded and start over on a new basis, casting behind all that we have gained from study and experience throughout the centuries that have gone.

He dealt with the difference between Socialism and Communism, one seeking to attain by persuasion and the other by force. Understandings between nations must be accomplished before we are again on the road to prosperity. When we talk of Canada first we get exactly the results that they have achieved in Europe. Mr. King having arrived, he closed with a denouncement of high tariffs inaugurated by the present federal government and deplored the increase of various taxes including that on cigarettes, cigarette papers and sugar.

Mr King, on arrival at the park, was greeted with musical honors by Virden Citizens' band and enthusiastic applause by the large audience estimated at nearly two thousand people.

The chairman made further announcements and then introduced Mr. King, premier of Canada up to 1930, when the people voted for what they were promised and he ceased to be premier.

Mr. King in acknowledging his fine reception said it was a source of real pleasure to meet such a huge crowd and to talk over national problems. On this trip through western Canada it is his purpose to learn actual conditions in the rural districts. He realized that the only way to achieve this end is to travel, meet the people and get their views, then from this first-hand information base judgments and subsequent acts in the house. A time like this provides a chance to review conditions dispassionately and base sound opinions that might be impossible during the heat of an election. The strength of our nation lies in our great agricultural industry, and at this time it is the people engaged in this industry largely that he wished to meet. He made kindly rererence to his friends, Senator Forke, Hon. James Gardiner, Hon. D. G. McKenzie, Mr. Glenn and others on the platform, whose presence was a great joy to him.

He believed Mr. Bennett should have every opportunity to demonstrate the success or failure of his policies and such opportunity had been afforded by the opposition up to the present time.

Proceeding with a speech of nearly two hours, based largely on a letter from a Winnipeg man put out of a job by tariffs against British goods, whose plea was "How are we going to live?" He wasn't sure whether he could give a satisfactory answer or not, but he would touch on some factors which he believed contributed to the unfortunate condition of the man who wrote the letter.

The whole world has been in a state of transition almost of chaos. We are paying the price of a great war. Countries have become increasingly nationalistic, erecting trade barriers higher and higher. He had hoped that Canada might have led in a broader and better method. Another idea however was promoted and it prevailed providing for economic nationalism. A mistaken policy as the people have since learned. Instead of blasting a way into world markets it has tended to shut off trade altogether. The first duty of a government is to consider and solve the major problems of the people, such as unemployment, trade, transportation and finance. The present administration was elected to create conditions whereby everyone would have a job. All know how well this has been accomplished. He showed the far reaching effect of shutting out British goods by increased tariffs and manipulation of exchange, through which not only the distributor became unemployed but many engaged in transportation and other activities also became unemployed, spreading into an ever-widening circle. Stop trade coming in and you stop trade going out.

D20512

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The Leader of the Opposition

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Some say, said Mr. King, that there is no difference between the two old political parties. They do not tell the truth. Canada enjoyed a glorious prosperity under Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Liberal policies until 1911, when he was defeated by false cries relative to the proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States. But for the great war there would have been another major depression in 1914 under a Conservative administration. Another occurred in 1921 under a like administration; then he asked the people to remember the prosperous times during the last five years of Liberal administration. Remembering these things you must realize that there is no truth in the statement that there is no difference. What has been done by the Liberal party in the past can be done again if the people entrust the administration of Canadian affairs to this party and its policies. Look to the past and be guided by your own good judgment. He urged the people to beware of false prophets even if they are sincere. With conditions as they are it is easy for people to grasp at any straw that promises better conditions. Because the post office is operated as a national monopoly successfully is no reason to suppose that all other industries can be run on the same basis successfully. It would be folly to expect that untrained politicians could achieve greater success than trained business men in the operation of industries. He pointed to the easy silde from socialism to communism, when force would be the guiding power of the lives of the people.

He claimed that unemployment relief should have been a great national undertaking, using agencies like the Red Cross, the Salvation Army and others to aid in the effort to provide for those unable to take care of themselves. He had begged Mr. Bennett to take such a step but to no end. Mr. Bennett was satisfied to vote millions of dollars without telling parliament how it would be used. He criticized strongy the attitude of the present administration in setting up a tyrannous dictatorship relative to various major activities of the government. Mr. King paid a tribute to the Canadian banking system, but thought it could be improved by setting up a central bank with government representation on its management to control all financial institutions in the interest of business.

He stated that you can't raise prices artificially by the distribution of paper money without eventually paying dearly for such action. He is in favor of parliamentary control of railways rather than commission control for set periods. He referred at some length to the Liberal party's position on some public problems as set out by himself in a speech on the floor of the house of commons February 27th last, and reported in Hansard. He urged that the people read these statements, study them in relation to Canada's best interests. He also suggested that membership in the Liberal Federation at only $1.00 a year would prove profitable in the study of public questions.

Mr. King was given a very attentive hearing and generously applauded when he concluded his very informative and interesting address.

Following the National Anthem, led by the band, many citizens accepted the invitation to meet Mr. King and the other distinguished visitors.

Much credit must be given to S. L. McBain, chairman; Col. Fred Palmer, secretary, and others associated with them on the committee of arrangement.

A-H.
Re speech here
1933.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20513 6.
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date July 25, 1933

At Opening of World's Grain Conference - Regina - July 25th.

Subject

1,500 HEAR MEIGHEN START CONFERENCE ON WHEAT'S FUTURE

Regina saw the climax of centuries of agriculture Tuesday morning. Mile-marker in the history of the world's greatest business, the World's Grain Conference and Exhibition was officially declared open by Rt. Hon. Senator Arthur Meighen.

Thousands of ears over the continent heard the proceedings by radio. More than 1,500 crowded into the armories to see the opening ceremonies of Regina's biggest event. Hon. Robert Weir, federal minister of agriculture, presided.

The conference represented a big assemblage of men, high in the political life of the country, province and city, of scientists from the world in whose laboratories the minute work of agriculture is done, of officials and workers of the World's Grain Exhibition and Conference executive and managerial staff.

Ambitious Agenda

With the opening ceremony, the conference, biggest of its kind in Canada, started on its two weeks of general sessions in the morning and special technical session by groups in the afternoon. Wide is the field of discussion ranging through all aspects of agricultural life, work and study.

Seated on the platform were Senator Meighen, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, former Canadian prime minister; Premier J. T. M. Anderson, of Saskatchewan; Premier S. F. Tolmie, of British Columbia; Lieut.-Governor H. E. Munroe, of Saskatchewan; Hon. W. R. Motherwell, former minister of agriculture of both Saskatchewan and Canada; Hon. W. C. Buckle, Saskatchewan minister of agriculture; Hon. George Hoadley, Alberta minister of agriculture, and Mayor James MsAra, of Regina.

World Delegates

As delegates of their nations were seated on the platform the following: Dr. Paul Pelshenke, Germany; S. J. Schefbeck, Hungary; Senor Garcia de la Cadena, Mexico; Dr. L. A. M. Peters, Netherlands; J. Pawlica, Poland; Capt. W. J. Watson-Armstrong, Siam; Prof. Miguel Echegaray, Spain; Sir Daniel Hall, K.C.B., Great Britain; L. R. MacGregor, Australia; B. D. Asli, India, and Dr. P. R. Botha, South Africa.

Doors of the armories swung wide to an interested public at 10:30. Delegates and officials came in during the half-hour before the opening. At 11 a.m. proceedings began with the opening words of Mr. Weir.

Unique Event

Senator Meighen referred to the special significance of "this unique event" in Canada's history. It was one that was a product of the energies and work of many, of Dominion and provincial governments, of the city of Regina. Nations over the globe had helped generously by participating in exhibiting and in conferring.

"The scale of this exhibition has never before been attempted in the life of any country," said the senate leader.

Its purpose was not only to overcome the enemies of agriculture, but to help those engaged in "the most vital branch of all human endeavor."

Gigantic Efforts

"When we think of all the efforts that have been made in all climes," Senator Meighen said, "we must congratulate ourselves. Products are here, brought by oxen, by camel, by plane, motor and fast express."

That the conference was being held in the heart of Canada's grainlands was appropriate, thought the senator.

He referred to the production of vast intellects in the past years. "But then were not the means of disseminating human thought. We have that now," said the senator. "And now education spreads freely through the masses of mankind. This conference is a consummation of triumph of knowledge in agriculture."

Clearing House

"We hope," continued Senator Meighen, "that from this conference will come something worthwhile to assist a handicapped agriculture. We hope that something valuable will ensue from this emporium of experience, from this clearing-house of learning, trial and effort."

"I now declare this exhibition and conference open," Senator Meighen concluded.

Hon. Robert Weir

From Hon. Robert Weir, federal minister of agriculture, who presided at the opening, was heard words of welcome to all the delegates. Mr. Weir referred to the heritage of many lands, brought to Canada by its many strains of people, and all welded into one Canadian whole. He spoke of the appreciation of the co-operation and

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help of foreign countries in sending both exhibits and delegates.

Paid Tributes

Congratulatory reference was made by Mr. Weir to past ministers of agriculture, provincial and federal; Hon. W. R. Motherwell, C. M. Hamilton and the present minister of agriculture in Saskatchewan, Hon. W. C. Buckle. Mr. Buckle, he said, had done much work and had carried a great load in preparation for this big event.

Mr. Weir also referred to the work of J. A. Mooney and Ernest Rhoades, conference officials. Special congratulation was voiced to Dr. E. S. Archibald, director of federal experimental farms, to whose vision, labor and preparation was the program of the conference due.

This exhibition was an innovation, Mr. Weir said, in that grains were judged on a basis of purity and breeding qualities in addition to grain as grain. It was the first time such had been done.

To applause, Mr. Weir announced the winner of the world's spring wheat championship, Freland Wilford, Stavely, Alta., man.

Mr. King expressed his appreciation of the opportunity of associating himself with the leader of the government in the senate, with the minister of agriculture in the opening of the conference. That delegations have arrived from over the world, he said, was a source of great pleasure. The conference would afford pleasure to the whole Dominion.

Service to Mankind

"I have noted the strain of international good-will and co-operation through the addresses of all the delegates," remarked Canada's former premier. Another was apparent and that was "over all nations is humanity," he said. The conference, he saw, as affording great service to mankind.

"The world is one," declared Mr. King. "And no one nation can hope to solve its own problems without helping to solve the problems of all."

He congratulated the governments in their persistence in staging the exhibition and conference despite hard times It meant sacrifice and courage, he said.

Change In Times

Mr. King said he thought it fortunate that the conference was being held now instead of three years ago. The change in the temper of the times would inject a new note in the conference's deliberations, he said. Three years ago the spirit of prosperity of 1929 was still remembered. But now a note of co-operation would be seen.

Referring to the world conference in London, Mr. King said he disagreed with the pessimist who said it was a failure. "What may seem a failure now may turn out later to be something different," said Mr. King.

Concluding, Mr. King said, "May this conference bring about the well-being and the furtherance of internatronal good-will."

Germany's View

"The" exhibition is wonderful with its displays of Canadian Grains and seeds," remarked Dr. Paul Pelshenke, representative of Germany, first of the delegates to speak. He expressed the desire to learn much from the exhibition and the technical papers to be given during the conference.

From Hungary, one of the oldest grain growing countries of the world, came greetings to the conference through S. J. Shefbeck. He hoped that the conference would lead to a better understanding of the world's problems in agriculture.

Greater Brotherhood

Reading his address first in his native language, then in English, Senor Garcia de la Cadena, delegate of Mexico, said his country felt deep satisfaction in the opportunity to become acquainted with Canada. "We hope that this acquaintanceship will lead to the furthering of the brotherhood of all peoples," Senor Cadena said.

Norml Trade

"Our country is gratly interested in the world wheat situation," said Dr. L. A. M. Peters, delegate of the Netherlands. In normal times his country imported 30 million bushels of grain, grew only six million bushels. While his land had put further restrictions on imports, he hoped that with a resumption of normal trade, these restrictions would disappear.

Hope for Humanity

J. Pawlica, Poland's conference envoy, regretted that the great distance separating Canada and Poland prevented the showing of an exhibit. But his government was interested in the work of the conference. Poland was a land with 65 percent of its population engaged in agriculture. He saw hope for humanity at large in the success of the conference.

How rice brokers were as common in Bangkok, Simaese capital, as wheat brokers in Canada, was mentioned by Capt. W. J. Watson-Armtsrong, Siam's delegate. He spoke of the difficulties of Siamese agriculture, even to the point of having to fight grasshoppers.

Useful Results

Prof. Miguel Echegaray, Spanish delegate, declared that the work of the conference in this times of crises and worry would lead to useful results for all the world.

Greetings from Great Britain were voiced by Sir Daniel Hall, tall British scientist. He congratulated the conference on pressing ahead with plans for its completion despite the depths of depression. "It is a magnificent demonstration of courage and faith in the future," Sir Daniel exclaimed.

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He spoke of the work of the International Institute of Agriculture of Rome, which he also represented. He expressed the hope of an agreement among the participating countries for a reduction of world wheat acreages.

Australia

Representative of one of the world's "newest countries," L. R. MacGregor, Australia trade commissioner to Canada, spoke of the growth of wheat growing in his country, now totalling 16 million acres. Wheat, he said, was in the van of agriculture in his country. He also expressed congratulations and good wishes on behalf of New Zealand.

"My country is a land of 135,000,000 people, whose mainstay is agriculture," exclaimed B. D. Asil, delegate of India. Its problems in agriculture were those of Canada. "This conference is the best method of exchanging notes and of learning," he said.

South Africa

Dr. P. R. Botha spoke of the difficulties of agriculture in the South African dominion, which he represented. The corn crop there was a 50 percent failure which meant an importation of corn instead of export as South Africa was wont to do in the past. "Such conditions," observed Dr. Botha, "upsets trade relations."

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Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date July 27, 1933

Subject Prince Albert Liberal Ladies' Association - Luncheon - July 26th

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT GIVEN FREE HAND TO CARRY ON, SAYS LIBERAL LEADER

Realizing that the Dominion in common with the rest of the world was passing through a period of intense economic stress, he as leader of the Liberal party and the opposition in the House of Commons had given the government as free a hand as possible and had withheld any criticism since the Conservative administration began, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said at a luncheon tendered in his honor by the Prince Albert Liberal Ladies' Association in the Avenue hotel yesterday.

The Bennett government was given an opportunity to fulfill its pledges to find work for the jobless and markets for the nation's products through the instrumentality of the tariff, through an economic nationalism, Mr. King declared. The people, he said, would have resented the criticism of the government when it fought circumstances that were beyond its control and therefore the Liberals had made the road clear in every way to allow unhampered functioning of the government.

Deliberate Gerrymander

Stating that the present administration was not anxious to see him continue as the representative of Prince Albert, Mr. King went on to say that the redistribution bill of the last session was apparently a deliberate move by the government to gerrymander. The government sought to legislate members out of the house by changing the boundaries of their constituencies. Changing the boundaries of the Prince Albert riding as originally intended would have had the effect of switching a Liberal seat with a majority of 1,195 to a Conservative seat with a majority of 100 to 200, based on the figures of the last vote, Mr. King said.

The size of constituency units in Saskatchewan is about 44,000, Mr. King pointed out, but the Prince Albert riding now had only about 38,000, one-quarter of which was made up by the city. The opposition put up the best fight it could, he added, to keep the boundaries of constituencies fair and just.

New Party Born

Faced with serious world situations and national problems, the Dominion is now passing through a very critical stage of its development, vastly different from many years ago when the issues were clearly defined, Mr. King said. Unrest today has given birth to a new party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Carelessness, he continued, may throw the country in a direction that may impede its progress. Good intentions may produce bad policies and the social program of the C. C. F. should not be condemned but a close examination must be made to see in what direction the people are looking. Because of the state of distress, many may not see through the platform offered by the new party.

He urged that things of the past that have proved successful be applied again and not to change for want of a change. Right will triumph in the end, he said, and winning or losing the next election is secondary; the important matter is whether the Liberal party's policies are for the benefit of all. The coming election will be an opportunity for everyone to serve his country and fellowmen.

Compliments Delegation

Mr. King expressed his deepest appreciation of the cordial and hospitable welcome accorded him upon his arrival here and he was particularly appreciative of the addresses of welcome given at the luncheon. He complimented Prince Albert upon sending by far the best delegation, which included Miss Laura Tyerman and Peter Mahon, Jr., to the Twentieth Century Young Liberal convention held recently in Ottawa. The best representation to the convention came from Saskatchewan and the best delegation from this city, he declared.

The leader regretted that due to his duties as leader of the opposition and of the Liberal party in Canada he was unable to visit his own constituency more frequently.

Mrs. F. W. Holland, president of the Liberal Ladies' Association, presided at the luncheon and introduced the speakers and guest of honor. Addresses of welcome were given by Miss Laura Tyerman on behalf of the women's branch of the Federal Liberal Association; Mrs. B. C. Wormworth on behalf of the Liberal organizaton at Halcro, one of the oldest districts of the province; Malcolm Daisley on behalf of the Young Liberal Club; W. G. Elder on behalf of the men's division of the Liberal Association, and T. C. Davis, K.C., M.L.A., for Prince Albert. Arrangements for the luncheon were in charge of a committee composed of Mrs. R. W. Mutchmor and Miss Tyerman. Roland Guilbault, of St. Jacques l'Achigair, Quebec, also spoke a few words.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20517

Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... July 27, 1933 .....

Subject ..... The Ridge - July 26th. .....

King Advocates Aim At Control By Legislation

C.C.F. Program Impossible Of Being Carried Out, Says Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King In Address At Ridge Picnic

Control of finance, manufactures and industry through legislation in the interest of all the people is the object of the Liberal party's pol cies, declared Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal member for Prince Albert and Liberal leader, when he addressed a large gathering at a picnic at The Ridge yesterday afternoon.

State management of business, production, finance, industry and distr bution is the aim of the C.C.F., a program impossible of being carried out and which, if effected, would carry the nation from one extreme under the present administration to the extreme of the social st policies, Mr. King said.

Referring to the birth of the C.C.F. movement among the workers and farmers on account of the present distress, Mr. King said anything that stimulates political thought is all to the good. Conservat sm has its place, he said, but it has gone too far by raising the tariffs at every session from 15 percent to more than 100 percent. It is not necessary to go to the other extreme to bring about a change because the people have that power by virtue of the ballot.

Compensation Or Communism

Two-thirds of the resolut ons passed at the C.C.F. conference at Regina can be endorsed by the Liberal party because they embody principles of Liberalism, Mr. King stated. "If the new party comes into power will it carry out ts platform and how?" he asked. Will it take over all the natural resources and industries and give or withold compensation? If no compensation s made then it will be confiscation which means government by force. Government by force is Communism such as exists in Russia today, Mr. King said.

Even though the people are passing through a ser ous economic period will they be willing to give up their freedom, their right to property and consent to be told what they must do, where to do it and how much they will re ce ve, Mr. King asked. This program is impossible of being carried out, he declared.

Reduction of the tariff to stimulate trade and the restoration of its powers to parliament are pol ic es of the Liberal party, Mr. King continued. He said that tariffs had been raised abnormally by the Bennett government to benefit the eastern manufacturer.

Would Control Trusts

Today the wealth of the Dominion is controlled by a few men. It is one of the pr nciples of Liberalism to legislate to control this situation, trusts and combines and to empower the government to take over industry where those who control them operate against the good of all. Where privileges are abused, the state would be justified in taking control and administering in the interests of the people, Mr. King believed.

He emphasized that the L beral party stands for more control over wealth combinations and the establishment of an investment board to control stock and security sales and speculation. Liberalism also favors a central bank in order to control in a large way the banking s tuation.

Under Conservative regimes the nation has always been plunged into a state of depression from which it rallied when the Liberal party came into power, Mr. King sa d. A third party has never been born under Liberal regime but always under a Conservative rule. Then as soon as the Liberals came into power the third parties died out, their ranks being absorbed by the Liberal party. Third part es, he contended, have always been born during a Conservative regime and dissolved during Liberal rule.

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Under Liberal government markets had been found, work found for the jobless, tariffs and duties had been reduced, taxation and the capital debt cut, surplusses instead of deficits had been recorded and trade increased by policies put into force for the benefit of the many instead of for the few, Mr. King stated. Canada, he declared, is suffering more than necessary during the depression because of arbitrary fixing of exchange rates and arbitrary valuations put into effect by the government.

Thanking the ladies of the western division of the Liberal Association of the Prince Albert constituency for the presentation of an address of welcome, Mr. King said that women were bearing by far the heavier burden of grief in the economic depression.

Development Hindered

That the Bennett government was not giving the Hudson Bay route a fair and full trial because boats had to come into Churchill with ballast and then leave with their cargoes, thereby making it a one-way route, were statements made by T. C. Davis, K.C., M.L.A., for Prince Albert, who also addressed the gathering.

Policies of the Conservative administration were preventing the development of the western Canada ocean outlet by their restrictions, he said.

With the records of both provincial and federal Conservative administrations before them at the next election as well as the records of Liberal rule, the people will have an opportunity to judge them on their merits and decide which they prefer, Mr. Davis said further.

Extremes of Rule

Referring to the development of the C.C.F., Mr. Davis said that he could not see what is to be gained by going from the extreme of the present administration to the extreme of a socialist program. On one side has been created an economic slavery while the other would create not only an economic, but also a physical, slavedom.

He noted that it was the new party's intention to put their program into operation by constitutional means and not to follow the course which had been adopted, that of force, in Russia. However, he continued, its policies will close down the rights of popular liberty and opinion and create a dictatorship acquired and supported by force.

W. E. Gladstone, of Clouston, presided at the meeting which was followed by a sports program in which men's and ladies' softball teams took part in tournaments.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D'20519

Office of the Leader of the Opposition

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Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... July 27, 1933 ..... Leask, Sask - July 26th. Night meeting

Subject .....

Thousand Hear King At Leask

Proportional Representation and Legislative Reforms Advocated by Grit Leader

By RAY BROWN
(Canadian Press Staff Writer)

Leask, July 27. — "The people of Canada who sent Tory representatives to parliament are primarily responsible for what they are getting today." Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader told a large open air audience here last night. There was no use complaining about it now. The people had elected the present government and so were responsible.

Mr. King drove 60 miles from an afternoon meeting at The Ridge, to speak here. As a Liberal provincial convention had been held in the afternoon he found, a gathering of more than a thousand awaiting his arrival. The people waited patiently until a very late hour for his arrival.

Proportional representation was advocated by Mr. King in the course of his opening remarks. He also declared that legislation was required which would make people happy on the land instead of tending to crowd into the cities. He believed that such legislation was a possibility.

Redistribution as enacted at the last session of parliament was referred to by Mr. King, particularly with reference to Prince Albert constituency. "Gerrymandering" was the word he applied to the changes made in his own riding. "I don't care how the Conservatives change the boundaries, they're going to be beaten out of their boots at the next election," he asserted amid applause. He also charged that the government had gerrymandered the general redistribution map in such a way as to give larger representation to the urban centres at the expense of the rural sections.

"Mr. Bennett is one of those persons who likes to be the whole government himself, and I am afraid his ministers have allowed him to do it," continued the Liberal leader. The choice at the next general elections would lie between Conservatives, Liberals and the C. C. F. He did not think that the C. C. F. would get sufficient members to control the House of Commons, but it may be able to prevent the Liberals doing so.

Conservatives represented what he regarded as the mistaken policy of high tariffs, and Mr. King supplied a number of illustrations in support of this viewpoint."

"What right has any man got to go from Canada to England and sign an agreement undertaking that you will cut down the number of acres you will cultivate next year, without your member in parliament knowing anything about it?" asked the Liberal leader.

He demanded a return to parliamentary control and a cessation of dictatorial government. Trade must be revived. It was the life blood of the country, and policies of the present administration were stagnating it.

The Conservative party was "strangling trade."

"If we are returned to power we will tear down these high walls which shut out trade," said Mr. King. "We would not try any blasting tactics. We would try a policy of good will and lower tariffs." At the conclusion of his speech Mr. King returned to Prince Albert.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition
D 20520

Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date July 28, 1933

Subject Meath Park, Sask. - July 27th. Afternoon meeting.

BABY VILLAGE SETTING FOR KING SPEECH

Hundreds of Farmers Gather to Hear Liberal Leader

By RAY BROWN
(Canadian Press Staff Writer)

Meath Park, Sask., July 28. — A baby village, just one year old, but growing bravely, was the setting for Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's picnic meeting Thursday. Located 30 miles north and east of Prince Albert, in a district where Ukrainian and French settlers have carved out farms, Meath Park a year ago was just beginning.

Yesterday, hundreds of farmers, their wives and children, many of the women wearing the picturesque and colorful costumes which indicated their race, gathered for a picnic and speech. The building in which Mr. King spoke was but half roofed. There were only one or two benches and the crowd stood up. But men, women and children breathed the indomitable western spirit which grins when things are gravest.

Meath Park is one of the communities which was formerly in the constituency of Melfort but, since the last redistribution, is within the boundaries of the federal riding of Prince Albert. To reach it the Liberal leader drove through a district where some of the buildings are still roofed with thatch, and where certain farmers have lost heavily through hail.

"We must see to it that those conditions which have put other countries back do not gain a foothold here," Mr. King told his audience. Freedom must not be sacrificed to any new movement. He reviewed some of the struggles which had taken place to gain and preserve freedom.

"I think that what we need in Canada today is more in the way of freedom of trade," he said. The policy of the Liberal party had always been to cheapen the cost of implements of production. He reviewed the various tax reductions which had been put into effect during the nine years of Liberal administration

"I believe that the depression in Canada would not have been anything like as bad as it is today had it not been for the high tariffs put into effect by Mr. Bennett," he continued. After three years of high tariffs Mr. King thought the country was about ready to reduce them.

The Liberal leader spoke very briefly. After his meeting he returned to Prince Albert.

D 20521 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... July 28, 1933

Subject ..... Prince Albert Board of Trade Banquet - July 27th.

King Points Out Bright Side Of Depression Period

Speaker Believes New and Broader Road of Progress Will Lead Out From World Economic Crisis

Declaring that capitalism has solved the basic problem of production, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said that the need today is to change the view of industry from the idea of profit to one of social service and the equitable distribution of wealth when he addressed a gathering at a banquet given in his honor by Prince Albert board of trade in the Avenue hotel last night.

These are times, he said, when problems facing us are probably greater than any that man has faced before. Mr. King said he was glad of the opportunity to visit Prince Albert and exchange views on the problems of the riding, problems which are also those of the Dominion.

Speaking of the future of Prince Albert and the north, Mr. King envisioned developments, arising out of the opportunities immediately at hand, that would defy imagination. Progress is advancing northwards now as much as it is moving west. Opportunity is here that cannot be surpassed anywhere. Since his last visit, he said, there has been a decided change in the city and while he has been in the constituency only two days he has noticed a very distinct air of growth and refinement.

Working For Future

Speaking of problems of reconstruction Mr. King said that men and women of all shades of thought are working together for the future. He believed that the period of stress and strain is coming to its end as depressions in the past have ended.

"This cloud came over from Europe after a great loss of life and property which had to be paid for. The world got along all right for a time but it was inevitable that this period of depression come in order that the world pay for the four years of war," he said.

Out of it will come a new strength fostered by the stress that was shared by all. Continuing, he said, that it is not necessary to look for a changed order of society to bring Canada out of the depression. The central problem of the present is the social and human problem, how to live in a social state that will make more and more for the good of all. Out of these periods of stress, the paths of progress have been made and widened and minds must be stretched and kept imaginative to keep pace with the trend of thought, Mr. King declared.

"I think that Canada will escape much of what has gone on in other parts of the world because her people have had more freedom. But we must not let conditions that cause unrest drift beyond control," he warned.

Phases of Social Life

Labor, capital, managerial ability and the community are the four branches of industry and all are interdependent and essentially necessary, Mr. King said. Up to the present the world has thought of industrial questions in terms of only one or sometimes two. The capital investor is the one who has received more consideration than any other. Labor has realized this and is now demanding that it be given equal consideration and protection, Mr. King stated. In the service of industry and of the community, labor gives its life and it is asking that the world recognize this fact. It is essential, he added, that the world realizes that labor contributes as much as capital to industrial enterprise.

Mr. King said he believed that the control of the policy of industry and how the control of industrial and economic policy is to be distributed is the crux of the present problem. One kind of

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government on one hand is controlled by a preponderance of capitalism while in other countries the people have given the control of government to a monopoly of labor.

Abolish Monopoly

"Will the creation of one monopoly do away with the bad affects of another monopoly?" the speaker asked. He declared that just government should consist of a joint control and the abolishment of any monopoly. This development, he said, has come about to a certain extent.

In order to bring about a greater progress it is unnecessary to change the structure and form of society or to be revolutionary. The economic structure should be examined to see that every part is justly rewarded, he stated. Capitalism has solved the problem of production and the problem now is to solve the matter of distribution. Production, the basis of social life, having been solved, the phase that must be given consideration now is the equitable distribution of wealth, the speaker declared.

Change the view of industry from the idea of profit to the idea of social service to feed and clothe the people and to meet adversity. "When that note is uppermost," Mr. King emphasized, "we will be able to find the solution of the rest of the problems of the country. Out of the darkness is coming not only a greater economic life but the spirit to serve as well as to be served."

C. H. McIntosh, president of the board of trade, presided at the banquet. In a civic address of welcome, Mayor H. M. Sibbald referred to Mr. King's long service in public life in Canada and the Empire, saying that he was one of the most distinguished statesmen of the Empire and a recognized scholar of affairs touching the Dominion.

Moving a vote of thanks to the guest of honor for his address, J. G. Diefenbaker, K.C., said it had been an inspiring message envisioning a new future and a new life, a message both beautiful and scholarly coupled with the imagination and practical outlook of a statesman. Mrs. Frank Kisbey sang two delightful solos and she was accompanied by her daughter, Miss Marjorie Kisbey. N. Jutras was the community song leader.

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D 20523

Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... July 28, 1933

Subject ..... Prince Albert Board of Trade Banquet - July 27th.

King Inspired Council To Beautify This City

One of those greatly interested in the beautifying of the Dominion capital, Ottawa, Mayor H. M. Sibbald said at the board of trade banquet here last night that Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King had also inspired the council here to retain the city's property along the river banks and develop it to beautify Prince Albert.

The mayor and J. G. Diefenbaker, K.C., who moved a vote of thanks at the conclusion of the address made by Mr. King, spoke of the personal pleasure both had had in meeting Mr. King at Ottawa..

Opening his address, Mr. King said that in the first two days of his visit to Prince Albert he had received so much in the way of kindness and warm welcome that he couldn't begin to express his appreciation. It had exceeded the bounds of imagination both from members of his party and the citizens of the constituency at large, he said.

As leader of the Liberal party and the opposition, Mr. King said that he regretted that his time was not his own for the constituency and that his duties prevented him from making more frequent visits to Prince Albert.

Smiling, he said, "When I was prime minister, Mr. Bennett made it his duty to keep me on the straight and narrow path and now that he is prime minister I am doing my best to return the favor." Thus, his duties as leader of the opposition, occupied much of his time, Mr. King said.

Dwelling on the beautification of Prince Aibert Mr. King declared that the banks along the river here afford an opportunity for beautiful drives and he visioned a time not many years hence when this city would be attractive beyond one's belief.

The speaker pictured in a striking manner the development of the Meath Park district where he spoke yesterday afternoon. The advance of Meath Park from a forest of poplars to a district of fine farm homes and a splendid community centre during the course of two or three years of the world's greatest depression was typical of the spirit and courage of the people who carved their homes out of the forest-covered countryside, Mr. King declared.

He pictured also the rise of Regina during the past fifty years from a bald prairie spot to the seat today of a great exhibition of the wealth of Canada and the world with representations from the corners of the earth. He recalled the time when his parents travelled to the end of the steel as it was on the prairies then and the driving of the last spike by his mother at the point where the city of Regina stands today.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20524

Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... July 29, 1933 .....

Subject ..... At Wadena, Sask. - July 28th. .....

LARGE MACKENZIE RIDING CROWD HEARS GRIT LEADER

(By Canadian Press)

Wadena, Sask., July 29. —Into the constituency of Mackenzie where a merry fight for federal honors will soon take place, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal leader, came for a mass meeting Friday night, motoring the 170 miles from Prince Albert. The Liberal chief found an audience which crammed the hall and overflowed into the street.

Interest in politics here is at a high pitch just now, because a by-election to fill the vacancy caused by appointment of Milton Campbell, former Progressive member for Mackenzie, to the tariff board, will be held in a few months, and the Liberal candidate in the riding is J. A. MacMillan, a Wadena lawyer, and the C.C.F. has nominated L. St. George Stubbs, former Winnipeg judge.

On the way over from Prince Albert, Mr. King called at the stock farm of Hon. Robert Weir, minister of agriculture. Mr. Weir was away at the World's Grain Exhibition in Regina, but Mr. King exchanged greetings with Mrs. Weir.

Mayor M. H. Lockhard of Wadena, welcomed Mr. King on behalf of the citizens of the town before the Liberal leader spoke. Harry Butcher, member for Long Lake, and M. MacMillan, the candidate in Mackenzie, gave brief addresses. "All of us have had our ups and downs," Mr. King remarked to his audience, "and I got one of my sudden downs just three years ago today."

He referred humorously to the fact that three years ago Friday night the ballots were being counted which showed that the Conservative party had triumphed in the general election.

"I am not so sure that I went down that night as that the people let themselves down," he said. The promises of Mr. Bennett had triumphed over the record of the Liberal government.

CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT

Mr. King criticized the government for not holding the by-election sooner. Mackenzie seat had been vacant ever since last February, and now news despatches indicated that the election might not take place until October. "Why should the seat have been vacant all through a session of the dominion parliament?"

There were a lot of Conservatives who felt that Mr. Bennett had put the tariff up to high. Mr. King said the Mackenzie by-election would give these Conservatives a chance to tell Mr. Bennett so by their votes. The result would not defeat the government. The government had a good majority, so an intimation against high tariffs could be given to Mr. Bennett without his government being jeopardized.

The people of Mackenzie would be asked to choose between four candidates at the coming by-election, continued the Liberal leader. The responsibility rested with them. It became his duty to outline the difference between the policies of the various contending parties as clearly as he could see them.

High tariffs, he declared, was the keynote of Conservative policy. "You can't expect to sell your commodities to other nations if you put tariffs up so high that they can't trade with you," he asserted. The nations of the world had begun to see that it was time to let down tariff barriers.

The Liberal party was ready to trade with those countries wishing to trade with Canada and it would lower tariffs in order to do so. That was the difference between Liberal and Conservative parties.

He did not think that he needed to say much about the United Front party, Mr. King said. It was a Communistic movement and Humphrey Mitchell, Labor member for Hamilton, who had recently visited Russia, declared that he had never seen such suffering in his life as prevailed there. That should be sufficient to say in respect to a Communistic movement.

The next party was the C.C.F. "I think the thing to do is not to condemn this party but to examine it" the Liberal leader said. A time might come when Socialism would be possible for Canada.

He thought, however, the policies of the C.C.F. under present conditions were a mistake and that people would be worse off than before if they went into effect. Any movement which starts up for the benefit of a class rather than for the benefit of humanity as a whole, is doomed to failure, Mr. King said.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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D 203224

Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... July 29, 1933 .....

Subject ..... At Wadena, Sask. - July 28th. .....

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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He cited conditions in Russia and Germany. They were dictatorships. He believed the C.C.F. was moving in the same direction. How could it enforce its polies save by a dictatorship?

With three-fourths of the C.C.F. program he was in sympathy, Mr. King said. He felt that it had probably been drafted with the Liberal program in mind, because it was so similar. But the C.C.F. clauses providing for taking over by the state of industries, etc., Liberalism was opposed to. They had in them the seeds of Communism. How could the C.C.F. take over and socialize the factories, mines, fisheries, transportation systems and banks? Would it be done by confiscation? If so, that was Communism, and it was a real danger in the C.C.F. policies. At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. King returned to Prince Albert.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... July 31, 1933

Subject ..... At Henribourg, Sask. - July 29th Afternoon

KING VISITS HENRIBOURG

J. G. Gardiner, Provincial Liberal Leader, Also Addresses Gathering

By RAY BROWN
(Canadian Press Staff Writer)

Henribourg, Sask., July 31.—Remarking that "we all have our ups and downs" but that if an election were held tomorrow he would probably be up and Mr. Bennett down, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, addressed a picnic audience here Saturday.

The Liberal leader drove out from Prince Albert and found a large audience waiting under a dull grey sky with a cool wind blowing. On a platform erected on the picnic field were seated J. G. Gardiner, former premier of Saskatchewan; Mrs. Gardiner; Hon. T. C. Davis of Prince Albert; and stalwarts of the Liberal party in the vicinity.

Brief speeches were given by Mr. Davis and Mr. Gardiner. The former remarked that he was told "Mr. Bennett had kept only one of his promises. That promise was to put the Canadian farmer on his feet, and he has done it." This remark aroused a laugh.

King Spoke Briefly

Mr. King spoke briefly. He referred to the difficult conditions under which people were living. The Dunning budget of 1930 he said had been designed to improve conditions not only for the farmers but for the eastern manufacturers. But Mr. Bennett had come along with another plan, and the people had accepted it.

Had Mr. Bennett's plan succeeded, asked Mr. King. Was the unemployment problem solved? Had Mr. Bennett blasted into markets for the Canadian farmer? The government had been given a free hand and it had not succeeded. It was time to try another method.

He spoke of the C. C. F. "The people will have to consider whether they are going to accept untried panaceas or tried leadership," he said. The C.C.F. had started the cry that the two old parties are just the same."

They are not the same Mr. King insisted. He spoke of the Liberal polices. The Liberals stood for establishment of a central bank which would control currency and loans, he said. It stood for establishing a national commission to deal with unemployment. There must be means of providing necessary credit for reliable farmers and others who required money to conduct their activities. The Liberal party advocated the creation of a central institution which would see that adequate credit and necessary money was available There should be a board to control investments and the Liberals stood for this. Supposing the C. C. F. took over all insurance companies what guarantee was there than any of those who had paid premiums for years would receive anything for their investment. Once you disturbed confidence in these institutions there was danger. But they could and should be controlled in the interests of society as a whole. And this the Liberal party stood for.

State control, as advocated by the C.C.F., was condemned by Mr. King. He did not think that people who had come to Canada to escape the sort of thing the C.C.F. stood for would be taken in.

"The C.C.F. offers you a new heaven and a new earth, but you are an awful fool if you think they can bring it about," he said.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... July 31, 1933 .....

Subject ..... Emma Lake - July 29th Sask. Evening .....

Emma Lake Picnic Crowd Hears King

Inclusion of the Montreal River and part of Lac la Ronge in Prince Albert National Park is the vision held out by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, if he were returned to power. Mr. King addressed a keenly interested outdoor audience at Jarvis' Beach, Emma Lake, on Saturday evening bringing to a close the very successful Liberal picnic held during the day.

Mr. King said that if he were elected to power he would like to see both sides of Montreal River and part of Lac la Ronge added to the park and the construction of a highway through to Lac la Ronge via Montreal Lake.

Many of his remarks brought tumultuous applause from a crowd representative not only of the district, but also of Prince Albert and Saskatoon.

The suggestion that the boundaries of the park be extended northward to include each side of the Montreal river and part of Lac la Ronge and that a motor road be built to Lac la Ronge was made by T. C. Davis, K. C., provincial member for this riding, in his speech which preceded Mr. King's. Mr. King endorsed Mr. Davis' suggestion by pledging the Liberal party to follow out this program when returned to power.

People began to arrive at the beach early in the afternoon and when the aquatic sports started at 4 o'clock, 400 or 500 were present. After swimming, rowboat and canoe races had been held, as well as a bout of canoe tilting, a surf board riding competition gave the crowd a thrill. This was finished just after 6 o'clock and as two motor boats were warming up for the final event, a motor boat polo match, Mr. King and his party arrived. Mr. King was escorted to J. L. Stevenson's motor boat by Capt. Frank Doran, president of the Christopher Lake Liberal Association and he was taken out to throw in the ball for the start of the polo game. He watched the game from the boat until L. G. Temple and George Neis scored the first goal of the game, remarking that it was the first he had seen, and that it was certainly spectacular, but looked dangerous. He was then taken by boat to Mr. Stevenson's cottage, where a room was placed at his disposal.

At 6:30 an open air dinner was served, at which Mr. King and his party were entertained by the executives of the Christopher Lake and Emma Lake Liberal Associations. Over a nundred people sat down to dinner with the party, which included J. Gardiner, M.L.A., and T. C. Davis, M.L.A., Dr. T. Robertson, J. W. Sanderson and others.

After dinner an address of welcome was read by Captain Doran and a smoking stand of moose and elk horn was presented to Mr. King, on behalf of the two local Liberal Associations. After Mr. King had voiced his thanks for the address and the presentation, R. Fern, who was chairman for the evening, introduced T. C. Davis. Mr. Gardiner spoke after Mr. Davis, giving a short speech with intimate glimpses of Mr. King's life.

Mr. King was then introduced amid cheers from the crowd, which had grown to more than a thousand.

He mentioned the fact that he had succeeded, after getting the boundaries of the National Park first laid out, in having the boundaries "stretched to nearly twice the size," and said that if he should again be returned to power, he intended "to have another pull at the boundaries," saying that he would like to see "both sides of the Montreal River and part of Lac la Ronge" included in the park, also a highway right through Lac la Ronge, via Montreal Lake.

He stated that this would attract people to the park not only from all over Canada, but from all over the world. After speaking briefly about a high tariff policy giving protection to special interests and making "rich men richer" while the great mass of the people remained the same as far as wealth was concerned, he closed his speech, saying that he had no desire to "spoil a successful meeting by causing "everyone to get wet." as it was then threatening to rain. A vote of thanks was proposed by Captain Doran.

Mr. King and his party then motored to Waskesiu, where he spent the weekend, returning from his cottage this morning.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... August 1, 1933

Subject ..... At Silver Grove (~~Shellbrook~~), Sask. - July 31st.

Poor Government Worst Of Bad Things, Declares King

By RAY BROWN
Canadian Press Staff Writer

Shellbrook, Aug. 1.—The banking system of Canada is a good one, but it has not functioned so as to satisfy all the needs of the Canadian people. A central bank, which will supervise currency and credit, is necessary and will be established if the Liberal party attains power.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, dominion Liberal leader, thus outlined the position of his party at a picnic meeting in Silver Grove near here yesterday evening. "We have had drought, grasshoppers and lot of other bad things, but worst of all, a bad government," he told his audience with a smile. He charged the government with strangling trade by high tariffs.

"Are we going to vote for a government which did that?" he asked. "I do not think that many people who voted for Mr. Bennett and his government last time will do it next time. I am not afraid of that."

But a new party had sprung up, and it was making promises which were much greater than those of Mr. Bennett, at the last election. They were going to establish a new heaven and earth.

"Don't get carried away by promises," warned Mr. King. The C.C.F. program of state control and direction could not possibly be brought about legally, excepting by changing the constitution.

And this could not be accomplished without the provincial legislatures' agreement and the support of the Senate and the House of Commons. "Do you think the Senate, with a Conservative majority, would agree to such a thing?" he asked. Either the C.C.F. could achieve its ends, assuming that it attained power, by legal and constitutional means, or by illegal methods. If it worked in the legal way its program could not possiby be carried out excepting over a long period of time. Would any one waste a vote on such a proposal?

The Liberal leader outlined the policies of his party. Creation of a central bank, establishment of an investment control board, control of industry so that it would function in the public interest, these were in the Liberal program. The Liberal party believed that the present problem was one of distribution, not production, and would attack it from that point of view.

In discussing the central bank, Mr. King expressed the opinion that the present banking system had not functioned in such a way as to satisfy all the banking requirements of the people. On the other hand the present banking system was a good one. It should be used.

It had concentrated efficiency and skill and should be continued but there must be supervision and regulation so that society as a whole would benefit. Before Mr. King, Omer Demers, Liberal candidate in the provincial constituency of Shellbrook, said the only achievement to which the present government could point was "the manufacture of Bennett buggies and Anderson carts."

"We want to get back on a basis where we can put an engine back in the buggy and run it with gas," he said.

Today the Liberal leader was to speak at Debden in the afternoon. In the evening he will address a mass meeting at Canwood.

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Name of Publication ..... The Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date ..... August 2, 1933

Subject ..... At Shellbrook - August 1st Garden Party

GET BACK TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, KING URGES

Canadian Press

Shellbrook, Aug. 2. — Canada is facing "a new sort of dictatorship which may lead us from the Socialistic to the Communistic state," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, told an audience here.

Under the Bennett government a form of dictatorship was being practiced. With hard times "as an excuse the present government had taken to itself powers which were autocratic in their nature and which had the effect of depriving the people's representatives of their right to run the country."

And, said the Liberal leader, partly as a result of this dictatorial attitude of the government, a new threat has arisen in the country. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation with promises beside which those of Mr. Bennett at the last election were mild, was proposing to revolutionize conditions in Canada.

"There is danger of setting up another dictatorship," said Mr. King. "We've got to watch the situation in this country. Once you give arbitrary powers you are in danger of getting what they have in Russia."

The important thing to do now was to get back to responsible government in Canada. "You are the government," he said to the audience. "Parliament is just what you make it. If you have high tariffs and increased taxation today it is because those who supported Mr. Bennett at the last election gave him power to impose these things."

He objected to the government making agreements with foreign countries which, he claimed, would bind the Canadian people. What on earth right had the prime minister to go to England and make agreements which will affect our well-being without the consent of parliament, he asked. He asserted that trade agreements entered into at the Imperial Conference were approved by the government and Parliament was told to pass them. The people's control of their own affairs had been taken away.

Mr. King spoke at a garden party held on the lawn of Dr. and Mrs. T. W. Sutherland at Shellbrook. Mrs. Sutherland presided and in addition to Mr. King, T. C. Davis, formerly a member of the Saskatchewan government, and Omar Demers, provincial Liberal candidate in the constituency of Shellbrook, gave brief addresses.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20530

Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date August 2, 1933

Subject At Debden, Sask. - August 1st Evening.

LABOR DOES NOT NEED C.C.F., SAYS MACKENZIE KING

(Canadian Press Despatch.)
By RAY BROWN

Debden, Sask., Aug. 2.—"You don't need a C.C.F. party to get representation for Labor in Ottawa," Rt. Hon. W L. Mackenzie King told an audience here Tuesday evening. "Many years ago the Liberal party had established a department to look particularly after the interests of the working man. And now, in every government there was seated a minister of labor."

An audience, largely French-speaking, heard the Liberal leader. He reminded his listeners that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had stood always for a United Canada.

"That is one thing that I do not like about these new parties which are growing up," he said. "They tend to divide Canada. A third party which represents a class or two classes won't last long, but it may do a lot of harm."

The new movement which was starting up, the C.C.F was a movement in the interest of a certain class, Mr King continued But a party must include all classes "You must remember that Canada is a very large country, and if you build up class groups and class parties, you are going to create divisions."

The only kind of government which was entitled to the name Co-operative Commonwealth was one which included all parties, and creeds and interests, and that the Liberal party did, he said.

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. King left to address a night meeting at Canwood.

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The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... August 3, 1933 ..... Prince Albert, Sask. - August 2nd. Golden Jubilee Exhibition.

Subject .....

Pioneers' Parade Great Spectacle

The parade of 500 pioneers of Prince Albert and district before the grandstand at the Golden Jubilee Exhibition yesterday afternoon was a truly inspiring and thrilling spectacle.

Before the parade, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who formally opened the day, Hon. J. F. Bryant, Sir Frederick Haultain and C. C. Young paid glowing tributes to the founders of a new land and the builders of a new civilization in the west.

In vivid word pictures the speakers drew a striking comparison between the present and the pioneer days when settlers set out across the trackless prairies in quest of a new home, their years of rugged toil and the fight with the elements for sustenance and life.

Grandstand Cheers

More eloquent than words was the march of the old-timers past the directors' box and the grandstand. The originals of this district or their descendants received cheer after cheer from the packed grandstand. Old, familiar faces beamed beneath the lines left by the years of toil, suffering and triumph. Their step still firm, though many had been bent by the great labor of carving new homes in the wilderness and beaten by the elements in a rough battle for life, the gallant pioneers, men and women, marched on.

The sight stirred many a heart. It was a link with the past and its indomitable courage, strength and triumph. They were men and women who had been young in a particularly colorful era in the development of the west that is fast being forgotten. They came back as from a distance to view their handiwork, the heritage of opportunity and achievement they had created for those who followed them. Their appearance was like a history long dead that had come to life.

Colorful Personages

Many of the men were those who helped to defend the white population against the insurrection of 1885. Many were veterans of Canada's famous Mounted Police force. Two of those in the parade are the only remaining originals of the first Royal North-West Mounted Police troop of 1874, J. O. Davis and Harry Keenan.

Others were pioneers in agriculture in the district. Others had been frontiersmen of a colorful day that is gone. Some had been teachers, business men and merchants while others had taken other parts in the making of the west.

Four Over 90 Years

At least four of those present were more than 90 years of age. In the first section marched the pioneers of 50 years and more. Following immediately behind were the old-timers of 45 years or more and behind them the pioneers of 40 years or more. F. T. Graves, of Davis, honorary president of the agricultural Society, marshalled the first group, Rev. W. A. Macdonell, secretary of the Historical Society, the second group and Henry Lacroix the third group. The Boy Scouts assisted.

Prince Albert's 50-year-old musical organization, the City Band, headed the parade which moved slowly in front of the grandstand from the east end to the west and then back. The selection for the march was most appropriate, "The Boys of The Old Brigade."

To those who witnessed the spectacle it will be a long-remembered one.

Debt To Pioneers

"None of us can begin to express," Mr. King said in his address, "the debt that is owing to the old-timers both in accomplishment and inspiration. We admire their indomitable courage, endurance, vision, iniative and self-reliance, all the essentials that make for good character in the building of a nation."

It is not often, he continued, that the present generation is able to see the real makers of the country in the persons of the pioneers. The past 50 years has witnessed the procession of men and women of character who builded a nation without the help of the state or the present-day facilities.

Today is a far-cry from the time 50 years ago when Prince Albert was a small straggling settlement along the river, difficult of communication with the outside world when men and women of courage formed the Agricultural Society and staged the first fair, Mr. King said. All citizens of Prince Albert are part of that great citizenship that stretches from the city outward in an ever-widening circle to include a world citizenship, Mr. King emphasized. The citizenship of the

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pioneers, he declared, had developed from citizenship in a small community of the great north-west to one of world significance.

Praises Minister

Mr. King said that he had just learned of the death of the mother of Premier J. T. M. Anderson and he extended his deepest sympathy to the head of the Saskatchewan government in his bereavement.

He voiced his pleasure at being associated on the platform with Hon. J. F. Bryant, provincial minister of public works, who is doing so much to beautify the province, and Sir Frederick Haultain, Mayor H. M. Sibbald, of Prince Albert, and T. C. Davis, K.C., provincial member for the city.

Former Premier Speaks

Sir Frederick Haultain, former premier of the legislature in the old territorial government and present chief justice of the Court of Appeal of Saskatchewan, addressed a few words to the audience reminiscent of the old days in the west. The pioneers, he said, faced long years of unrequited toil, setbacks by heat and frost and plagues when they began to build themselves homes in the great north-west. Sir Frederick paid a glowing tribute to the women of the British Empire without whom, he said, the boundaries of the Empire would not have extended to the ends of the earth.

Speaks For Province

Declaring it an unexpected pleasure to be able to attend the Golden Jubilee Exhibition, Hon. J. F. Bryant, provincial minister of public works, brought greetings from the government and the people of Saskatchewan. He represented Premier J. T. M. Anderson, who was unavoidably absent because of the bereavement of his mother.

Mr. Bryant made several interesting references to the historical background of the city and district. One of these, referring to the settlement of the west, was that Prince Albert was founded in 1866, St. Laurent in 1873, Battleford in 1874 and Saskatoon in 1883. He called to mind the late Senator T. O. Davis, who came to Prince Albert in 1880 and who was closely identified for many years later with public life and public affairs. Senator Davis was the father of the present provincial member for Prince Albert. In closing Mr. Bryant congratulated the president and directors on the success of the exhibition.

C. C. Young, president of the Prince Albert Agricultural Society, introduced the speakers. Mr. Young conveyed his warm thanks to the pageant performers, local service clubs and other civic organizations who were contributing to the success of the Golden Jubilee Exhibition.

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Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date August 3, 1933

Subject Elk Order Grand Lodge Convention Banquet - Prince Albert, Sask. August 2nd

King Lauds Elks For Good Works

There is much in the spirit of the Elk Order that will help find the solutions to the problems facing the nation today, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the federal Liberal party and member of the House of Commons for Prince Albert, said in an address to 200 delegates, visitors and guests to the Grand Lodge convention at a banquet in the Avenue hotel last night. Fred Shnay, general chairman of the convention committee and Past Exalted Ruler of the Prince Albert lodge, presided.

During the evening tribute was paid to the character and work of E. E. Hand, of Vancouver, Grand Exalted Ruler, who was taken ill during the opening session yesterday and whose death last night was announced at the close of the banquet. Speakers declared that it would be the wish of the late leader of the Elk Order to carry on no matter how grieved the heart might be. Following the announcement of Mr. Hand's death, all heads were bowed in prayer led by Rev. Canon F. J. Stevens who was yesterday appointed Grand Chaplain of the Order.

Sense Of Equality

Mr. King, whose name was coupled with the toast to the Dominion, welcomed Elks to this constituency and spoke of the relation of the Elk Order to the solution of present problems. Among its members is that sense of justice and equality between the various sections of society that is so essential toward solving perplexing questions, he declared. Since coming to the city, Mr. King said he had learned of the great amount of relief and social work done by the Prince Albert lodge.

Linking up the work of the order to the problems of the world, Mr. King said that in dealing with questions of the day too much has been put upon the wealth of the nation and not enough upon the human side. Too much time has been devoted to developing the nation's wealth and not enough to the solution of the problem of how to help the people to live.

Aided Human Side

The Elk Order has devoted its work to the human side of civilization and if this spirit is uppermost the current problems will soon settle themselves, Mr. King said. When a study of the problems of human life is made, never forget that there is a dual nature in man, the brute and the spark of divinity. Too often, he said, the brute predominates and too many people are like vultures and birds of prey in the industrial and financial life of the world. The Elk lodge stands for the finer side of life and if that spirit of humanity can triumph over greed and avarice, then the problems of the time will be speedily solved. "We must realize there is a law of the jungle and a law of love and the law of love must be made more powerful," Mr. King stated.

The right attitude will solve everything, he continued, and the right attitude cannot be better expressed than by the word "Elk." Unless all plans for solving the problems of the day are founded on equality, love and kindness, all plans will collapse, he said. Mr. King urged lodge members to enlarge their Order and be true to their principles in order to find the solution for the times.

Represents Premier

Hon. J. F. Bryant, provincial minister of public works, who proposed the toast to Saskatchewan in the absence of Premier J. T. M. Anderson, stated that the Elk Order is one of the most important societies in Canada from the point of their charity and good work. It is an ancient and noble order, he said, and an influential body and along with other organizations it has a splendid opportunity to do great work. Mr. Bryant dealt extensively with the province as a whole, particularly its great natural resources. After speaking of the distressing conditions which confronted farmers in the south for several years of drought, Mr. Bryant declared that Saskatchewan is facing the future radiant with optimism.

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Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

Proposing the toast to Prince Albert, Mayor H. M. Sibbald, who joined the local lodge recently, declared that the order is one of the greatest societies for social work in the Dominion. This is a red-letter day, he said, for Prince Albert and Northern Saskatchewan inasmuch as the city is host to the annual convention. The mayor said that he decided to join the Prince Albert branch when he realized the splendid work being done in this community. It was very refreshing, he concluded, to welcome an organization whose interests are the interests of the country as a whole.

The duty of Elkdom is a great responsibility, J. Baraclough, of La Tuque, Que., acting Grand Exalted Ruler, said in a brief address. The present convention is one of the most inspiring gatherings he has ever attended and it shows that the order in Prince Albert means something not only to the Prince Albert Elks but also to the community.

Lauds Past President

A brief resume of the work of the Prince Albert lodge, in which he paid tribute to the efforts of Fred Shnay, Past Exalted Ruler, was given by J. G. Diefenbaker, K.C., who spoke briefly. Mr. Shnay, chairman of the banquet, said that he could not take all the credit for the success of the local lodge's efforts. The secret of its success, he declared, was in the co-operation and confidence earned by the lodge from the citizens of Prince Albert.

Col. Royal Burritt, Grand Exalted Secretary, proposed the toast to the visitors and guests and gave a most forceful explanation of the ideals of the Elk Order. When the objects of Elkdom are realized, men will be a league of justice and equality and business will be the means for social service, but this achievement will rely upon the spirit of its members, he said.

Toast to Royal Purple

Though only recently formed here, the spirit of the Royal Purple, ladies' branch of the Elk lodge, has been present for many years, Rev. Canon F. J. Stevens said in proposing the toast to the ladies. This spirit is that of the pioneers and the builders of the nation and the mothers are the only ones who can inculcate this spirit that builds for the future, he said. The reply to the toast was made by Mrs. H. P. Eisler, Loyal Lecturing Lady of the local Royal Purple Lodge.

During the evening enjoyable solos were sung by Mrs. Eisler and Mrs. Frank Kisbey while piano selections were played by Al. Smith. Miss Marjorie Kisbey and Mrs. Grace Thronton, of Miami, Florida, were accompanists.

Among the guests at the banquet were T. C. Davis, K.C., Inspector G. C. P. Montizambert, Chief Constable Frank Lesley and C. H. McIntosh, president of the board of trade.

Mr. Shnay expressed the appreciation of the local lodge to Mayor H. M. Sibbald and the city council, the Agricultural Society, "Paddy" Conklin, members, committees and visitors who assisted with the program for the convention.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date August 4, 1933 At Sturgeon Valley, Sask. August 3rd - afternoon

Subject

Indians Hear Liberal Chief

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Addresses Picnic Gathering at Sturgeon Lake

By RAY BROWN
(Canadian Press Staff Writer)

Sturgeon Valley, Sask., Aug. 4. — The world would not have waited until 1933 and the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation to find a cure for all its ills, if such a cure had existed, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal member, told a picnic crowd here Thursday. The audience, which included many Indians from the nearby reservation, listened attentively while Mr. King criticized the C.C.F. program of state ownership and control.

"How does the C.C.F. propose to take control of private property?" asked the Liberal leader. "If by confiscation and force, it is Communism."

"Do we in Canada want to emulate conditions in Russia?" he continued.

Surely it was much better to retain a stable system of government which had stood the test of time than to adopt revolutionary proposals.

"The reason that I am talking about this," he went on, "is because I do not want the people to be humbugged again. Mr. Bennett humbugged them once. I don't want it to be repeated."

If the C.C.F. was not going to confiscate private property in order to carry out its program, it must purchase it. How could this be done? He did not believe that any faith could be placed in the proposal to issue certificates against the resources of the country. Of what immediate value were undeveloped resources, he asked, and how could securities issued against them be redeemed. He doubted very much if people would be willing to accept paper money circulated with such backing.

What people forgot today was that you could not have a war which devastated cities, wasted property on a colossal scale, and destroyed human life, without paying for it, Mr. King said. Today the world was confronted with the serious problem of liquidating the war debts. He thought that the nations would just have to forget war "and perhaps they will forgive each other a little of the debts." At any rate he expressed the hope that people would not allow themselves to be drawn away from reliable and sound policies, owing to the depressing results of the struggle.

It was a great pleasure to him to see so many Indians present, the Liberal leader said. The Indian had possession of Canada long before the white man came. He should be treated fairly and justly.

Friday Mr. King was to address a picnic audience at Duck Lake in the afternoon, and a night meeting at Rosthern.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... August 5, 1933 ..... At Duck Lake, Sask. - Aug. 4th Afternoon

Subject .....

King Not Satisfied With Bank Probe Body's Personnel

Canadian Press

Duck Lake, Aug. 5.—An address of welcome to him at a large picnic gathering here yesterday contained, said Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, all that he advocated. "I see your address," he said with a smile, "declares that we should have lower tariffs, a change of government and that we should have the same prime minister as we had four years ago. I am in favor of it.'

The Liberal leader spoke to an audience composed largely of French-Canadians, from a platform erected just outside the little town of Duck Lake, where the first shot in the second Riel Rebellion was fired. He spoke of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, its causes and its program. Third parties such as the C.C.F. arose in periods when Conservative governments were presented on the new banking in power, he said.

Farmer and Labor should be re-commission, which has just been appointed, Mr. King stated. While commending the appointment of the commission as a step in the right direction, he declared that it should have been taken two years ago. If that had been done parliament would have been in a position to go ahead with the revision of the Bank Act at the last session of parliament.

The commission is made up of distinguished men, but they appear to be bankers and financiers, and if press reports are correct, it does not include representatives of the great productive activities of agriculture and labor Mr. King told his audience.

"We should have at least one outstanding farmer on the commission. Similarly, labor should be represented. The prime minister of Great Britain was drawn from the ranks of labor, the secretary of state for dominion affairs was also a labor man. Surely we could find in the ranks of labor a man who can go on that commission,' said Mr. King.

"I think that the government makes a mistake in not trusting the people." He believed that the people of Canada would have much more confidence in the findings of a commission if the elements of agriculture and labor were represented on it, the Liberal leader continued.

He noted there was a possibility of at least one other appointment to the commission and he asked the government to include a man in whom the people had confidence and to give representation to both farmers and laboring men. "It it not too late or the government to do that," he said.

If these elements were not given a representativ,e there was danger that the people would be less inclined to accept the report as sound, he said.

In failing to appoint these representatives the government was following a similar course to that which it had pursued when the royal commission on transportation was formed, Mr. King continued. The transportation commission had not had a representative of the railway brotherhoods on it. As a result of that, a large element of the railway men felt the report was unsatisfactory. The government could rely on Liberal support if it followed wise suggestions and brought in the report before the next session of parliament, Mr King said. It should be available for the members to study before the House met.

Whatever the commission recommended the Liberal party stood firmly for establishment of a central bank. The Liberal party had advocated this and stood for it for two years.

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Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date August 5, 1933 At Rosthern, Sask. - August 4th Evening.

Subject

BENNETT BALKS AT ELECTION KING TELLS CONSTITUENTS

Won't Hold Contests Till Last Minute—Will Put Off General Appeal

BIG GERRYMANDER

Rosthern, Sask., Aug. 5. — "The government has waited until the last hour of the last day of the last month to hold by-elections to fill three vacancies in the House of Commons," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, told a mass meeting here last night.

The vacancies, he continued, had occurred away back in February or March, and he now observed the by-elections would not be held until the latter part of October.

The government had put them off as long as possible. "That is the sort of thing a man does when he is drowning," Mr. King said. The fact the by-elections had been put off as long as possible indicated how doubtful the government felt of the result. It was not unlikely a general election would also be held off, but nevertheless the Liberal leader urged active steps for organization.

Rosthern Excluded

Rosthern, where Mr. King spoke, is now in his constituency of Prince Albert, but will not be when a new election comes round. The redistribution bill passed at the last session of parliament changed the boundaries of Prince Albert so as to exclude Rosthern.

The Liberal leader dealt at some length with the change. The effect of the change was that the part which gave him more than half his majority at the last election was put into the riding of Melfort, he declared.

"That is what we call a gerrymander," he continued. "There is nothing fair, nothing just, nothing honest nor honorable in it." And one of its worst features was that the government had deliberately deprived this part of Saskatchewan of its voice in the affairs of the country.

He had been asked whether he would run in Rosthern or Prince Albert at the next election, Mr. King continued. His answer was that the people must decide. The people must make the choice, and until the conventions were held, he would not know where he was going to run. It was not a matter for Ottawa to decide.

For Reciprocal Trade

"I do not need to change anything I have said in regard to policies I stood for," said the Liberal leader in a brief reference to the fact he had gone down to defeat in the reciprocity campaign of 1911. Whatever Mr. Bennett might say now, the Liberal party had always stood and stood now for reciprocal trade, especially with the United States.

"You can't trade all one way," Mr. King continued. Conservatives talked of the home market, but the home market was the purchasing power of the people. And it ceased to exist when this was lacking.

Conditions are Worse

"Mr. Bennett came in. He's had his chance. What has he done?" continued Mr. King. As far as he could see, things were much worse than when Mr. Bennett assumed office.

"I do not blame Mr. Bennett for the depression," he said, "but I do blame his promises for defeating a Liberal administration which was doing good work and under which the country was prosperous." The government had imposed prohibitive tariffs, the Liberal leader said.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date August 7, 1933

Subject At Sarburg, Sask. - August 5th Afternoon

VISITS SAMBURG

Samburg, Sask., Aug. 7.—It is not often that a political leader walks along a path strewn with flowers. That is what happened to Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King here Saturday. When the Liberal leader arrived at the picnic grounds to give an address, school children of the district were drawn up in two lines along the path which led to the evergreen decorated platform. As he proceeded to his place, girls with flower baskets walked in front strewing blossoms along the way.

This was not all. When Mr. King took his seat on the platform an address of welcome was read to him by one of the school children, while bouquets of flowers were presented by girls to the Liberal leader and also to Hon. T. C. Davis, former attorney-general of Saskatchewan. Mr. King referred to his welcome as "one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen."

Samburg district, settled largely by Ukrainians and Poles is now in the federal constituency of Melfort, but, when the new redistribution bill goes into effect at the next election it will be in Prince Albert.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... Prince Albert Daily Herald .....

Date ..... August 7, 1933 ..... At Christopher Lake, Sask. August 5th - Evening

Subject .....

King Entertained At Novel Supper

Guest of Christopher Lake Liberal Association at The Tepee

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was the guest of honor at a novel supper Saturday night, given him by the executive of the Christopher Lake Liberal Association, at the Teepee. Mr. King and his party arrived shortly after seven o'clock, to find that the interior of the Teepee had been decorated with evergreens and a square table had been constructed with an open centre in which the fireplace rose to almost the table level.

During the supper a charcoal fire was burning, and Mr. King was interested to hear that the charcoal was a local product, made from the white poplars that make up so large a proportion of Northern Saskatchewan's forests.

After supper the company drank the usual toasts, and then Mrs. F. L. Temple presented Mr. King with an inkstand made from antlers as a souvenir of the Teepee. He, after thanking her, and also the local Liberal association for their entertainment, spoke for a few moments about the splendid way he had been received in his constituency.

He pointed out the allegorical significance of being in a teepee, which suggested the first form of government in Canada, while the voters present represented the modern rulers. He said that the meeting held at Emma Lake last week, and this supper, had given him the feel of the north poignantly, and that he would always remember them both.

The horn ashtray stand which was given to him at Emma Lake and the inkstand he had received tonight, he said, would be placed in his library in his Ottawa home, where they would remind him of his northern constituents.

The Hon. T. C. Davis thanked the local executive for their efforts at Emma Lake as well as the present occasion. He then asked J. M. Stevenson, of Saskatoon, for a few remarks, jocosely calling him the "mayor of Emma Lake."

After supper Mr. King and his party motored to Neis' Beach, Emma Lake, where he was presented with a model birch bark canoe by Mr. Neis. It had been arranged to take the party on a tour of the lake by boat, but as the hour was late, the party having been delayed, the trip had to be cancelled.

Those present at supper were: The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. T. C. Davis, Dr. W. W. Amos, R. M. Fern, J. W. Sanderson, George Neis, J. M. Stevenson, H. J. Neurauter, C. B. Neurauter, Dr. Thos. Robertson, J. H. Lindsay, E. A. Pickering, C. Levall, F. L. Temple, L. G. Temple and Frank Doran.

From Neis' Beach Mr. King went on to Waskesiu where he spent the weekend in his cottage on Prospect Point, returning to the city today.

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Name of Publication Prince Albert Daily Herald

Date August 8, 1933

Subject At Prince Albert, Sask. - Aug. 7

Liberal Leader Advocates "New Deal" For Canadians

King Warns Reform Elements Of Danger Of Division and Invites Union Under Liberalism

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, stood before a large mass meeting here last night as the champion of Canada's "forgotten man" and the advocate of a "new deal" not by revolutionary changes to substitute a monopoly of labor for one of capital but by orderly evolution through reforms outlined in his party's program.

More than 2,000 assembled in the Minto Arena heard his plea that forces favoring reform be not so hopelessly divided as to permit those in high financial authority to rule through this division.

They heard his invitation to those elements which favor reform to unite under the Liberal banner.

He stressed the fact that under a democracy such as Canada has, the people govern, and not those who happen to occupy the high posts as elected representatives of the people. Through their votes, he declared, the people can control the policy of the nation. He intimated in effect that if the people want a "new deal" they can obtain one through the ballot boxes.

LIBERAL LEADER LEAVES FOR SOUTH

Dealing with the program of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Mr. King declared the difficulties which would confront any effort to change the constitution as the new party proposes would be insurmountable. As an alternative he offered the Liberal program.

Dr. Thos. Robertson, president of the Prince Albert Federal Liberal Association presided, and those on the platform were: E. S. Clinch, M.L.A., Shellbrook; Dr. and Mrs. T. W. Sutherland, of Shellbrook; Andrew Knox, former Progressive member for this riding; Malcolm Daisley, president of the Prince Albert 20th Century Liberal club; Mrs. F. W. Holland, president of the Prince Albert Ladies' Liberal Association and Miss Laura Tyerman, secretary; T. C. Davis, K.C., M.L.A., for Prince Albert; J. R. Taylor, Birch Hills, provincial member for Kinistino riding, and J. H. Lindsay, K.C., of Prince Albert.

Before Mr. King spoke, flowers were presented by diminutive Marjorie Ferguson, who shyly received the customary reward from the Liberal chieftain.

This was the windup speech of Mr. King for his two-week visit to his constituency. The Liberal leader left this morning by car for Saskatoon.

Dr. Robertson Presides

Dr. Thos. Robertson, the chairman, opened the meeting by expressing his pleasure at the large attendance present.

He congratulated the city that the penitentiary and Prince Albert National Park could not have been moved. If they could, he declared, they would probably be now in Saskatoon with the Income Tax office and the Soldier Settlement Board office or even at Regina.

Up to the defeat of the late Liberal regime, Dr. Robertson declared, there had been no dismissals for partisan reasons, nor were there any appointments other than of competent persons. Contracts under the Liberals, he said, had been let on their merits. There can be no criticism of the record of the previous government, he contended. Referring to the record of the present government, he said that when the government had changed there were as many Conservatives as Liberals at the park.

"Today," he declared, "they are all Conservatives, and so it is all down the line. The Conservatives have appointed utterly incompetent persons to fill positions."

Makes Prediction

In two years, Dr. Robertson predicted, Mr. King will again be prime minister of Canada. The chairman then called upon T. C. Davis, K.C., provincial member for this riding.

Mr. Davis expressed appreciation for the "wonderful turnout at this gathering."

Before turning to political subjects the speaker stated his belief that he spoke for everyone in expressing regret that the Dominion championship had not come to Prince Albert. It was, however, a noteworthy achievement that, if this city does not possess the best football team in the Dominion, it has at least the second best. When one considers, he said, the field the Toronto team had to draw from, the remarkable feature of Prince Albert's achievement becomes fully apparent.

"This," he said, "being a next year country, we can look forward to the championship coming to Prince Albert next year.

The speaker also held out the hope that the Mintos, playing "in this very building" would have possession of the Dominion hockey title before the next political meeting is held in the building.

Mr. Davis stressed the importance of Mr. King's position as leader of the opposition. Since Prince Albert has been fated after the last election not to be represented by Mr. King as prime minister, the riding has enjoyed the second best honor, being represented by Mr. King as leader of the opposition. The demands upon Mr. King's time being so heavy and the requirements of his position necessitating residence in Ottawa, Mr. King is placed at a disadvantage over those who are able to reside in their constituencies and able to come more in direct contact with their ridings. It has been a privilege to have Mr. King spend two weeks in the riding, the speaker declared, expressing personal appreciation because he had had the opportunity to be with Mr. King so much.

More Appreciative

"The visit," he declared, "has tended to make all with whom he came in contact more appreciative of Mr. King's sterling qualities.

The Liberal leader's "utmost sincerity" and his keen interest in the welfare of Canada and of her people were described as two

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of Mr. King's outstanding qualifications for the national position he occupies.

"Prince Albert," the speaker declared, "is privileged to have in Ottawa such a distinguished representative as Mr. King."

Under the parliamentary system of government, the people, the speaker declared, could well consider giving acclamations always to the prime minister and the leader of the opposition so that they could be left to concentrate upon national problems and ignore the ones arising from the necessity of seeking personal election.

It should be, he said, that a man of Mr. King's qualifications would be welcomed to the House of Commons instead of an effort being made to exclude him, as is the case when political opponents attempt to defeat him in his own riding.

Gateway of Empire

Briefly sketching the benefits which have accrued from the establishment of the park north of here, Mr. Davis said that which had been done was merely a taste of what could be accomplished with more development in northern Saskatchewan than has taken place to date.

"Prince Albert, although it is south of a line through the centre of the province, is the gateway to the vast northern empire, the wealth of which has scarcely been scratched. All of this can be made tributary to Prince Albert under proper development."

The speaker pictured the prospectors seeking for mineral wealth, digressing to ask what incentive there would be under nationalization of natural resources according to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation plan for the search for commercially valuable ore bodies if no rewards accrued to the individual for their discovery.

These prospectors, he said, had discovered such famous mines as Noranda in the pre-Cambrian shield which extends over into Saskatchewan. There is no reason that the speaker could see that the portion of this mineralized rock area in other provinces should contain commercially valuable ore bodies and that there should be no commercially valuable ore bodies in that part in this province.

"This vast mineralized area in this province, he said, is cut off except for transportation by canoe or airplane. The province is financially unable to remedy the situation, but the Dominion of Canada is in a position to undertake the building of a road into this great area, after first extending the boundaries of the park northward." Mr. Davis said that when Mr. King is prime minister of Canada — "and it won't be long," — he remarked, "Mr. King will be approached and asked to give us more of that of which we have received a taste since the park was created."

Painting a word picture of the post office building, which had been enlarged under Mr. King's regime to house busy government offices, with "half the blinds pulled down" because federal offices had been moved from here, Mr. Davis suggested that one of the first things Mr. King may do when returned to office will be "to have the blinds put up again."

Mr. Davis concluded by voicing his appreciation and that "of the people of this constituency" because Mr. King had been able to spend two weeks in this constituency.

Expresses Appreciation

Mr. King opend his speech by declaring that he had never spent a more memorable, delightful and inspiring two weeks in his life than the two weeks he had spent in the Prince Albert riding on his visit which was drawing to a close.

He expressed appreciation for the earnest and successful effort his supporters had put forth to give him an opportunity to visit so many parts of his riding and to meet so many persons. He also expressed his keen appreciation of the kind reception he had received from those of other political faiths. He had not, he said, sensed opposition while on his visit.

One thing that had impressed him, he told the audience, was the contrasting phases of life he had seen in his riding and the resemblance of it to a little Canada in the making. First there are the Redmen — the natives — and then there are the representatives of races from other lands beyond the seas, all working together here in perfect harmony.

"We hear about the C. C. F.," he declared," but I would like to say there could be no finer picture of a co-operative commonwealth than there is in my own riding. If that can be done in this part of the Dominion where 50 years ago there was only an occasional hut and if all that has come since came despite periods of stress which have tried one's patience, think of what we can

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look forward to in the near future, if we are only true to the traditions which have made this country what it is today."

Issues Warning

The speaker warned against wasting time following "phantoms of revolutionary changes, which have never done good and won't do good." He saw convincing evidence in what is going on in his own constituency that revolutionary changes are not necessary to improve the opportunities of one and all when this can and is being done by working together for the common good of all.

At this point Mr. King turned to congratulate the Prince Albert City Band upon its commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of its birth, commending the band for the part it had played in bringing about that harmony of spirit.

Referring to the vast meeting he was addressing, Mr. King declared that while he appreciated the honor which had been conferred upon him by the congregation of such a large number, nevertheless he would never forget the expressions of goodwill at the many little gatherings he had attended throughout the riding on his visit.

Turning to a consideration of the delegations which had called upon him and the requests which had been made, Mr. King first mentioned having received a delegation of war veterans.

He had, the speaker said, consistently contended on behalf of the Liberal party that the last place to economize is with the pensions of returned men in respect to the pledges given to the men who went overseas and their relatives. He pledged his party to an endeavor to see that the returned men are made to feel that the pledges given when they were asked to make the sacrifice of fighting for their country would be considered as this country's most sacred of pledges.

Proclaims Liberal Policy

This, the speaker declared, was the policy of the Liberal administration during the eight and a half years it was in office and never during that time did the Liberal administration turn a deaf ear to overtures made on behalf of the veterans. Insofar as was possible, he said, the effort had been made to do justice to the returned men.

With reference to the civil service, the Liberal leader declared that to have our laws properly administered there must be a permanent service maintained for which men and women of intelligence and expert training are required, and security of tenure is essential for efficiency.

"I am proud of the fact," Mr. King declared, "that during the eight years we were in power up to the last election not one civil servant was dismissed purely for political reasons."

Participation by civil servants in partisan activities was a different matter. It was done in violation of the law of the land but all cases which deserved dismissal were dealt with in that fashion only after a thorough investigation.

"I do think," Mr. King declared, "that the present government is far too indifferent to the position of the permanent civil service ought to occupy and that they have gone too far in dismissals for political reasons without ground. You can never build up an efficient permanent civil service on the priniciple that to the victor belong the spoils. The Liberal party has objected time and time again to measures to degrade the civil service."

Liberal Protests Ignored

As one of these measures, tending to degrade the civil service, presented by the present government Mr. King instanced the bill which took the penitentiary service out of the civil service despite the protests of the Liberal party and of some of the government's supporters.

"The Liberal party," Mr. King declares, "stands for a civil service secure in tenure so long as the members continue to do what is right and true."

Mr. King criticized the government for placing the railways virtually under the control of one man by the legislation implementing the recommendations of the Duff royal commission. The entire management of the railways is being entrusted to this dictator who will have two associates, the identity of none of the three yet being known.

Furthermore, Mr. King pointed out, these three when once appointed cannot be removed before five years have expired unless by resolution approved by both houses of parliament.

"Not only the people's House, which changes according to the will of the people, must pass this resolution but also the Senate must give its approval," the speaker stated, in emphasizing his point.

The Liberals, he said, when in office had found it futile to attempt to effect reforms because of the preponderance of opposition votes in the Senate. The moment when a government has a majority in the Senate seldom

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ever comes.

This difficulty which would confront efforts to change the constitution of the Dominion was considered by the speaker as an insurmountable obstacle to the effecting by constitutional means of the reforms envisioned by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Before the sweeping changes desired by the C.C.F. supporters could be brought about, the consent of both houses of parliament must first be obtained, the provinces having unanimously consented, before the Imperial parliament will act to alter the constitution as desired.

The Liberals, the speaker repeated, had opposed the divorcing of control over the railways from the House of Commons and the Liberal party, Mr. King declared, stands for the finding of some way that will make the will and the wish of the people prevail. He favored constitutional changes to widen the scope of the Dominion in the regulation of industry to run more in the public interest.

Hopes For Amicable Settlement

Mr. King with reference to the delegation of railway employees which had waited upon him—said he hesitated to discuss the predicament they were in at present, being faced by another ten per cent wage reduction. He could not, he said, discuss the matter while a vote on the proposed strike was pending for he would be branded as a demagogue trying to play politics with the railway vote.

He would, however, discuss the larger issue. He expressed the hope that the strike vote would be carefully considered and that some means would be found to bring the different elements together to settle the difficulties without resort to a strike.

He had played a part in framing the Industrial Disputes Act which compelled an investigation before there could be a strike, lockout or change in wages. That, he believed, had been one step forward, but he was not certain that this legislation had gone far enough with respect to the larger industries which affect the public.

RECOGNITION IS NEEDED

"I think," the speaker continued, "that the time has come when those who own the capital invested must realize the man who invests his capital is no more entitled to reward than the man who invests his life and his energies. In order to get that reward, fairly and squarely, each should have a voice in the control of policy of industry itself. A recognition of that fact is needed in the great industries of the country."

He had advocated, Mr. King declared, that the control of the railways be entrusted not to one man but to a committee of four upon which capital, labor, the managerial factor and the community be represented and that they sit about a common board to formulate and control railway policy. He believed under such a policy it would be possible to achieve and maintain harmony and justice to all and that the mere presence on the committee of the representative of each contributing factor to industry would bring a sense of security.

The capital investor, he declared, today enjoys too large a measure of control of industry, whereas the man who invests his labor makes equally as great a contribution.

"There is too marked a tendency to view property as sacred and to ignore the sacredness of human life. In these very things such movements as the C.C.F. arise. Don't think that this is something to condemn. Examine it carefully to see what is being aimed at. The C.C.F. has gained force because an effort was put out in so many directions to keep all these things so conclusively under the control of capital. This is not being discovered because of the C.C.F. party but because of the study of the problems of the day."

C.C.F. PARTY NOT REQUIRED

It did not require the formation of the C.C.F. party for him to recognize the superiority of humanity's claims to those of industry Mr. King declared. Shortly after the war he had written a book, "Industry and Humanity," of which this was the theme.

The present day's problem, he declared, is the eradication of greed and selfishness and this cannot be done by the substitution of the monopoly of labor for that of capital. The solution is to avoid the creation of any monopoly and to give every factor interested in industry a voice in the control of its policy.

The voice of parliament is the voice of the community, but the community through parliament does not have to enter industry. The trouble today, the speaker declared, is that parliament has assumed too great a load. The tax burden is already too great. The laws will have to be shaped to confer upon the factors in industry their proper share of the

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control of policy, but the speaker urged that industry thus regulated be given as free a rein as possible. Reforms by gradual stages appealed to the speaker as being preferable to sudden drastic revolutionary changes which carry the risk of throwing progress back.

Takes Credit to Liberals

Mr. King took credit to the Liberal party for putting into practice these preachings by appointing Tom Moore, head of the Trades and Labor Congress, as a member of the directing board of the Canadian National Railways.

A mistake had been made, he said, in selecting the personnel of the banking commission by including a preponderance of bankers and great financiers. Such things as this, he declared, only help further the kind of thing the C.C.F. stands for. Farmer and Labor elements, he declared, should be given a voice on the commission. This stand the speaker repeated, is not new, but it is consistent with the contents of his book written some twelve years ago. "This," he said, "is my conviction and my belief."

If entrusted with power, the Liberal party would move step by step, the speaker said, in the direction of increasing the voice of labor and of the community in the control of industry.

"This," he said, "is my alternative to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. I believe that something has not to come soon in the industrial life, not by revolution but by evolution, which will not substitute one monopoly for another, but get rid of monopolies altogether. The state has too heavy a burden already to add anything more by taking over industry. We stand for putting industry on its feet by more self government in industry."

REVIEWS BENNETT POLICIES

Turning to a review of the Bennett government policies, Mr. King declared that three years ago from the day of the meeting he had resigned as prime minister and recommended that Mr. Bennett become the premier. Since then he had given Mr. Bennett as free a hand as possible. In parliament, he declared, he had debated fearlessly but he had never said Mr. Bennett was not sincere.

"I have said,' Mr. King declared, "that I didn't think his policies were the best for the country, that they would be costly, and that the promises Mr. Bennett made in the 1930 election campaign were not those of a man who had a sense of his responsibilities. The people who put Mr. Bennett in office can now see if the policies were in the interests of the Dominion."

"Mr Bennett's policies are based on economic nationalism. I think at the next election we will hear a lot about the Empire as a self-sufficing unit, ringed about by tariffs. I think it is a mistake and that the three years which have gone by have proven it to be a mistake. Every time Mr. Bennett lifts the tariff walls, or by order-in-council creates arbitrary regulations, more trade is strangled."

Enunciates Liberal Policy

Mr. King enunciated the Liberal policy as one of encouraging trade with nations which desire to trade with Canada. One reason why the railway wage crisis is upon us, Mr King declared, is that trade which provides business for the railways has been strangled. If trade were made to move more freely, it might be possible to increase wages, instead of talking about reducing them.

With reference to reports of renewed activity in bringing more immigrants to Canada, Mr. King expressed the belief that now was the time to think about our own country, to find jobs for the unemployed and to bring wages back to normal levels before thinking of bringing more immigrants into the country.

The speaker, waving a copy of the C.C.F. program, told the audience it reminded him of Mr. Bennett's election campaign promises, in that it promised something for everybody.

"The results," he declared, "would be about the same."

The Federation party advocating socialization of all means of production, this could only be accomplished in two ways, the speaker pointed out. One was confiscation, which, the speaker believed, would "open a revolution right away." The other, by purchase, he termed an impossibility.

Foresaw Trouble Coming

Dealing with the plank promising adequate incomes and leisure for the worker and the farmer, Mr. King foresaw the day when there would be trouble. The farmer favored cheap labor and long hours of work for his hired help, whereas labor had its eyes on more leisure, higher pay, and shorter working days.

The plank promising the removal of the burden of debt hanging over society, the speaker termed, "rubbing salt into a wound.

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"Why should a political party make a promise of that kind?" Mr. King asked.

"In the Liberal program," he declared, "you can find most of the reforms advocated by the new party. It would be much better if we united under a common cause than to permit those in high financial authority who are seeking control to rule through our division."

The Liberal party, he said, favored the establishment of a central bank to control credit and the issue of currency to serve the public need and not the interest of capital. The establishment of an investment control board to protect the public from watered stocks was also advocated, as well as the regulation of industry so that the interests of the many supercede the privileges of the few.

In closing, Mr. King said he took advantage of the fact that 14 years ago that day he had been entrusted with the leadership of the Liberal party "to express through this meeting to fellow Liberals throughout Canada my appreciation of the forebearance, consideration, co-operation and above all of the confidence they have placed in me in the 14 years that have gone by."

In more than eight years of that time he had been premier and he had seen, under the Liberal regime, Canada's trade reach new high levels, taxes reduced and the national debt reduced, and he had a feeling of gratitude that this had been accomplished under a Liberal administration of which he was the head.

D 20546
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... Saskatoon Star-Phoenix .....

Date ..... August 9, 1933 ..... Saskatoon - August 8th Afternoon

Subject .....

King Urges Careful Study of Conditions To Improve Situation

Advocates Examination of Socialization Policies Being Advanced But Convinced Inquiry Will Show Impracticability of Proposals

Seeing in the present depressed state of economy and society the birth of a new world in which greater individual opportunity rather than the amassing of wealth should be the main consideration, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, in a brief address to Saskatoon Liberals at a reception in his honor yesterday afternoon, urged careful study of conditions in a general endeavor to find the best changes and the best methods of change.

Mr. King declared policies advocating the socialization of industry and resources should not be condemned immediately, but given minute examination. After such an examination, he felt, the platform of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation would appear impracticable.

LIBERALS CAN EFFECT CHANGES

The fortitude and forbearance of western people in the face of grave economic conditions, were commended by the speaker. The westerners had stood the test. Yet, in his opinion, they had not seen all there was to see. The worst of the depression he felt to be passed, but from it would emerge a slightly different world. The new society would have to be one of greater opportunity; the present system allowing the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few would have to change.

The Liberal party, Mr. King considered, was the one to effect the necessary changes. In a society in which fear reigned in the hearts of most and in which there was little security for the individual, the sane, progressive policies of the Liberal party alone were reliable.

POINTS TO WEAKNESS

Mr. King ridiculed the idea of change by revolutionary methods but declared the claims of socialism should not be harshly condemned without cautious consideration and examination.

He pointed to one vital weakness in the C.C.F. program: that constitutional changes advocated by the new party could not be accomplished without action by the two Houses of the Canadian Parliament; and he could not see the Senate, presently comprising a majority of Conservatives, agreeing to the changes proposed.

Mr. King also contrasted the Liberal and Socialist policies relative to Socialization and nationalization. He observed the Socialist dilemna between confiscation and payment and warned the former smacked of Communism.

At the commencement of his remarks, Mr. King recalled he was speaking on the third anniversary of the Bennett entry to office and remarked that three years the day before he had resigned as prime minister of Canada. He wished to take the opportunity of thanking the people of Canada for their forbearance and help in the depression years that had followed.

Explaining his western tour and his plan of speaking publicly only in the country places, Mr. King stated his intention of taking the opportunity of studying and obtaining an understanding of rural problems and showing the rural residents an interest in their plight was being taken.

After the short reception yesterday afternoon, Mr. King left by train for Wilkie to address a mass meeting there last evening.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20547

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Edmonton Journal

Date ..... August 9, 1933 ..... At Wilkie, Sask. - August 8th Evening

Subject .....

Grit Chief Assails C.C.F.

Says Third Parties Spring Up Under Conservative Governments

CRITICIZES BENNETT

Objects to Agreement Being Made on Wheat Acreage

WILKIE, Sask., Aug. 9.—Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, dominion Liberal leader, ran into a barrage of questions here Tuesday night when he referred at some length to the C.C.F. in addressing one of the largest mass meetings he has spoken to. It was his final meeting for the present in Saskatchewan. Wednesday, he crosses into Alberta. Questions flew fast for a few minutes especially toward the end of the Liberal leader's speech, but he seemed to enjoy them and answered readily. The crowd was good natured and there was no trouble.

On the way to Wilkie, he stopped at Saskatoon and attended a reception in the headquarters of the Canadian Legion here. There he spoke briefly. Wilkie is at present in the constituency of South Battleford, represented in parliament by John Vallance, Liberal. Mr. Vallance was on the platform as were Hon. W. R. Motherwell, C. R. McIntosh, Liberal members for North Battleford, and others prominent in the Liberal party.

Brief speeches were made by Mr. Vallance and Mr. McIntosh. The former referred to the fact that under the new redistribution bill, the constituency of South Battleford will disappear, however, whether or not he was a candidate in the next election, he proposed to devote his efforts to the people's good.

"It is just three years ago Monday that Mr. King laid down the reins of office and handed over the crown to Mr. Bennett," said Hon. Mr. Motherwell. "It has been a long three years. A tragic three years. Mr. Bennett is a great dispenser of hot air. He is a marvel over the radio.

Predicts Big Vote

He even made Saskatchewan audiences vote for high protection. But you are sorry now and I do not think you will need to be drawn to the polls at the next election. Wild horses could not keep you away."

Mr. Motherwell went on to say that Canada has been afflicted with a new pest, the C.C.F. Liberals had not only to fight and defeat the Conservative party, they had to defeat the C.C.F. It would not do to ignore the third party. The former minister of agriculture referred to his successor in office, Hon. Robert Weir. The activities of the agriculture department had been slowed down at a time when they should be speeded up.

Two little girls brought two big bouquets up to Mr. King when he rose to speak. From no province of Canada have there come finer stalwarts. Greater fighters for the principles of Liberalism than the province of Saskatchewan, said the Liberal leader. Under the new redistribution bill an apparent effort was made to gerrymander all four out of parliament, he said.

He continued referring to himself and his three fellow members of parliament on the platform. "That means that we are pretty good fighters," he added, as the crowd laughed. First, they had deprived Mr. Motherwell of his seat but when the former minister's fiery nature went into action they had changed their mind.

Thinks Tories Ashamed

"I really think they were ashamed of what they had done," said Mr. King, "in respect to the original proposal to deprive Mr. Motherwell of his seat. At any rate, it has been restored. I believe that one thing the Tory party in Canada was determined on and that was to see John Vallance does not come back to the house of commons," Mr. King stated in referring to the fact that the South Battleford seat had been done away with.

"A deliberate effort was made to gerrymander him out of the house of commons," he charged. In view of this, Mr. King asked the people of Saskatchewan to see that John Vallance is provided with a nomination at the next general election and that he is elected. Mr. Vallance was one of the most outspoken and effective members on the opposition side of the house.

"Consider how Communism is beginning to sow its seeds in Canada today and you will understand why public men are anxious about new movements springing up here," the Liberal leader continued.

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Name of Publication .....

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"Communism had wrecked other countries and it must be remembered that these were not normal times and that conditions were such as to breed discontent here. I am not in western Canada to score any political victory." Mr. King said he had come to lay the position of the Liberal party before the people in the rural sections of western Canada in the spirit of "come let us reason together," but he was not attacking any party, he wanted to make that clear.

"Just three years ago Monday, I turned over the reins of government to Mr. Bennett," he stated. Briefly he reviewed the different policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties at the time of the last election campaign. The people had now had three years to see if those promises would be fulfilled. Did the people want another year of high tariffs? He ventured to think that if a secret ballot was taken in the crowd, not one vote would be registered for higher tariffs. The high tariff policy was wrong, Mr. King insisted.

Says Bennett's Policies Wrong

"Mr. Bennett's policies have been injurious to Canada and particularly to western Canada. You can never trade with countries if you tell them that you won't trade with them," said Mr. King. Mr. Bennett knows now his policies are wrong and I am amazed that he continues them," went on the Liberal leader. He objected strenuously to any agreements made overseas which would limit acreage to be sown to wheat. Such agreements should never be made without consulting parliament.

Turning to the Co-Operative Commonwealth federation, Mr. King said that he was not surprised at its coming into being. Third parties sprang up under Conservative governments. They faded out under Liberal's.

"I am asked if we are going to co-operate with the C.C.F.," he said, "it is pretty hard to co-operate with a party which says it is out to destroy you. The C.C.F. has said it is out to destroy both the Liberal and Conservative parties."

A new party would probably not last long once the Liberals came into power because the sun of prosperity would soon rise and the new party would disappear. Mr. Roosevelt isn't trying to socialize all industries in the United States said Mr. King in answer to a question from the crowd. It was impossible to govern Canada with the plan of the C.C.F. which was to take over practically everything.

"We did that during the war," said a man in the crowd.

"We did not," said Mr. King, "all that happened during the war was that regulation of industry had prevailed." Russia is the place to go if you want to see the effect of such policies, he said.

"What about the men living on the river banks?" a woman's voice called out.

"We all should do everything we can to help such men but even they should be thankful they are not in Russia," answered Mr. King.

"There is plenty in Canada for everybody," came another interjection.

Redistribution Problem

"Yes, it is a problem of distribution," Mr. King agreed. It would have been solved he believed if a Liberal party had been in power.

"We have every sympathy for men sleeping on river banks but we'll all be sleeping on river banks if the C.C.F. party gets in. The C.C.F. program declares that an adequate income will be provided for all with leisure," continued Mr. King.

"Do you consider that is impossible?" another female voice asked.

"My dear friend," replied Mr. King, "the life of a man is three score years and ten. You could not accomplish that in six times three score years and ten."

"Sit down," roared the crowd as a man rose to interrupt further. "Private property will be swept away under the C.C.F." said Mr. King.

"What is it today?" called out someone. Mr. King stopped then, indicating those who had interrupted, he said, "you will find these people in a C.C.F. government." He felt that it would be much wiser for such people to wait and see how the Russian experiment turned out before jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

"We want sound thinking on this subject," the Liberal leader declared. Mr. King will cross over into Alberta Wednesday. He will speak at Wainwright in the afternoon and probably Vermilion and Vegreville at night.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Edmonton Journal

Date ..... August 10, 1933

Subject ..... August 9th:
Afternoon - Wainwright, Alta.
Vegreville, Alta.
Evening - Vermilion, Alta.
Mundare, Alta.

Liberal Chief Raps Titles

Not Anxious to Become "Sir William" Says King

SPEAKS IN ALBERTA

Thinks Proposal to Reintroduce Titles in Canada Unwise

VEGREVILLE, Aug. 10.—The second day which Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King spent in Alberta opened here with a civic reception at which Mayor Holden expressed the pleasure of Vegreville citizens at entertaining the Liberal leader.

Mr. King was accompanied by Hon. Charles Stewart, former minister of the interior; W. S. Campbell, honorary president of the Alberta Liberal association, and J. Boyd McBride, secretary of the association.

Among others seated on the platform with Mr. King at the civic reception was M. Luchkovich, U.F.A. member of parliament for Vegreville.

Mr. King thanked him for coming. "Neither Mr. Luchkovich nor I are very anxious for a title," the Liberal leader said, in a passing reference to this subject. "I am sure he is no more anxious to be Sir Michael than I am to be Sir William. As you know there has recently been a movement to re-establish titles in Canada." He felt, said Mr. King, that this was an unwise proposal and that Canadians would prefer to continue without the re-introduction of titles. As the meeting was non-political, the Liberal leader did not touch on topics of a strictly partisan nature.

He referred at some length to his long association with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the attitude which that great statesman had assumed toward animosities in Canada.

"Sir Wilfrid preached the rights of minorities," said Mr. King. The great Liberal leader had always held the view that no matter what the race or religion of a man or woman coming and living in Canada, he or she was entitled to the full measure of justice and right meted out to Canadian citizens.

"Moderation and toleration"—these were the principles which had animated Sir Wilfrid and it would be well for Canadians to remember them in these changing times.

After his reception here, Mr. King was taken by car to Mundare.

WAINWRIGHT, August 10—Moving westward, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, dominion Liberal leader, Wednesday entered Alberta. At the exhibition grounds here he him discuss the issues of the day. found a great crowd waiting to hear To greet him when his train arrived were Hon. Charles Stewart, member of the King cabinet, as well as other prominent Liberals of this province.

"I am not here to ask you to vote for the Liberal party," Mr. King told his audience. "I am not here to lay before you the point of view of the Liberal party in respect to questions of the day leaving it to you to decide whether I have made a fair presentation and to determine what you will do."

The Liberal leader turned to the Conservative party. Mr. Bennett had promised impossible things at the last general election. Mr. King said he did not propose to do that.

"I am not trying to out-do the C.C.F." He preferred rather to point to the record of the Liberal administration under Sir Wilfrid Laurier and also to that of his own administration. Those records showed in the past Liberal administration had been able to meet and solve grave problems and to triumph over serious situations.

Thinks Bennett Wrong

"I have given Mr. Bennett a free hand," said Mr. King. "I think his policies have been entirely wrong. I think he has been mistaken in putting tariffs up when they should have come down. I think he has done unrepairable wrong and that his policy is strangling the life of the cuntry. We must exert ourselves to the full to see if we cannot secure a change in his policies."

Wants Cure For Ills

Another party had grown up, Mr. King continued. The C.C.F. should be given consideration and its plan analyzed. "If the C.C.F. had a cure for the ills of the world, certainly it should be returned to power."

As a matter of fact three-fourths of the C.C.F. program was almost identical with Liberal policies. But the socialistic features of the C.C.F.

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Name of Publication .....

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program Liberalism did not agree.

A voice in the crowd asked Mr. King about section 98 of the criminal code.

The Liberal leader said the party which he leads is in favor of repealing section 98 and will do so if returned to power.

May Increase Taxes

How was the C.C.F. to accomplish its plan of state ownership he proceeded. There were only two possible methods—confiscation or purchase. The former meant Communism and force. The latter meant increased taxation, "and Heaven knows it's high enough now. But the C.C.F. leaders said purchase was to be the method.

"Money was to be turned out by the printing presses on the security of the resources, but the value of such money would not be there. Resources were of no value, from the practical point of view, unless they were working and producing wealth."

At the Wainwright hotel a banquet was tendered Mr. King and party by the Battle River Liberal association.

Vermilion Tenders Reception to Leader

(Special to Edmonton Journal)

VERMILION, Aug. 10.—A conservative estimate placed the number present at the reception tendered Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King here Wednesday night, under the auspices of the Vermilion board of trade, at seven hundred. The reception took place in the municipal park, Mr. King being introduced to the audience by Dr. H. W. Scott, president of the board. A welcome was also extended on behalf of the town by A. E. Kaiser, acting mayor.

Mr. King and party drove over from Wainwright, arriving shortly before nine. The trip across, he said, was an enjoyable one after a strenuous day at Wainwright. In reply to the addresses of welcome, the Liberal chief said this was not so much a political tour as it was to get first-hand information as to the problems of the people, in order that he might be in a position to deal with them intelligently and sympathetically.

The present economic condition followed largely as the result of the great war, when nations were restricting themselves, building up tariff walls and strangling trade relations with one another. He felt, however, the world was now in a state of transition and a change was coming over the peoples of all the nations. They were finding a common ground in carrying out great principles of co-operation, making for peace, health, happiness and prosperity.

"We must build up this spirit of co-operation and other nations will follow. From the hard lessons of the past few years," he said, "we must look forward to a greater future than has ever been achieved in the past."

Among the many who shook hands with the Liberal leader after the reception was Henry Torrance, a farmer in the Mannville district. Torrange is 94 years of age and knew the ex-premier's father quite intimately, and also knew Mr. King from the time he was a mere lad.

Mr. King and party left for Vegreville immediately after.

Ukrainian Women Greet King in Native Dress

MUNDARE, Alta., Aug. 10.—Picturesque costumes of Ukrainian women added color to a large crowd that gathered to welcome Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, Mundare districts, largely settled by Ukrainians. A brief speech by G. Skwarok in Ukrainian was translated from short address given by W. R. Johnson and Hon. Mckenzie King.

The Liberal leader referred to a visit by Laurier 25 years ago to Mundare, laying the corner stone in the Greek Catholic church, Aso as successor to Laurier in the position of Liberal leader. Mr. King himself visited the church on his arrival to see the corner stone laid by his predecessor.

On that occasion Sir Wilfred Laurier drove to the scene of the ceremonies in an ox cart. On the conclusion of his speech Mr. King left for Tofield and Camrose. H. A. White, mayor, read an address of welcome on behalf of Mundare citizens.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Winnipeg Free Press .....

Date ..... August 11, 1933 ..... At Camrose, Alta. - August 10th. Afternoon

Subject .....

LIBERAL LEADER STATES ECONOMIC FREEDOM LACKING

Says Party Stands for National System of Unemployment Insurance

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

By RAY BROWN

Camrose, Alta., Aug. 11.—"The big struggle in the political world today is to increase the economic freedom of the people," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, said to an audience here Thursday. Illustrating his point by declaring that as long as a man associated with a great corporation could borrow money from a bank, while a farmer with good security could not, the Liberal leader declared economic freedom was lacking.

But the Liberal method of dealing with such a situation was not to smash the whole system. It was to direct and control it in the interest of the people as a whole. It was to tell the particular institution or organization involved it must do certain things. If it failed to do them, then it was time to take it over.

"The Liberal party believes there should be a national system of unemployment insurance, he continued. Also he believed the farmer should be insured by the state, at least to a certain extent, against such catatrophes as continued drought, destructive insect plagues, or other misfortunes which the farmer could not guard against. In each case the people who were to benefit might continue during good times.

The Liberal policy in regard to unemployment was to establish a great national commission to handle the problem. It would combine the efforts of the great social and charitable organizations with the best brains in the country. Mr. Bennett's government had disbursed approximately $120,000,000 on relief. Little was to show for this expenditure, and the problem had not been solved.

Says Trade Strangled

But, continued Mr. King, the thing to do now was to find a solution for unemployment. The solution lay in trade developments. Mr. Bennett's policy had strangled trade. The Liberal policy was to cut down barriers and let trade flow. Release trade, he said, and the transportation, banking and other kindred activities would be stimulated.

"The trouble with Canada today is that our trade is strangled and our money locked up," asserted Mr. King. "What we have got to do is to cut down these tariffs. And tariffs today are tariffs. In the old days he used to think a tariff of 33 1-3 per cent. was high but now it has gone up to 100, 200, even 300 per cent on some commodities."

Currency Control

"If we were in power we would bring into effect the Liberal policy of credit and currency control and establish a central bank," Mr. King said.

The Liberal party stood for proportional representation. He also thought some means must be found whereby interest rates on loans made when commodities sold by the farmer were worth much more than at present, should be lowered.

Mr. King left to spend the night at Edmonton

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication..... Edmonton Journal

Date ..... August 11, 1933 ..... Edmonton - August 10th Evening.

Subject .....

1,000 Citizens Welcome King

Liberal Leader Is Guest at Public Reception Here

SPEAKS BRIEFLY

Believes Present Depression to Result in Greater Social Service

Tendered a citizens' reception, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, was welcomed to Edmonton at a function attended by over 1,000 people Thursday evening at the Macdonald.

Regardless of party lines, citizens extended greetings to the Grit chieftain who visited this city in the course of a speaking tour of the towns and rural sections of the prairie provinces.

Hon. Mr. King, making a brief address at the close of the reception, sounded the keynote of greater social service resulting from the present depression, with the likelihood that the "coupon clipper" would not stand as high as in the past as a respectable member of the community.

At the reception, the Liberal leader was joined by Hon. Charles Stewart, M.P. for West Edmonton. W. R. Howson, M.L.A., leader of the Liberal party in this province, Vincent Dupuis, M.P. for Laprarie-Napierville, Quebec, who happened to be in the city and Nelles V. Buchanan, president of the Edmonton Provincial Liberal association.

Greeted on Arrival

About 7:40 p.m., Mr. King arrived here by motor car from Leduc and Camrose, where stops had been made, accompanied by Hon. Mr. Stewart, Mr. Howson, Walter S. Campbell, honorary president, and J. Boyd McBride, secretary of the Alberta Liberal association. Several prominent Edmonton Liberals greeted Mr. King on his arrival.

The reception was under way at 9:30 p.m., following a musical program. It was held in the main dining-room, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion.

First to shake hands with Hon. Mr. King at the reception was George B. O'Connor, K.C., while next was Major-Gen. Hon. W. A. Griesbach, C.M., C.M.G., D.S.O. From then on, there was a steady stream of citizens who tendered greetings to the Liberal leader.

Prominent among those who greeted Mr. King were Hon. W. L. Walsh, lieutenant-governor of Alberta, and Mrs. Walsh, Hon. Horace Harvey, chief justice of the supreme court of Alberta, Hon. George Hoadley, acting-premier, D. M. Duggan, M.L.A., leader of the Conservative party in this province, Col. F. C. Jamieson, K.C., M.L.A., Magistrate J. M. Douglas, Col. A. C. Gillespie, J. A. Buchanan, J. J. Duggan, W. T. Henry, A. Rendall, W. J. Mustard, K.C., H. Milton Martin, C. H. Grant, K.C., A. Cristall, Adjutant Habkirk of the Salvation Army, Dr. A. Blais, Dr. A. Forin, Peter Glassman, L. A. Giroux, M.L.A., Capt. H. M. Dakin, M.L.A., J. C. McDonald, Dr. Harold Brown, J. Frank McMillan, Col. G. B. McLeod, G. H. Van Allen, K.C., Col. H. M. Newson, assistant commissioner of the R.C.M.P., and Mrs. Newson, Chief Constable Shute and Mrs. Shute, R. C. Marshall, Monsignor Nelligan, vicar-general, H. H. Parlee, K.C., and Capt. J. C. Bowen.

Old Timers Present

Among the old-timers present was R. N. Watson, 80, 9841 86 ave., who voted first for a Liberal candidate, David Blaine, in West York, Ontario, during the election of 1874 and has voted Liberal ever since.

The Liberal leader also was greeted by A. M. Carmichael, Progressive M.P. for Kindersley, Saskatchewan, who is in the city on a holiday motor trip.

Following the reception, W. R. Howson expressed a warm welcome to Mr. King, whom, he pointed out was having no easy tri, havinpg motored a long distance on Thursday after leaving Vegreville.

Laud applause greeted Hon. Mr. King as he rose to make his brief and only public address in the capital city. He was dressed in a grey suit and appeared to be in good form, despite the numerous addresses he had delivered during the past few weeks.

Voicing appreciation of the reception here, he made special mention of the kindness of Hon. Mr. Walsh and Mrs. Walsh, Hon. Mr. Hoadley and Mr. Duggan in attending the gathering.

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Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Referring to the note of chivalry struck by such a citizens' gathering, Mr. King referred to the satisfaction one had in retaining the respect of adversaries and friends.

He felt that in past times there had been too great a tendency to indulge in personalities. People should take into consideration the issues and the men expressing them while they should not let personal feelings run away with the better sides of their natures.

Have Common Goal

"We have a common goal, which is the good of our country and our countrymen," he declared.

Before leaving the east, it had been planned to forego speaking engagements in the large cities. This was due to a feeling in rural sections that they had been overlooked by those shaping public opinion. In the time of election, it was the large centres that were visited by the head of the government and the leader of the opposition.

"I am visiting the local centres which are not visited at a general election, if we ever have one, and I suppose we shall have one," he said, while the crowd laughed.

Hon. Mr. King said that on this trip his purpose was to get first-hand knowledge of those who were struggling with conditions.

Proceeding, he pointed out that the well-being of a city depended upon the progress of the country. There could not be basic industrial prosperity unless there was development in the country sections.

"On this trip, I am amazed with the spirit of optimism, real courage and determination, and the increased amount of co-operation in the different communities," he said.

He had been struck in the rural sections by the feeling of co-operation and how good neighbors looked after each other. It was delightful to see how this spirit had entered into the lives of the people in the country. This also was true of the towns and cities, though in those centres it was not seen so clearly.

Benefits To Result

Referring to the depression, the Liberal leader indicated his confidence that benefits would still revocalsult and progress be made.

There was a note sweeping across the land that the man or woman in the class of the "coupon clipper," living a life of idleness on interest, was not rendering a service to mankind. They would not hold the same place in society as before. Those who gave all to self-interest or self-glorification would not be respected members of society.

In the future, there would not be so much inclination to look upon industrial life as a profit-making business, while there would be more of a trend toward social service, and the development of productive services for human society.

If the gain were found in social services, then people might be thankful for their hardships, he declared.

Introduced by Hon. Mr. Stewart, Mr. Dupuis, the next speaker, paid tribute to the energy and courage of people in the west, in spite of the depression. He believed, however, that the people of Canada were hoping for early return of the Liberal party to power, though he voiced respect for those who held contrary opinions. After all, they were seeking a common goal, as had been stated by Hon. Mr. King.

The musical program included solos by Miss Nora Harcourt, Mrs. Tom Gardner, and J. I. Gish, while Mrs. J. Scott played a violin solo. The accompanists were Mrs. W. G. Martin and Mrs. J. A. Buchanan.

At 10:30 a.m. Friday, Hon. Mr. King left the city by motor car for Wetaskiwin and points on the way to Calgary. He was accompanied by Hon. Mr. Stewart, Mr. Howson, Walter S. Campbell, J. Boyd McBride, and R. M. Edmanson, of Calgary, president of the Alberta Liberal association.

Leduc Pays Tribute To Liberal Party Leader

(Special to Edmonton Journal)

LEDUC, Alta., Aug. 11.—Despite the delayed schedule of arrival there was a large turnout to greet the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King when he stopped here for a short time Thursday evening, en route to Edmonton. The Leduc Liberal association, headed by R. H. C. Harrison, president, and J. J. Lehane, secretary, was largely represented and there was a good representation from Beaumont and other points in the district.

Although already delayed from a lengthy meeting at Camrose, Mr. King generously consented to speak briefly and addressed the gathering from the steps of his car on Main st. He referred to the record established by the Laurier government, which coming in at a time of depression, was able to give the country 15 of the best years in Canadian history, due to free trade.

Repeating this policy 13 years ago when times were generally depressed, the Liberals by an advantageous policy, were able to change conditions. In two years, he claimed, they were able to get rid of the

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Subject .....

deficit and have a surplus for seven years, although having found the country heavily in debt. Stamp taxes, sales taxes and taxes on implements had been reduced, bringing trade to a point never before known in Canada. Comparison was mad with present times with their increased taxes.

Mr. King adjured his hearers to study the policies of all the parties. He maintained that the people had made a mistake in accepting Mr. Bennett's policy. Study of the new party which offered so much was advocated, also study of the Liberal records and getting behind the party was advocated. The purpose of his trip, Mr. King said, was to enable him to see conditions in the country and to meet as many people as possible so as to be able to discuss conditions intelligently when parliament reopened. He regretted his inability to hold a meeting at Leduc, and expressed pleasure in meeting so many of the residents.

With Mr. King's party were A. P. Mitchell, M.L.A., Leduc; H. Montgomery, M.L.A., Wetaskiwin; W. R. Howson, M.L.A., Edmonton, and Hon. Charles Stewart. The streets of the town were gaily decorated with flags for Mr. King's visit.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Toronto Globe

Date ..... August 12, 1933 ..... Wetaskiwin, Alta. - August 11th. afternoon

Subject .....

PROMISES OF C.C.F. TERMED A DELUSION BY MACKENZIE KING

Manifesto Policies Cannot Be Achieved, Liberal Leader Says

"WHOLE THING A SHAM"

States Actions of Roosevelt Can Be Duplicated in Canada

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Wetaskiwin, Alta., Aug. 11.—Turning south after a night spent in Edmonton, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal Leader, addressed a meeting here this afternoon. A crowded itinerary for the day included stops at Millet, Ponoka, Lacombe and other points en route to Calgary, where the Liberal Leader will spend tonight.

Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister, had won the last general election on the basis of promises, Mr. King told his audience. It was important the people should learn to distinguish between what a politician could promise and what he could carry out.

"Canada has been losing markets instead of making them," the Liberal Leader said. He believed the people of Canada knew now that Mr. Bennett's policy of high protection had failed. Mr. Bennett had been given a fair chance.

"I have criticized him when I thought he was wrong, but I have not embarrassed him, and that is the case with the whole Liberal Party," asserted Mr. King.

Elected by Promises.

Compared with Mr. Bennett's promises, those of the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation loomed large, the Liberal Leader continued. In a way, he blamed Mr. Bennett for this, because the Prime Minister had demonstrated candidates could be elected by promises. Seeing this, the C.C.F. leaders had desired to "go one better," he said, and to make promises compared to which Mr. Bennett's were small and insignificant

The C.C.F. was going to take over and run the industries and natural resources of Canada, said Mr. King. "How are they going to do it?" To begin with, the C.C.F. program could not be carried out unless the new party gained control of the House of Commons. "Does any sane person think they will get that control?" he asked.

Secondly, the C.C.F. must get control of the Senate. In the Senate there was not a single C.C.F. supporter. Mr. King declared the Conservatives were in the majority and they certainly would not support the C.C.F. program, and the complexion of the Senate could not be changed unless the C.C.F. held a majority in the Commons and could make appointments to the Senate.

Provincial Rights.

In addition to all this, the C.C.F. would have to get consent of the various Provinces before it could seek to amend the Constitution so as to make its program effective. It could not be done, the speaker said.

"The whole thing is a sham and a delusion," he emphasized. "The members of the C.C.F. with seats in Parliament know they cannot carry out their program." Their effort was to delude the people into supporting them, he said.

Some of the C.C.F. men had come to him and said: "Mr. Roosevelt is carrying out our plan."

"Is he?" asked Mr. King. "He hasn't taken over the industries in the United States." Mr. Roosevelt was simply applying direction and control to those organizations and institutions already in existence.

"That can be done in Canada," said the Liberal Leader. "It will be done in Canada as soon as the people say it shall be done."

He believed the cure for conditions in Canada lay in Liberal policies. In support of this, Mr. King pointed to the records of prosperity in the years when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister, and when he (Mr. King) was in power.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20556 Office of The Leader of the Opposition 32

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal August 11th: ~~Ponoka~~, Red Deer, ~~Lacombe~~, Olds, (Alta.

Date August 12, 1933

Subject

Says Bennett Has "Failed"

Liberal Leader Completes Hurried Trip to Calgary

EXPLAINS POLITICS

Points to Premier Bennett's Promises; Assails C.C.F. Movement

CALGARY, Aug. 12.—The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, dominion Liberal leader, arrived here Friday night from Edmonton by motor. Mr. King, who made several speeches enroute here, will remain in Calgary until Saturday afternoon when he leaves for Banff.

OLDS, Aug. 12.—A crowded day for Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, jammed full of meetings and hurried movement by motor car, ended here Friday in a great mass meeting, coming here from a series of gatherings all the way down the Edmonton-Calgary trail, the Liberal leader found an audience sitting on chairs, the floors, standing and overflowing into the streets, through the arena exits.

"These are serious times," Mr. King told his audience. "We must be very careful of the movements which we set on foot."

In periods of unrest there was always danger of people's hearts getting the better of their heads. In such time unwise steps might be taken and the result of such action was sometimes far reaching and injurious.

Mr. Bennett had been given a free hand since becoming prime minister, the Liberal leader asserted. He, Mr. King had tried to refrain from embarrassing him.

Says Bennett Failed

"Now Mr. Bennett has had three years. Three years is long enough in times like these for any party to carry out its program," said the Liberal leader. Mr. Bennett had failed and he had done so because his policies were wrong. His policy of raising tariffs higher and higher had proven a mistaken one.

Mr. King, quoted comparative rates on a number of clothing materials as prevailing under the Borden, King and Bennett governments. In some cases the duties had been doubled and trebled by the Bennett government.

"No wonder people are using horse blankets," Mr. King remarked, in stating a 20 per cent tariff on blankets had been increased to approximately 100 per cent by the Bennett government. He also dealt briefly on increases on agricultural implements, cream separators, etc., which he said had been made by the present government.

"But the worst of all has been that our trade is strangled," he continued. This meant transportation companies in Canada had no business. "There isn't a man, woman nor child in this audience who isn't worse off because of this tariff policy of the Conservative party," Mr. King stated.

Will Not Be Controlled

Then he turned to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. If he was ever prime minister of Canada again he would not be controlled by any third party, the Liberal leader insisted. There were people going round the country saying they hoped to get the balance of power in the house of commons.

He gave notice now on any future occasion, if entrusted with power he would either govern with a majority or not at all.

Class governments could not carry on Mr. King stated to his audience. The C.C.F. had gone the length of saying they were going to change the structure of Canada's industrial and social life. It proposed government ownership, operation, control of the great natural resources and the socially necessary means of production and distribution. Mr. King reiterated his question, how are they going to do it?

Confiscation, continued Mr. King, meant civil war. But the C.C.F. said they would print the necessary money with the national resources of Canada as security, and buy all these things. Money turned out on printing presses would soon lose its value.

But an almost insuperable obstacle to the C.C.F. plan lay in the fact it could only be put through by amending the Canadian constitution. How did the C.C.F. propose to amend the constitution against an adverse house of commons, senate and series of provincial governments?

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20557
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Same Liberal Policies

Reduced tariffs, liberation of internal trade, a central bank, a great national commission to deal with unemployment, supervision over financial institutions and control of investments by an investment control board. These were among the policies of the Liberal party.

Urges Women Take Part in Politics

LACOMBE, Aug. 12.—A packed hall with the crowd overflowing into the street greeted Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, when he stopped here on his quick run from Edmonton to Calgary Friday. The Liberal leader made stops at Millet, Wetaskiwin, Ponoka, Lacombe, Red Deer and Innisfail.

"I would like to discuss the question of just why women should take their part in politics as well as men," Mr. King said. His view had always been that as women were primarily interested in conditions in the country, they should take politics seriously.

"Just a little over three years ago we were having a general election in Canada," Mr. King reminded his audience. The Liberal effort at that time was to do everything to encourage trade, particularly with the mother country and within the empire.

"I am sure if the people had elected us in 1930 we would have been able to point to what we were doing for Great Britain and in return would have received trade benefits from the mother country," Mr. King said.

But the people had listened to Mr. Bennett, and his election had resulted in tremendous tariff increases. The course of the government had been to pile tariff upon tariff.

"Mr. Bennett uses the tariff to help the manufacturers," Mr. King continued. "Why does he not use it to help the farmer?" The Liberal party believed it could help the farmers of Canada by lowering tariffs on those commodities which the farmer had to use. The farmer had to sell his produce in a world market.

"Every woman who voted for Mr. Bennett voted for those policies," Mr. King added.

"So if women are paying more for many things which they must use, they have only themselves to blame if they voted for a Conservative government."

Mr. King was welcomed in Lacombe by a large audience which filled the St. Andrews' United church to its fullest capacity.

W. F. Puffer, an old-timer of Lacombe, acted as chairman. After opening with "O Canada," the chairman spoke a few words and then introduced W. R. Howson, M.L.A. The latter stated that he would, in the near future, be here to speak on political matters and concluded by extending a welcome to "Canada's next prime minister."

Hon. Charles Stewart, who was also accompanying Mr. King, referred to Mr. Puffer and himself as the only real dirt farmer legislators when they were in office. Mr. Puffer then introduced the dominion Liberal leader.

King Long Leader Of Liberal Party

(Special to Edmonton Journal)

RED DEER, Aug. 12.—No man now at the head of any political party in any country, has held such leadership as long as Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King so far as Mr. King himself has been able to discover. That is what the Liberal leader told an audience of 100 people at Red Deer on Friday afternoon when a reception was arranged for him at the parish hall.

The meeting was a very brief one and Mr. King spoke quite informally, acknowledging a civic welcome extended by Mayor Code and an expression of continued confidence in his leadership by J. M. W. Broughton, president of the Liberal association.

Monday of this week, said Mr. King, was the third anniversary of his resignation of the premiership and the fourteenth of his assumption of the Liberal leadership.

The Liberal chieftain was accompanied by Hon. Charles Stewart, M.P., W. R. Howson, M.L.A., leader of the provincial Liberal party, and J. Boyd McBride, secretary of the Alberta Liberal association.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Leader of the Opposition

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Only Brief Stop Made at Ponoka

PONOKA, Aug. 12.—Mr. King arrived at Ponoka at 2:30 p.m. and was introduced by J. W. O'Brien, Jr., who called upon Mayor Addinell to say a few words on behalf of the citizens. Mr. King's remarks were brief, merely thanking the citizens for their presence. He was sorry that time would not permit a political speech as he would have liked to have dwelt on Mr. Bennett's promises, the tariff and the still more rash promises that the C.C.F. were making at the present time.

Mr. Howson spoke a few words, remarking that he expected to be in Ponoka soon again.

Mr. King shook hands with each individual as they left the hall and the party left for Lacombe.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20558 Office of the Leader of the Opposition 33

Name of Publication The Calgary Albertan

Date August 14, 1933 Calgary, Alta. - August 12th Luncheon, Palliser Hotel.

Subject

Liberal Chief Advocates Wider Distribution of Credit

Aims of Party Are Presented By King In Calgary Address

Sharing Required in Meeting Modern Problems, Leader Declares, Pointing to Necessity of Workers Receiving Fair Return; Praises Spirit of Co-operation Developed in Canada

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal chieftain, speaking in the Palliser hotel Saturday to an audience filling the ball room and overflowing into the adjoining foyer, unveiled his philosophies, replied urbanely to demands for an outline of policies and, with chivalric grace, paid tribute to the efforts of those whose sincertiy and fortitude he admired but whose policies he found it imperative by conviction to oppose.

"Had I been out of work for two or three years and faced hourly with the problem of finding food, clothing and shelter without the hope of earning them I would likely try too, to take things in my own hands," he said at one point in his address.

"Were I a farmer and some corporation could get all the credit it required and I couldn't get any I would begin to talk as the farmers' party talks, but I would realize that my help lay not in class legislation but in the co-operation of men and women who have the soul and heart and will to co-operate. Unless we build such co-operation and learn that we are our brother's keeper our state will be undermined," he said.

Sharing was needed. Why should capital have all the control of policies when men and women were putting their lives and work into them? Should these men and women be ignored in the shaping of policies? Men who worked on railways were more than wage earners. They were servants of the state upon whom all the other

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Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

members of the state depended and as such should be honored. Men who put their money into the railways were also rendering a public service and should get a fair return.

"Let us see, however," Mr. King added, "that the workers also get a fair return. Let us understand that men and women who are working on the farms are giving social service. Where gain interferes with such service, let us stop the interference."

Out of the last four or five years of tribulation something finer was emerging. He had found evidence of this more strongly in western Canada than he had in the east. He had felt that marvelous spirit of co-operation developed here and learned that people were sharing each others' lives as never before.

If we grasped the finer spirit of co-operation we would have the greater co-operative commonwealth among us and this, even now, lay upon our threshold. That spirit had been developed in these times of stress out of which we, as a people, were emerging, and if we emerged with hearts broader and visions clearer, we would have succeeded in rising to a higher plane in our conception of public service.

These were some of the speaker's philosophies, but before he discussed them, he spoke of Calgary's part in sending to Ottawa Canada's Prime Minister.

Only a man who had been a Prime Minister in this Dominion could appreciate and understand the burden of responsibilities that rested upon the shoulders of Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett. Mr. King was pleased that Mr. Bennett had found it possible to enjoy a holiday in England in order that he might obtain a much needed rest.

"I marvel at Mr. Bennett's endurance and I pray that he will be long spared and that he will come back restored and invigorated to undertake the mastery of problems that are his at present," Mr. King declared.

Early in his address, Mr. King explained that it had not been his intention to deliver long addresses on this trip. It was a tour planned for the purpose of learning more of conditions and to meet people. It had been his intention to spend greater time in the rural districts because he felt that during election campaigns statesmen spent too much time in the cities.

In a period of transition such as that through which the country was passing it was wisdom on the part of city dwellers to give more attention to their rural neighbors because the city dwellers depended so much upon them.

Praises Committee

Mr. King appreciated the work of the provincial committee which had spared neither time nor effort to make his visit successful, and in this connection he mentioned particularly the work of Hon. Charles Stewart and W. R. Howson, leader of the provincial Liberal party.

He felt there had been a real revival of interest in the Liberal party in Alberta and he credited Mr. Howson for much of it. He urged his friends in the Liberal party not to let Mr. Howson shoulder all the work and worry in connection with the advncement of Liberalism in Alberta, but to come forward with assistance and encouragement.

Mr. King was surprised that individuals and journalists in this district had inferred that he and his party had no definite policy to pursue and were clamoring for an exposition of it. He had found that those who had been most severe in their criticisms had had the least to offer in the way of constructive suggestion. The platform of the Liberal party had been deliberately read into Hansard on February 27, 1933. It had been printed in pamphlet form and had been given wide circulation.

It was not the view or opinion of one man nor of a small group of men. The platform of the party had been formulated as a result of careful study by Liberal members of the House of Commons and the Senate. It had then been sent for approval to various branches of the Liberal party throughout the Dominion. Thus it represented the wisdom of many. It was a definite expression of a democratic policy. He regretted that those who clamored for further eludication of it had not, apparently, read Hansard nor sought a copy of the pamphlet.

Mr. King urged all persons to bring forth their ideas and to present them to those in authority for consideration. It was not through the ideas of political leaders alone that Canada's problems might be solved but through the ideas of all who gave to such problems balanced and efficient study and consideration.

The speaker expressed regret that he would be unable to visit Britsn Columbia during the present tour, but this had been considered inadvisable in view of the fact that the legislature there had dissolved and the atmosphere charged with consideration of provincial problems into which the injection of federal issues would serve but to confuse those faced at present in British Columbia.

He had come west at this particular time, purposely after the conclusion of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation's convention, because he felt that the policies of this organization should be clearly outlined and considered before they should be dealt with. Socialism was not to be condemned outright but should be examined and analyzed. He had no fear of the truth which would ultimately prevail, and he hoped that it would prevail at a time not too far hence.

D 20560

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

C.C.F. Program

It was his view that the program of the C.C.F. should be carefully examined and that if it offered any new and logical idea likely to lead to the solution of Canada's problems, it should be supported.

Mr. King, reading from the pamphlet setting forth the Liberal platform, said, in enlarging upon the proposed foreign trade policy, that Canada should trade with any country willing to trade on a mutually beneficial basis. He again expressed his stand in favor of credit control and the establishment of a central bank. Public gain, he said, must always be subordinated to the public good. He would not transfer the ownership of industry to the state. He would leave industries under private control but regulate that control so that the industries might serve in larger measure the public good.

He would restore responsible government from which Canada has strayed far with its sanctioning of blank cheques and its government by governor-in-council. He favored a more equitable distribution of wealth and recognized that persons were more important than property.

Liberalism, Mr. King said, was a great educational movement and he sought attendance and support for the summer school organized under the leadership of Hon. Vincent Massey at Port Hope, Ontario. It was the aim of this school to bring Canadians together so that they might know each other better and develop their ideas.

C. J. Ford, K.C., presiding, introduced the guest of honor and the members of his party, including Hon. Chas. Stewart, W. R. Howson, Hon. Ian Mackenzie, of Vancouver, who was also a visitor in Calgary; Senator Dan Riley and Vincent Dupuis, M.P., from Quebec, who was on a visit to western Canada.

"I predict as big a landslide toward Liberalism in the next provincial election as there was away from it in 1921," declared Mr. Howson, in brief address.

Mr. Howson said that the visit of the Liberal leader for the Dominion to this province had brought forth many indications of a great swinging of public opinion to the support of the Liberal cause. He outlined his own activities in the organization of the Liberal party in Alberta, and said that before January 1 many Liberal candidates would already have entered the provincial field definitely. He urged all interested in the development of better government in Alberta to unite with the Liberal party and support it in its work.

Music was provided by a trio consisting of Jean Gilbert, pianiste, Mary Tierney, violinist, and Harcourt Dudley Smith 'cellist.

Those occupying positions at the head table included Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Hon. Chas. Stewart, Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Senator Dan Riley, Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Ford, Dr. W. G. Egbert, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell McLaurin, Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Howson, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Bowlen, Mrs. George H. Webster, Mr. and Mrs. J. Elliott White, Alderman and Mrs. R. H. Weir, Miss Dorothy Dillon, Mr. and Mrs. Dave Miller, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. MacDonald, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Edmanson, Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Colton, Mrs. G. W. Hagle, Mr. Gordon Egbert and Mr. T. J. S. Skinner.

Mr. King and his party left Saturday afternoon for Banff by motor car and spent the day there quietly. He returned to Calgary Sunday evening and planned to leave early Monday morning for High River, Claresholm, Macleod and Lethbridge. He will have lunch at Macleod and will spend the afternoon at Lethbridge where a picnic has been arranged. He will leave Lethbridge this evening for Saskatchewan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20561 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication: The Lethbridge Herald

Date: August 14, 1933 — High River, Alta. - August 14th Forenoon.

Subject:

King Speaks At High River

Liberal Leader Promises Only Liberal Policies Will Be Followed

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

HIGH RIVER, Aug. 14.—Right Hon. Mackenzie King was given a good reception at the short meeting which he addressed in the town hall shortly before noon today, promising his audience that, if returned to power, he would shape his policies much after the lines they had taken in the past, which he believed would do most good for the country. He spoke chiefly of generalities during his short talk.

The parliamentarian was introduced by Senator Dan Riley and the civic welcome was given by Acting Mayor Brake. Other well known Liberals on the platform were W. R. Howson, M.L.A., J. J. Bowlen, M.L.A., and the Hon. Charles Stewart, M.P., former minister of the interior.

The visitors arrived about an hour late and left by motor for the south, about an hour and a half behind schedule.

Too Many Promises

(By RAY BROWN)

(Canadian Press Staff Writer.)

HIGH RIVER, Alta., Aug. 14.—(C.P.)—Between promises made by Prime Minister Bennett at the last elections and those which leaders of the C. C. F. are making, "there is nothing left to promise," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, told an audience here today with a smile.

"All that I am promising on behalf of the Liberal party is that, if returned to power, we will do what we did before, seek to put into force policies which will serve the best interests of the many rather than the few," he added.

The Liberal leader stopped off here for a few minutes on his way to Macleod and Lethbridge, where meetings will be held later in the day. Mr. King came from Banff, where he spent Sunday, to Calgary early this morning and left for the southern part of the province later in the day. He was accompanied by W. R. Howson, Alberta Liberal leader, Hon. Charles Stewart and others prominent in the Liberal party.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20562 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Lethbridge Herald

Date August 14, 1933 Claresholm, Alta. - Aug. 14th

Subject

Packers' Combine Exists In Canada, King's Conviction

Liberal Leader Declares in His Claresholm Speech Cattle Raisers Being Squeezed—Should Be Investigated—Former Premier Gets Splendid Reception

(From Our Own Correspondent)

CLARESHOLM, Aug. 14—A severe indictment of the packing industry featured a brief address here today by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader and former prime minister. He said that from his observations in southern Alberta he was convinced the cattle raisers in particular are the victims of a vast, internally organized combine in restraint of trade, built up under the protectionist policies of the present government. The whole situation was due for an investigation, he declared.

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic welcome here, 500 persons being present at the Rex theatre. The Claresholm band was in attendance. The distinguished visitor was introduced by T. C. Milne, ex-M.L.A., and once Liberal candidate against G. G. Coote, M.P., for the Dominion house. The party was an hour late in arriving but this did not mar the warmth of the welcome.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20563 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

36

Name of Publication ..... The Calgary Herald

Date ..... August 15, 1933 ..... At Macleod, Alta. - August 14th Luncheon.

Subject .....

RAPS GOV'T. TARIFF POLICY

MACLEOD, Alta., Aug. 15.—(Special—The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was entertained to luncheon when passing through Macleod on Monday. Mr. King in his brief address criticized the present government for their high tariff policies, which he claimed were the policies of their leader than of the cabinet.

He believed that the cabinet form of government was the most practical means of giving good government to the country. The combined brains of good cabinet ministers who were supported by a majority in the House was of more value than the views of one man. He did not believe that the policies of Mr. Bennett were the policies of the cabinet.

Speaking of the C.C.F., Mr. King said that one-third of their platform was impractical and indefinite, viz.: Socialization of the natural resources, industries and banking and the other two-thirds were taken from the Liberal platform of years ago. He claimed the leaders of the C.C.F. were deceiving and fooling the people by not telling how long it would take to bring the policies advocated into operation.

GREETED BY CROWD AT MEDICINE HAT

MEDICINE HAT, Aug. 15.—(Special)—Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Federal leader of the Liberal party, was greeted by a large crowd when he reached here by automobile Monday night and boarded an east-bound train.

Mr. King voiced regret at being unable to deliver a formal address in Medicine Hat, it being understood that his speech earlier in the day at Lethbridge was meant to apply to all the southern parts of the province.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20564 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

37

Name of Publication The Calgary Albertan

Date August 15, 1933 At Lethbridge, Alta. - Aug. 14th

Subject

LIBERAL LEADER AT LETHBRIDGE

Unemployment Insurance is Recommended as Remedy

By RAY BROWN,
Canadian Press Staff Writer

LETHBRIDGE, Alta., Aug. 14.—Moving from Calgary into the heart of southern Alberta, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, today presented the Liberal program to a great open-air audience here.

From a flag-draped platform the Liberal chieftain asserted in Canada "we must learn the things we have in common are greater than those which divide us."

"The Liberal Party has a very definite program," Mr. King asserted, and he said people who made the contrary claim had simply not read the papers or official reports of the House of Commons. Briefly, he outlined the position of the party on unemployment, tariff, control of trusts and combines, establishment of a central bank and other matters.

Establishment of a great commission to deal with unemployment and the institution of a system of unemployment insurance, were the steps which Mr. King proposed for meeting this problem.

Earlier in the day the Liberal leader addressed a luncheon meeting at Macleod. One important objection which he had to the present government at Ottawa, he said, was that it savored of "dictatorship."

"I am talking as a first class Tory when I say this," he continued. "Even Mr. Bennett's ministers and the members of his party feel it. If the members of Mr. Bennett's cabinet had been consulted, we would not have had all the mistakes which have been made."

One of these mistakes, he believed, was the putting up of tariffs to their present height.

One Man's Work

"The heightening of the tariff was not the work of a collection of minds," he continued. "It was the work of one man who is determined to have his way."

Reciprocity was touched upon in a decided way by Mr. King. "The Liberal party stands today for a reciprocity agreement with the United States," he said. "We intend to drive Mr. Bennett to it. The Liberal party does not have to twist and squirm. On the question of reciprocity it stands just where it stood in the days of 1911."

"The Prime Minister had given some indications of alte he now favored reciprocity with United States. That was a great change from the position taken by the Conservative party in 1911, when Laurier had gone down to defeat on the reciprocity issue. And, continued Mr. King, the Prime Minister had not taken the initiative in approaching United States on the matter of reciprocity. He had waited until President Roosevelt intimated his willingness to discuss the subject.

Inquiry's Head

Again Mr. King declared his belief there was need for an investigation into the packing industry in Canada. Information reaching him led him to conclude the cattle breeder was not receiving a fair deal. The Liberal leader, speaking in this coal mining centre, also asserted his belief Labor must be given an increasing voice in the control of policy.

"The capitalist investor who refuses to see Labor must be given a voice is just heading for a point where industry will be submarined," he said emphatically. "We are sometimes asked why we did not do something along those lines when we were in power," he said. "We did. We put Tom Moore on the board of the Canadian National Railways." Why had the government not put representatives of the farmers and Labor men on the banking commission? He could not understand it.

The farmers and laboring men were vitally interested in the finding of the commission. They should have representatives on it to see what is going on. If there was anything which these people could not see, it should not be going on.

Mr. King entrained for Moose Jaw. He will speak tomorrow at Assiniboia, Sask.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

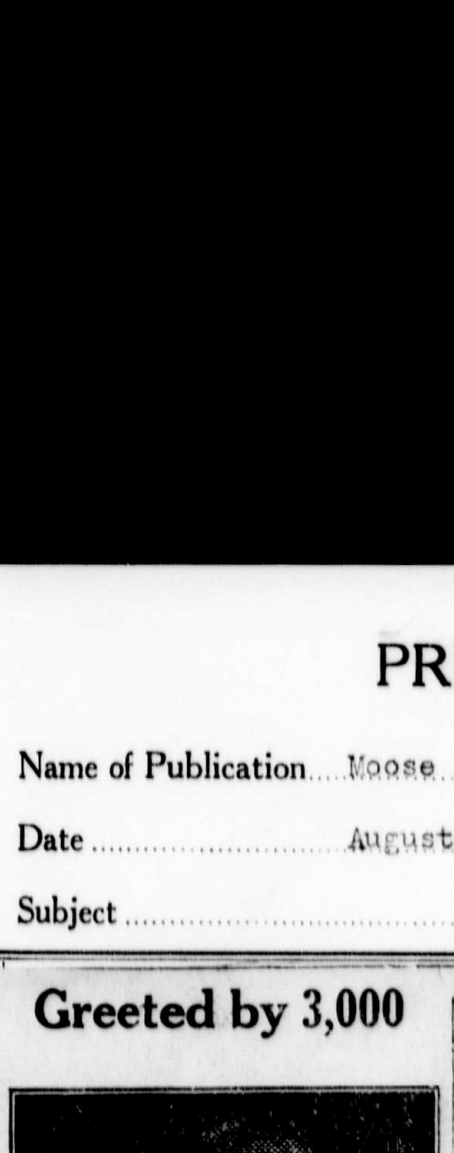
D 20565 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Moose Jaw Evening Times

Date August 16, 1933 Assiniboia, Sask. - August 15th.

Subject

Greeted by 3,000



W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader in Canada, who was accorded enthusiastic welcome by residents of Assiniboia and district on Tuesday night when he addressed a monster gathering.

Crowd of 3,000 at Assiniboia to Hear Mackenzie King

Largest Gathering Ever Held in the Town Hears Liberal Leader in Canada Deal With Policies Enunciated By the C.C.F.—Gives Warning of Results if That Party Gained Power.

Close to three thousand people crowded all available room in the Assiniboia skating rink on Tuesday evening to hear Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, discuss public questions of the day. It was the largest public gathering ever held in the town, and farmers and citizens of Southern Saskatchewan converged on Assiniboia until the streets were lined with cars and many, unable to obtain seats in the rink, stood along the sides of the building, while others stood outside and listened through the open windows.

Dr. J. Gemmell, president of the Assiniboia Liberal Association, was chairman of the meeting and seated on the platform with the chairman and Rt. Hon. Mr. King were Dr. Donnelly, M.P. for Assiniboia; J. B. Crepeau, of Gravelbourg; Miss Norman Dennison, of Assiniboia, member of the executive of the National Young Liberal Association; Charles W. Johnson, M.L.A. for Willow Bunch; Thomas Waddell, former M.L.A. for Moose Jaw County, and W. Boch, of Eastend, former M.P. for Maple Creek. J. Gordon Ross, former federal member for Moose Jaw, accompanied Mr. King to Assiniboia, but did not take a seat on the platform.

A Great Reception

Mr. King had arrived from Moose Jaw by train and spent the afternoon with Liberals of the town and district. He was given a great reception on the arrival of the train, and before six o'clock in the afternoon it was plainly evident from the number of cars coming into town from all directions that the citizens of Southern Saskatchewan were anxious to hear the Liberal leader.

The Assiniboia band paraded to the rink at 8 o'clock, and by the time the Liberal leader had arrived, about 8.30, there was little room left in the building. Mr. King was escorted to the platform by two pipers in full Highland costume.

In the course of an address of an hour and a half, Mr. King first of all disposed of the often uttered remark that there is no difference between the two old parties. He showed the difference, pointing out what Liberal policies had been and were and how the Conservative party had fought the Liberals with policies exactly opposite, and he left this subject with the remark that if an individual still persisted in the opinion, he could not be possessed of ordinary intelligence.

C.C.F. Party

But it was with respect to the C.C.F. or third party that Mr. King was particularly emphatic, remarking that the much-talked of balance of power was a myth. Throughout the nine years he had been in office he had not made an agreement on any matter with any member of the third party. His government would have been able to accomplish much more than it did, had those in the third party been behind it. The only effect the third party had had was to prevent the government from doing a number of things which would have been for the welfare of Canadians. The third party, Mr.

Name of Publication .....

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King stated, was just a parasite, living on the backs of the other parties. Third parties only rose when Conservatives were in office. The C.C.F. proposed to change the whole structure of the state; to do away with private property. The state would do everything. It was a serious change that was proposed and he hoped every person would study it and if they did that seriously they would decide that it was not the best way.

State Control

The C.C.F. proposed to have the state control the railways, the manufacturers, the banks and insurance companies and other private business. They would put political managers in charge of business instead of business men in charge controlled by parliament.

There were only two ways to do it and one of these was to confiscate and the other was to pay for them. Confiscation would mean civil war, and he did not think the people of Canada wanted that, though there were apparently some who would welcome it, but he warned that those who started civil wars generally ended by having their heads lopped off. But confiscation had been talked at the C.C.F. convention in Regina. It was a dangerous seed to sow and permit to grow.

Then there was the purchase of all these things the state would take over. Purchase could only be by taxes and he asked "Can we stand more taxation?"

"Force"

Supposing that everything was taken over by the state as the C.C.F. proposed, Mr. King asked how would the state carry on, and answered his own question with the word "force." Such a system could only be maintained by an army as in Russia. An army to tell the individual to work here or there and to take this much pay and no more. Such a system could only be carried out through force and by shooting or banishing the individuals who objected, just as was done in Russia. The decision was plainly up to the people, but he warned them that there would be lasting effects to "you and your children's children."

Mr. King declared that it was unfair and unpatriotic that individuals should take advantage of the distress and discontent as was being done, with promises of what would be done in a socialistic state.

It was unfair because the men who made the promises knew they could not make the first move to change the system without first changing the constitution of the country. To change the constitution meant that it would be necessary to control both houses of parliament, and yet the C.C.F. leaders said they did not want control but only the balance of power.

Mr. King's Speech

At the outset of his address, Mr. King thanked the people of southern Saskatchewan for the cordial welcome which had been given him and particularly he thanked Mayor Shaw of Assiniboia for the kind words of greeting, because of the fact that Mr. Shaw was not an adherent of the Liberal party. Mr. King also read to the gathering a letter from T. G. Ross, secretary of the Liberal-Conservative Association of Assiniboia constituency, welcoming him to the district, and he remarked that it was a letter of which he would always be proud, and he regretted that there was not more of that spirit and note of chivalry shown in public life.

Studying Problems

Mr. King explained that his trip had been arranged at his request to permit him to meet the people in the rural areas of the three prairie provinces. This had been done in order that he might have the chance to study the problems of the west at close range. He, therefore, came as a fellow citizen to his fellow countrymen at least able to share in feeling the trials and difficulties with which they were contending.

He pointed out that in Canada the people were the government. The policies in force were those which received the largest measure of support. However, under Mr. Bennett's leadership the government had gone too far in raising the tariffs. It was a mistake and had cost Canada dearly. If Mr. Bennett knew as much about political economy as he did about law he would not have made the tariffs as high as he had.

Mr. King explained that under the Canadian system of government the cabinet took counsel with itself and with its supporters and its actions were a reflection of what the people desired. But Mr. Bennett was impatient of counsel. He liked to do the whole thing himself and in doing so he had taken too great a burden upon his own shoulders and he did not help his own party by so doing.

Stopping Imports

Mr. Bennett had been elected on his promise to blast his way into the markets of the world. Canada had been made a self-contained country, by putting the tariff up high enough to stop imports. There were some who said there was no difference between the two parties, Liberal and Conservative. Such a person did not know the history of his

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own country. The Liberals had gone out of power in 1911 on a policy of reciprocity and reduced tariffs. The same fate had come to his own government in 1930 when the Dunning budget had been placed before the people. The Conservatives did not support reciprocity in 1911 nor the Dunning budget in 1930. The Conservatives believed in privileges for the few, and the Liberals the extension of opportunity to the many. Men and women who said there was no difference between the two parties were telling untruths and no cause amounted to much which needed untruths to support it.

Mr. Bennett had raised the tariff walls to heights never known before and shut out trade, reduced transportation on the seas and on land, causing unemployment. Trade must move not just in one direction, but in both directions. Exports had to be paid for by imports. The West producing surpluses needed the world markets and encouragement of trade and that was the Liberal policy. The difference was plain to anyone.

Trade Cut Off

One of the reasons that the depression had been prolonged in Canada was that trade had been cut off due to the application of mistaken policies since 1930. Until these policies had been changed there would be no revival. Canada had to be ready to say to her neighbors to the South that she was ready to make a reciprocal agreement with them and ready to trade with any country in the world. Bring that about, and Mr. King asserted there would be a different Canada and the sun of prosperity would be seen once more.

However, the tragic part of the election of Mr. Bennett was that he was in office for five years. He was now in his fourth year and could run for the fifth. Mr. King expressed the opinion that the people of Western Canada who realized that the high tariff barriers were ruining the country, should send resolutions to Mr. Bennett demanding that the tariff walls be cut down and that Mr. Bennett make the change either by going to the country or having the courage to change his policy in office. He asked the Conservatives who saw the harm of high tariffs to send resolutions to Mr. Bennett.

Mr. King referred to the prosperity which Canada had experienced under Sir Wilfrid Laurier and yet there were people who said that the Liberals had no policy. If they had no policy they most certainly did better for Canada without a policy than the Conservatives had done with their policies.

Some Differences

He asked his hearers if Canada had ever enjoyed an era of greater prosperity than under the Mackenzie King Government. In the 15 years Laurier had been in power duties had been lowered. When the Mackenzie King government had taken office in 1921 there were unemployed on the streets, but within two years there was no unemployment and for seven years his government had surpluses and had reduced the public debt and taxation. When he had taken office the sales tax had been six per cent. and when he left in 1930 it was one per cent. Mr. Bennett had been in for three years and it was back at 6 per cent. One party brought it down and the other put it up. Postage on a letter had been three cents when he had taken office and when he left it was two cents, and three years after Mr. Bennett was in power it was back to three cents.

During the Liberal regime tariffs had been reduced and more goods exempted and the free list extended. Today the free list was gone and there was a three per cent. tax on everything imported. True, it was termed an excise tax, but it was really a duty. The tariff had even been raised against Great Britain and to other world countries and an embargo put on trading with some countries.

Liberal's 14 Points

Under the Liberals the income tax had been lowered and the larger the family the less that was paid, but under the Bennett government the larger the family the more that was paid. Under the Liberals trade returns mounted constantly; under the Bennett government trade was going down and disappearing.

The Liberal leader at this juncture in his address made particular reference to the speech he made in the House of Commons on Feb. 27, 1933, outlining the 14 points, and he explained that these represented the opinion of the Liberal party. He dealt with various matters contained therein, touching first upon unemployment, showing that the Liberal policy was to appoint a commission, which would have had charge of the entire question all the way across Canada.

Wide Publicity

Continuing his discussion of the Liberal party platform, Mr. King referred to the liberation of external trade which he described as the abolition of increasing tariffs, the increase of the British preference and the reduction of excessive taxes and duties. The liberation of internal

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trade as a plank of Liberalism meant the breaking up of secret understandings and agreements by which monied interests fixed the price of commodities and ground excessive profits from the consuming public. The only method by which such a condition could be alleviated was by throwing the operation of these organizations open to wide publicity. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Commission had been trying to air such operations. Liberalism, stated Mr. King, at all times, sought to make for the common good rather than for privileges to the particular few.

Dealing with the control of credit in the Dominion, the Liberal leader believed that the creation of a Central National Bank to control the supply of currency in propor proportion to the requirements in each locality would be a step in the right direction. He felt that such an institution would be of great value in times of financial distress, and he stated that such a measure should have been provided by the Conservative government if they had the real interests of the general public in mind. Mr. King criticized the Conservative policy in regard to the recently established Royal Banking Commission, stating that such a body should have had among its members a representative of labor and of the farmers of Canada. As it stood the Commission was not at all representative.

The Liberal party recognized that the problems of distribution were of greater importance at the present time than those of production, and that personality was of more vital import than property. The lives of the people were of greater concern to the Liberal party than the more material things of land and taxes. Mr. King remarked that he had observed a heavy round of applause when the name of President Roosevelt and his reforms had been mentioned earlier in the evening. The Liberal leader pointed out that many of the changes wrought by the American president had been exactly in keeping with the policy of the Liberal party in Canada for some time. President Roosevelt, whether knowingly or otherwise, had adopted many of the planks of the Canadian Liberal party.

Exploiting the People

Turning his attention to a discussion of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation as a possible new party in Canadian politics, Mr. King observed that it was not surprising that in times of financial and economic distress a third party should come forward. In such times, he stated, there was always a group ready to rise up and exploit the people who did not know which way to turn. Hard times inevitably brought the soap-box orator with a cure-all remedy for the world's ills. It was interesting to note, stated Mr. King, that third parties always came into being following a Conservative regime in power, but such had never happened after a Liberal government had concluded its work. After the war a Conservative government had gone into office and shortly afterwards the Progressive party of organized farmers had sprung into being. In 1921 the Liberal government came back into power and remained there with a majority of one and an antagonistic Senate. In spite of such difficult conditions, the Liberal government had done many things to ease the burden of the common people and for nine years Canada had experienced a prosperity never before known.

Mr. King firmly declared that a third party did not hold the balance of power, but only prevented a well-meaning government from sometimes completing its work. The Liberal party had never made any agreement with a third party to encourage its support. A third party in the House of Commons was like a parasite living on the backs of the other parties.

The speaker believed that there were many good things in the C.C.F. platform, but most of these had been clipped from the policies of the Liberal party. The difference was that the C.C.F. stood for staid socialism and such a promised policy should be thoroughly investigated before its adoption by the Canadian electors. The C.C.F. wanted state ownership and control which meant the abolition of private property. "Consider where this will land you," said Mr. King.

State Control

He had tried to study out just what the C.C.F. was driving at when it spoke of superseding the capitalistic system with a national socialism. Capitalism, he believed, meant the system by which industry was carried on by capital investments rather than by hand labor alone. If this were true, declared Mr. King, every farmer who owned a threshing machine was a capitalist. Even the C.C.F. was operating on the capitalistic system. This new party wanted all the natural resources, mines, fisheries, forests and lands placed under state control. Mr. King believed that if socialism had been the real panacea for Canada's ills it would have been adopted generally many years ago, for it was not a new thought.

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How would such a system work? The state could acquire all property in either of two ways: by purchasing it or by confiscation. Confiscation would mean civil war, he believed, because the people of Canada would never sit back and watch the government take everything from them. Even the discussion of such a proposition was dangerous. If the government were to purchase all property how would it be paid for, and when government property was exempt from taxation, from what source would taxes be derived to carry on the government's work? Socialism was possible up to a certain point, but beyond that it was utterly impossible. Mr. King ventured to say that the state had almost too much control at the present time and the taxes were heavy enough. If the government were to take all property it would have to be done by sheer force. With such a system there would have to be an army standing back of the government as in Russia. The liberty of the Canadian people had been hard fought for and would not be given up lightly.

Can't Keep Promises

If the C.C.F. party ever took control of the government of Canada it would not be for many, many years, because any political party required long years of preparation before it secured the confidence and trust of the people of the Dominion. When such a move did come, it would come with a vengeance, if Canadians allowed it to spread. The leaders of the C.C.F. knew, declared Mr. King, that they could not possibly keep their promises. The constitution of the Dominion would have to be changed in order to bring about some of the measures threatened, and this was only possible by a joint address to the Crown from the House of Commons and the Senate.

The consent of all the provinces would also have to be secured, and all this could certainly not be accomplished in a short time. Senators were appointed for life, and during the whole nine years of the Liberal regime ending in 1930 the Liberal party had been hampered by a Conservative majority in the Senate.

Mr. King averred that it was unfair and unpatriotic of these men to attempt to take advantage of the difficulties of the times to harass the people of Canada into supporting policies which could not be carried out, and if they were would spell disaster to the nation. He urged his audience to take no stock of promises unless backed by a past experience of promises which had been kept. The Liberal party for years had stood in good stead and had ever had as its maxim the measures which would make for better conditions among the common people rather than to provide luscious privileges for the monied interests. Lower tariffs and decreased taxation were the only means by which Canada could be brought out of the present condition of affairs. The Liberal party had ever stood for just those things and would continue to do so as long as the grand old spirit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier continued among Liberals of the Dominion of Canada.

A Wonderful Crowd

Dr. John Gemmell, president of the Liberal Association of Willow Bunch, occupied the chair for the evening and remarked at the outset of the wonderful crowd which had assembled to hear the national Liberal leader. He extended a hearty welcome to the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King on behalf of the people of southwestern Saskatchewan. It was regrettable, he stated, that he could not welcome Mr. King to a land of good crops and promising prosperity, but he felt that under the capable leadership of Mr. King, the Liberal party would soon return to power and so inaugurate a period of decreased taxation, tariffs and troubles for the farmers to bring about better conditions generally.

Dr. W. T. Donnelly

Dr. W. T. Donnelly, federal member for Willow Bunch, addressed the meeting prior to Mr. King's address. It was a good sign that people were intensely interested in the public affairs of the Dominion, he stated. "Providence has been unkind to this area this year," said the federal member, "in bringing an abundance of pests, grasshoppers, cutworms and drought, to say nothing of the worst pest of all—a Conservative government."

Today the land values of the west were negligible, and yet the Regina federal member stated that the Conservative party had kept its promises to the people. The only promise Mr. Bennett had kept was the one concerning increased tariffs, declared Dr. Donnelly. He believed that bondholders should be asked to rewrite their bonds at a much lower rate of interest. Credit for the increased price of wheat could not be given to the Conservative government in Canada but rather to the drastic action of the President of the United States.

The Liberal party believed in open trade channels, abolition of the gold standard and the placing of the Canadian dollar on a par with English money rather than with the American dollar. Dr. Donnelly referred to the gasoline trusts in Canada, by reason of which people across the line paid 15 cents for an imperial gallon while in Canada a gallon cost 28 cents. The profits of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, amounting to $8,000,000 last year, had been paid with the Canadian surplus of the Imperial Oil Company, a subsidiary, stated Dr. Donnelly, which was only one example of how the Conservative government allowed exploitation of the people by the large monied corporations.

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Name of Publication ..... The Mercury, Estevan, Sask. .....

Date ..... August 17, 1933 ..... Estevan, Sask. - August 16th

Subject .....

3000 Hear Liberal Chief



Rt. Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the Canadian National Liberal party and former Premier of Canada.

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Stirring Appeal Hits Responsive Chord

Former Prime Minister pays Tribute to Motives but Condemns Policies in National Emergency. Sees ultimate Recovery by peaceful Methods.

Roundly condemning the policies of the present government and the vain promises of the third party aspiring to office, Rt. Hon. MacKenzie King assured a monster gathering of citizens last evening that "Behind a Frowning Providence there hides a Smiling Face" and that all will yet be well with Canada and the Canadian people. Avoiding extreme partyism in expressing his views, he treated his audience to an exhaustive and inspiring survey of Canada's economic problems and was heard with keen interest and appreciation.

It stands to the credit of Estevan that the fine turnout of citizens, young and old to greet the distinguished Canadian statesman represented all shades of political color. It was distinctly a civic welcome of wholly generous and hospitable purpose. Unfortunately, the arrival was timed to leave the reception committee on the wrong side of the train, resulting in a few moments of amusing embarassment as, for probably the first time in his distinguished career, the glad hand of an official welcome was missing as Rt. Hon. MacKenzie King stepped from the train. The situation was but momentary and Mayor Holmgren and the welcoming committee appeared with hearty, if tardy, greeting. There followed introductions to leaders in the local Liberal camp and citizens generally, after which the guest was escorted to the depot square where Boy Scout troops from Bienfait under Scout Leader Wright and from Taylorton under Scout Leader Hinchin were lined up in form and were congratulated by Mr. MacKenzie on their smart appearance.

It was evident at first glance that, vigorous and enthusiastic as he is known to be, Mr. MacKenzie's physical endurance has been tried to the limit in his strenuous circle of the broad prairie. It was not surprising therefore that he asked to be excused from the round of visits and events planned for his entertainment, and permitted to return to his car to rest up for the evening engagement at the stadium.

Accompanying the former premier and his private secretary, were Hon. Jas. A. Gardiner, former premier of Saskatchewan, and Robt. McKenzie, member for Assiniboia in the federal house, each of whom were warmly welcomed by political supporters and citizens generally. With them as guests of the day, President Calvert, members of the Board of Trade and citizens made a visit of inspection of the area intended to be covered under the provincial government's water conservation scheme.

Returning from their expedition to the dam site, Hon. Jas. A. Gardner, Norman McLeod, ex-M.L.A., and Jess Tripp, president of the Liberal Association, functioned at the opening of the final game in the Border League series, at the exhibition grounds. After an introduction megaphoned to the good crowd by Herb. Dupius, Mr. Gardner assumed the pitcher's mound with the air of a veteran and aimed a first and second ball at Norman McLeod's threatening bat. They went a bit

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Subject ..... high, but the third attempt looked so inviting that Norman swung at it, and missed. Jess Tripp, veteran catcher of the Oxbow ball team, gathered in the pill and Norman was declared duly fanned out. The guests retired to the grand stand and the league contest got under way.

A few hours of rest, a conference with a delegation of farmers and dinner with executives of the Liberal Association intervened and at 8 o'clock the distinguished visitor enjoyed a heartening reception by the largest crowd of his Western tour. There was a tastily arranged and decorated stage, gay with flags and flowers, an admirable seating arrangement and 3000 expectant faces turned with ear alert for a message of hope and encouragement from the capital centre of things political. Accompanying Hon. Mr. King on the dais were President J. H. Tripp, of the Assiniboia Liberal Association, Oxbow; Hon. J. G. Gardiner, former premier of Saskatchewan; Ed. Young, member for Weyburn in the federal parliament; Robt. McKenzie, federal member for Assiniboia; N. L. McLeod, ex-M.L.A. for Estevan, and Mayor P. B. Holmgren of Estevan.

By prior arrangement and with general approval, President Tripp's greeting to the audience and the courtesy addresses of the distinguished guests were cut to the minimum so that the evening might be given to the guest of honor.

On rising, Rt. Hon. MacKenzie King was accorded a hearty welcome by the whole gathering that gave him the comforting assurance of standing on hospitable ground and he lost no time in bespeaking the confidence of his hearers "as a Canadian talking to Canadians." He owned to a long cherished plan to visit Estevan disrtict and know its people and circumstances intimately. His tour of the West, in which he has spoken only in the smaller cities and towns, has offered great opportunities to learn of the peculiar difficulties under which South Saskatchewan has labored, and to note with pride the heroism of the people in their struggle against adversity.

Turning directly to the era of severe depression, its various causes and the remedies promised and advocated, the speaker reminded his hearers that in the approaching general elections there will be three distinct political parties appealing for popular mandate, each offering its own program for economic recovery. Speaking first for the party which he leads, he claimed that his government clearly saw the approaching depression and identified its cause in the wave of speculation resulting from years of prosperity, inflation and abuse of post war credit, resort by all governments to extreme nationalism and restriction of international commerce. The Liberal policy had been arranged to meet the crisis by way of the Dunning budget which looked to expansion of inter-imperial trade to tide over the era of depression.

The Liberal policy, said the speaker, had been rejected at the polls in response to the promise of Hon. R. B. Bennett that he would force trade revival and provide jobs for the unemployed. These promises were impossible of fulfillment and the depression is now greater than ever. In the emergency, he and his supporters have felt it incumbent on them to leave the Bennett government full opportunity to fulfill their expectations, reserving only the right of fair criticism. A free hand had also been accorded in the Imperial Conference of last year, but there also the policy of the Bennett government had only further discouraged trade with Great Britain. At the late abortive World Conference also, Hon. Mr. Bennett's sole contribution was endorsement of a proposal to restrict the output of Canada's basic product, wheat. Quoting from tariff data, he protested that the government's policy only made the hard lot of the people infinitely harder, declaring it the duty of the Western people to bombard the government with demands for tariff reform. Conditions would have been vastly different under a Liberal government, and the lesson though bitter is timely.

A new campaign of vain promises has entered the picture, said Mr. King. The C.C.F. appeals to popular credulity with promises of debt cancellation, assured income, government control of finance and industry, and he asked who would pay the price and what

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power would displace human liberty and initiative? There remained but the one answer "Communism." He quoted from the Liberal policy as defined at the national convention, pledging help to basic industries, winning new markets for producers, a central bank to stabilize credits and a fair acknowledgement of the rights of capital and labor, always reserving that capital must bow to human rights. He would abolish Clause 98 of the Criminal code and serve human needs in a human way. The situation in Canada today is the unique one of starvation amid plenty; there is more than enough produced and the problem facing governments is that of efficient distribution. The Liberal objective, he said, is the encouragement of the individual enterprise in private property, with fixed opposition to all forms of monopoly. In contrast, the C.C.F. offers state control of all resources and operation, implying the end of personal liberty. Were such a condition possible, his fear would be for the coming generation, for such changes could only be effected through force. Socialism is impossible, but early and radical changes and improvement in systems is possible through Liberal policies.

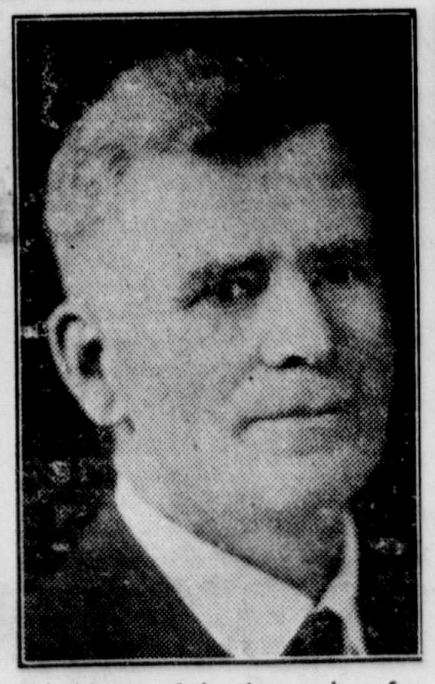
Concluding, Hon. Mr. King said he will carry back new inspiration found in the co-operative spirit in which the Western people are facing and overcoming their difficulties. We learn to think in terms of each other, he said, for, with nations as well as communities and individuals, none lives unto itself.

Following the National Anthem, the Liberal leader spent a very busy few minutes shaking hands with admirers, after which he left to journey north to take part in the election campaign in Mackenzie district.

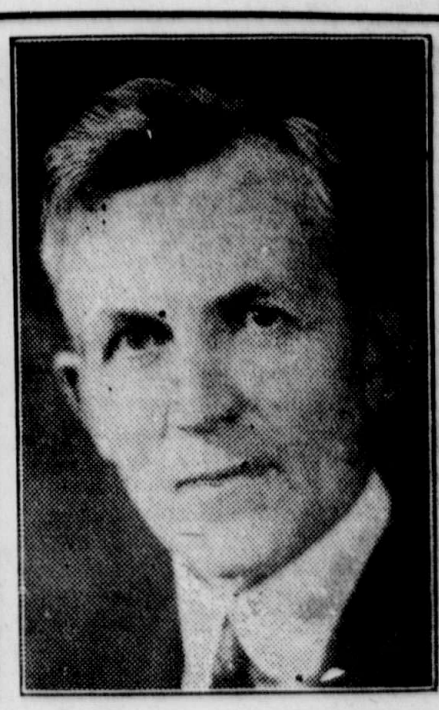
Came also with Liberal Chief



Jas. G. Gardiner, former premier of Saskatchewan.



Ed. Young, federal member for Weyburn.



Robt. McKenzie, federal member for Assiniboia.

D205744o
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date August 18, 1933

August 17th:
Afternoon - Wynyard, Sask.
Evening - Kelvington, Sask.

Subject

KING'S TOUR CARRIES HIM INTO MACKENZIE

Makes Veiled Reference to Candidature of Stubbs in By-election

Says Liberal is Not in Campaign Because of "Personal Grievance"

BY RAY BROWN.
(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Kelvington, Sask., Aug. 18. — The Liberal candidate in Mackenzie J. A. McMillan, is not in the campaign because of any personal grievance of his own, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, told an audience here Thursday night. The Liberal leader was addressing a crowded hall here in the Mackenzie riding. One of the candidates in the four-cornered fight which is being waged is L. St. G. Stubbs, former Winnipeg judge, who was removed from the bench.

Mr. King expressed the view that a candidate could better represent a constituency if his motive was not one of personal grievance. But the constituency of Mackenzie was in a somewhat unique postion in Canada, because its people would have an opportunity to express their views upon the record of the government in advance of a general appeal to the people.

Speaks at Wynyard

Wynyard, Sask., Aug. 18.—Swinging north from Estevan in the dry belt, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, Thursday entered the constituency of Mackenzie. In this riding a by-election campaign to fill the vacancy created when Milton Campbell was appointed to the tariff board, is now in progress.

J. A. MacMillan, who carries the Liberal colors in the campaign was on the platform here when Mr. King addressed his meeting. Harry Butcher, Liberal member for Last Mountain, was also present and said a few words.

Mayor R. E. Sherman introduced Mr. King and as evidence that the welcome from Wynyard was a genuine one the mayor said that 'some of these beautiful flowers decorating the stage were tendered by one of the most ardent supporters of the present government."

The constituency of Mackenzie had an opportunity to do something in a big way for Canada, the Liberal leader told his audience. The people of this riding had a chance to indicate to the government what was best for Canadians today.

"You have an opportunity to help yourselves and the people of Canada in a very exceptional way," Mr. King said.

"The prosperity of Canada depended in large measure on the prosperity of the prairies," the Liberal leader said. They supplied the great home market upon which the east was relying. His visit had shown him that the people in the west were receiving but a small return for the farm products which they produced. On the other hand they were called upon to pay high prices for these things which they must buy. Also western farmers were forced to pay for borrowed money in terms of the present values while at the time the loans were made farm produce was worth very much more.

Denounces Tariffs

The result in this by-election would not defeat the government, Mr. King continued. But it might serve notice on the present administration and Mr. Bennett that there must be a change in policies. The high tariff policy of the government was responsible for stifling trade, and Mr. Bennett's declaration that he would "blast a way into the markets of the world," had closed many doors to Canadian goods.

The government had pursued a consistent policy of high and higher tariffs until now the rates, in certain respects, were prohibitive. "The whole effect of this trying to fight other nations with high tariffs has been to put a wall around Canada which trade cannot climb over," insisted Mr. King. It was killing both import and export trade. And he believed that many Conservatives felt that duties had been jacked up too high. They should so inform Mr. Bennett. "I may be doing myself an injury in advising you in this way," the Liberal leader said, "because it is not yet too late for the government to change its ways."

Comparative rates of duties on cotton goods, flannelette, blankets cot... woollens piece goods and other commodities were quoted by Mr. King in declaring that the present government had forced tariffs up to the breaking point. In some cases the duty under the present government was over 100 per cent.

"Rates are so high that the government is not receiving any revenue because no goods are coming in. That is why the government puts a two cent tax on sugar," he declared. "You now have a chance to say to the government, we people in western Canada want a change," Mr. King said. "We need lower tariffs for western Canada." If the four constituencies in Canada when by-elections were scheduled would all tell the government by their vote that they wanted lower tariffs, something might be accomplished.

D205744o

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20575 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

4-1

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Journal .....

Date ..... August 19, 1933 .....

Subject ..... At Preeceville, Sask. - August 18th .....

Liberal Support For Reciprocity Treaty With U.S.

Opposition Will be 100 Percent. Behind Mr. Bennett If Move Made, Says Mr. King.

Canadian Press by Direct Wire.

PREECEVILLE, Sask., Aug. 18.—"We expect Mr. Bennett on his return to negotiate immediately a reciprocal agreement with the United States," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, told an audience here today. "He will have the Liberal Party behind him 100 percent. if he does," Mr. King added.

In his third speech in Mackenzie constituency where a byelection will be held in October, the Liberal chieftain said he believed many Conservatives thought Prime Minister R. B. Bennett had gone too far in putting up tariffs.

J. A. McMillan, Liberal candidate in Mackenzie, opened the speech making. "I will be perfectly satisfied if you give to Judge Stubbs the same percentage of votes as he was accorded in Marquette constituency in 1921," said Mr. McMillan. He received about four percent. of the votes cast at that time.

Mr. King said that he had been asking himself what was of most importance to Western Canada at the present time. A byelection was about to be held in Mackenzie. It was one of three byelections to be held on the same day. Now if in these three byelections the people expressed their views in no uncertain voice, the Government might give the people a chance to express themselves in a larger way or it might change its policies. Thus Mackenzie had an opportunity to speak for Canada. Mr. King referred to Judge Stubbs as "a friend whom I appointed to the bench." Judge Stubbs had a grievance and he had chosen to deal with his grievance by appealing to the people.

But the grievance of Judge Stubbs was not the important issue to the people of Mackenzie. The people had their own grievance. "How are we to live, that is the issue today."

It would be very easy during a period of unrest such as the present for the Canadian people to make their own condition worse by embracing some of the extreme doctrines which were being preached, continued the Liberal chief.

The entire course pursued by Mr. Bennett had proven disastrous to Canadian trade. It was a succession of tariff boosts, each one adding to the cost of living in Canada and making it more difficult for Canadians to sell their produce abroad. Little by little, there had gone up around Canada those tariff walls which have almost strangled trade.

Cause of Depression.

Mr. King asserted, "nations are not going to trade with you if you will not trade with them." And as it is a profound economic law that exports are paid by imports, Canada had suffered. He believed the tariff laws put into effect by the present Government had more to do with continuing the depression than anything else.

Ridiculing the suggestion there was no difference between the two major political parties, the Liberal leader instanced the serious divergence between Liberals and Conservatives on the reciprocity issue in 1911.

He also quoted comparative figures showing very large increases had been made in the tariff rates on many commodities by the present Government over those prevailing during the Liberal administration. Commodities mentioned included blankets, cotton goods, overcoatings, hosiery, etc.

"If a strong voice goes out from these Prairies demanding a change in these policies the Government may heed it," continued Mr. King. He believed all parties in Canada would be glad to help in any move to lower tariffs and thus improve conditions of the people. "I could cite for three or four hours, commodities on which tariffs have been increased," he declared. Even though the world depression improved, Canada could not prosper with a tariff wall around her.

Mr. King criticized Mr. Bennett on the ground the Prime Minister had failed to respond quickly to suggestions from President Roosevelt for reciprocity. "We expect Mr. Bennett on his return to negotiate immediately a reciprocal agreement with the United States," declared the Liberal leader. "He will have the Liberal party behind him 100 percent. if he does so."

He turned to the C.C.F. Third parties arose out of discontent with "Tory" rule, he said. He wondered if Judge Stubbs had not been one of those who weighed against third parties when he was a candidate in 1921.

"The danger about these movements which are not carefully thought out is where they may lead in the future," continued the Liberal leader.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date August 19, 1933 Pelly, Sask. - August 18th. Evening

Subject

King Concludes His Series of Meetings In Mackenzie Riding

BY T. H. HART
(Special Despatch to the Free Press by Staff Correspondent.)

Pelly, Sask., Aug. 19.—Concluding his series of five of meetings in the Mackenzie constituency, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, addressed an audience of more than a thousand Friday night. The gathering was held in the open air rink and was presided over by Hon. C. P. B. Dundas, a younger son of the late Earl of Melville. The Pelly band of 10 pieces stationed in the grounds entertained the crowd with some lively music until Mr. King arrived at 8.30, when "O Canada" was rendered in which every one joined.

A temporary stage erected at one end of the grounds was gaily covered with flags and bunting and surrounded on all sides with a display of magnificent flowers. Immediately after the meeting, the Liberal leader and his party left for Swan River, where they remained over night. Today they will motor to Dauphin, where Mr. King in the afternoon will address a picnic gathering at Broken Pipe Lake. He will come to Winnipeg by train on Sunday and leave for Ottawa the same evening. Hon. J. D. Gardiner, leader of the opposition in the provincial legislature, and J. A. McMillan, Liberal candidate in the constituency, also spoke briefly.

Mr. Gardiner was heartily applauded when he stated that the Conservative government in the last three years had done more to convince the people of Canada that the Liberal policy was right than the Liberals themselves had been able to do in their eight years in power. He prophesied a return of the Liberals at the next appeal to the country.

Other men on the platform were R. Parker, M.P.P., the local member and Allan McLean, the 1930 candidate for the federal house. Mr Bridgeman extended a generous welcome on behalf of the village. Just before the Liberal leader commenced his address, little Daphne Dundas, daughter of the chairman, presented him with a dainty bouquet, and as she kissed Mr. King, he laughingly said he was glad she had picked him for a such a show of affection rather than Mr. McMillan, who is also a bachelor.

Starting the last address that he will make in Saskatchewan on his present tour, Mr. King stated that the Mackenzie constituency had a special opportunity on Oct. 23 to speak for the people of Canada.

While admitting that the result of the vote on Oct. 23 would not change the government, he thought that if the three by-elections, one in New Brunswick, one in Quebec and one in Mackenzie, were all unanimous in condemning the government, there might be a chance. Tariffs might be lowered or better still, Mr. Bennett might feel that he had lost the confidence of the people of Canada and decide to appeal to the country before his term had expired.

Points Out Opportunity

"Now is the time for the people to speak and show what they think of the present government," he said. "You have it in your power to help end the depression for while world conditions are somewhat responsible yet there are many things that we right here in Canada can do to bring about better times."

One of these things Mr. King declared was to pull down the tariffs and show that Canada was sincerely desirous of starting a trade revival and was willing to share her market with the nations of the world which showed a similar spirit. "What this government has been doing is to strangle the trade of Canada," he stated emphatically, "You, too, would feel depressed if you had your wrists and ankles bound and your throats tied up so that you can scarcely

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breath. That is what the Bennett government has done to the trade of Canada. You have the power on Oct. 23 to help to lift that burden or at least to indicate to your friends in parliament that you are standing behind us. We shall be heartened if you turn out and support the Liberal candidate and thus strengthen our hands when parliament meets and we again demand a reduction in tariffs."

Mr. King definitely promised the establishment of a ceneral national bank if his party goes back to power. "We shall control the banks," he told the audience, "so that they shall more effectively serve the public rather than the private interests."

"The problem today is starvation in the midst of plenty. The fruits of industry must be more fairly distributed."

He critized the action of the C.C.F. candidate for bringing a personal grievance into the present campaign, although admitting that he did not approve of the "commission form" of dismissing judges.

"I believe no judge should be dismissed except by impeachment," he said in closing.

He urged the election of the Liberal candidate, pointing out that a great and solemn responsibility rested upon every elector to bring an early return to brighter and happier days.

Earlier in the evening Mr. King spoke at Preeceville.

This point is headquarters of the C.C.F. for Mackenzie constituency and is also the spot where ex-Judge Stubbs, Winnipeg jurist, was selected more than two months ago as a standard-bearer for the new organization. When the gathering started there were only about 400 present, but before the speeches were over that number was increased by another 300. Judge Stubbs was one of the listeners.

On the platform with the Liberal leader was Hon. J. G. Gardiner, a former Saskatchewan premier, and G. W. McPhee, M.P., of Yorkton.

The meeting was held in the open air at the Agricultural grounds. Brief speeches were made by J. A. McMillan, local candidate, who dealt briefly with the land plank of the C.C.F. platform. Where will we be if that platform goes into effect?" he asked. "Where are we now?" an interrupter asked. "Some of you are in the air. I am still on the earth," Mr. McMillan retorted. "We have no land now," his interrupter continued. "Well, maybe you haven't, but a lot of us have, and probably if we do return to prosperity you still would have nothing." The crowd roared.

Hon. J. G. Gardiner also made a plea, urging all the electors to carefully consider the offers of all the candidates and then make up their mind as to who can best serve their interests in the Dominion parliament.

Points to Opportunity

In opening his address, Mr. King pointed out that this was not a general election and the people of Canada as a whole would have no opportunity to express their opinion of those who govern them for one or two years. The people of Mackenzie, however, will have a chance on Oct. 23 to say what they think of the government and in this way give an indication of the feelings of the electors of western Canada. For a moment or two he paid his respects to Judge Stubbs. "This gentleman is an old friend of mine," Mr. King said. "I appointed him to the bench. The present government removed him. That is the reason he is in the present campaign. He may have reason to be aggrieved, but instead of allowing the matter to be dealt with on the floor of parliament, he has brought it into the political arena. It is his personal grievance that he seeks to avenge. I think you will be far too wise to use your ballot to remedy the fancied grievance of a private individual when your own troubles are many and much more important.

Every elector was affected by the present depression and it would be foolish indeed, he suggested, to use the by-election as a means of settling a grievance of a solitary person. Every one of the electors might have sympathy for the C.C.F. candidate, he said, but they should not forget that they owed a paramount duty to themselves and their families.

High tariffs of the present government had more to do with the present depression than anything else. Not only have we lost trade, but we are also paying higher taxes," he said. "Goods have been shut out of the country and duties have been lost that otherwise would have gone to the treasury. This in turn has brought about taxation increases. Every pound of sugar now pays a tax of two cents. Postage has been raised from two cents to three cents and in this way millions of additional dollars are being taken out of the national pocket and at a time when the people of the country are least able to stand this."

Denies Policies Identical

He indignantly denied that the policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties were identical. In proof of this, he pointed out that the Liberals in 1911 had fought hard for reciprocity with the United States and throughout the whole history of the party the Liberals had always been in favor of lower tariffs. The Conservatives for the most part favored a protective tariff that provided special favors to certain manufacturing interests.

"Any man who tells you that the Conservative and Liberal parties are the same is not telling the truth," he declared. The Liberal party has always stood for and fought for lower tariffs. The C.C.F. party has nothing to offer that in any way will keep you or your family in the next couple of years.

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"The Conservative party in the past three years has also shown its incompetence so there is nothing else for you to do but vote for the Liberal candidate and strengthen the hands of those who have always pleaded your cause in parliament. It is because I have seen so much suffering and trouble in these western provinces that I earnestly appeal to you to help the Liberal party bring about a change for the better. If a good strong voice goes out from Mackenzie telling Mr. Bennett that you want a reduction in duties, it is more than likely that he may pay heed to your urgings. I can pledge the entire support of the Liberal party to help Mr. Bennett bring this about, he declared.

This is no time to be thinking of party. The days are too serious. The country and the people should be first considered and I am perfectly satisfied to see Mr. Bennett get this friendly warning that unless he pulls down his high tariff walls he will suffer defeat when next he appeals to the people. You may therefore be doing a good turn to the present government if you elect a Liberal standard-bearer in the October by-election.

Stands for Reciprocity

"As far as the Liberal party is concerned we stand for reciprocity with the United States and as soon as Mr. Bennett returns from England we expect that at once he will seek an agreement with our neighbors to the south. We shall be behind him 100 per cent. And not only that but we shall stand behind him in negotiating treaties with every other country in the world that is willing to trade with us fairly.

Dealing with the United Front platform Mr. King said the people of Canada would not stand for Communism and everyone who voted for that party was simply losing his ballot. As for the C.C.F. movement he said the present candidate, Judge Stubbs, had often on the public platform expressed his disapproval of all third parties. No one was stronger on the public platform against third parties than the present candidate of the C.C.F., Mr. King declared. The crowd gave him a cheer and Judge Stubbs had a smile for his former leader.

"Do you want dictatorship such as they have in Russia?" he asked. "I doubt not that we have a sort of dictatorship in Canada just now, but it is not nearly as bad as in Russia, where none of the people have anything to say as to who shall govern them. I hope you are not going to take the C.C.F. promises too seriously. You already had a stomach full of promises from Mr. Bennett, but Mr. Bennett is a piker as compared with the C.C.F. Are you going to be played for a sucker for the second time?" he asked. An emphatic "No" was the answer.

"How is the C.C.F. going to take over the great public resources?" the Liberal leader asked. "Is it to be by confiscation? That will bring civil war. Some people at Regina at the C.C.F. convention suggested confiscation, and such talk by even a few shows a dangerous spirit," he said.

The other way was to buy out the banks and the factories and the insurance companies. That would take money. At the present time the people were running millions behind, so where would they get the money?

Says Platform Impossible

The whole C.C.F. platform was impossible and would not stand up if the people would think. The constitution would have to be changed before the C.C.F. could carry out its plan. Either that or there would be a revolution. Property and civil rights belonged to the provinces, he pointed out, and before property could be taken over by the federal government the provinces would have to give consent.

After this consent had been given it would be necessary for the C.C.F. to get control of the house of commons and the senate, and this would take a very long time. The senators were appointed for life and it was very well known that "once they go into the senate they live twice as long as they ordinarily would." "Don't be misled," Mr. King said, and asked his listeners to hold on to the liberty they enjoyed at present.

"Canada is still a good land and full of promise. Show by your ballots on Oct. 23 that you still have faith in your selves and your country and are able by proper constitutional and reasonable methods to bring about the dawn of a happier day for us all," he concluded.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20579 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

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Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date August 21, 1933 Dauphin, Man. - August 19th.

Subject

KING CONCLUDES TOUR OF WESTERN CANADA; VOICES ENTHUSIASM

Declares Trip One of Most Profitable, Helpful and Enjoyable of Public Life

Says People Convinced, as Never Before, Liberalism is Their Great Cause

(Special Despatch to the Free Press by Staff Correspondent.)

By T. H. HART

Dauphin, Man., Aug. 21.—Declaring that his present trip had been one of the most profitable, helpful and enjoyable of his entire public life, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King closed a five week speaking tour shortly after midnight Saturday. "Not since I have been in public life as leader of the party, have I seen such a strong united following of Liberals, and this is particularly true in western Canada" he enthusiastically declared at the close of his speech.

"The Liberal party in parliament was never more aggressive" he told his listeners. "It held a place in the public life of the country that it had not enjoyed for many years. People are convinced as never before that Liberalism is the great cause of the people, and has always been so throughout the ages. It carried through from the past to the present a great tradition of serving the people."

"The world today is in a serious condition" he said. "Liberalism is essentially a matter of political education—not merely winning elections—but a sympathetic study of the people's problems and the best way of solving them. Just now we have to be particularly careful to see that so-called 'new movements' do not finally lead to disastrous consequences."

More than 1,200 political enthusiasts turned out for the meeting, and although there was little applause, it was plain that the Liberal leader had his hearers interested.

Travelled 4,000 Miles

Mr. King showed little signs of fatigue although on his present tour he travelled nearly 4,000 miles by motor, spoke at 65 meetings to a combined audience of nearly 50,000 people.

The meeting was held in the auditorium skating rink. The platform had been transferred into a bower of flowers, and the other decorations showed more than ordinary effort to give the former prime minister a welcome becoming his position.

Nearly all of the people he has spoken to in the last five weeks have been residents of the several parts of the west. "I shall go back to Ottawa," he said, "particularly well equipped by general contact to present their problems and viewpoint to the Canadian parliament."

One of the pleasant interruptions of the evening was two songs by "Jimmy" Paul, a Dauphin boy, born and bred, who has gained an enviable reputation as a soloist in New York and other of the larger cities across the boundary line. A musical programme by the Dauphin band was also greatly enjoyed.

Robert Hawkins, through whose hard working initiative the meeting was planned, introduced the Liberal leader, who had previously been welcomed by Mayor Bennett. Immediately afterwards, he was presented two dainty bouquets, one from little Miss Katherine Wrye, representing the Liberals, and one from the Progressives through Helen Voss. Both of the pretty little maidens gave the Liberal leader a hug and a kiss.

"I can see now," Mr. King declared, "that it was a lucky thing for me that there is a Liberal Progressive party."

Pays Tribute to Bowman

Before commencing his address the former prime minister paid a warm tribute to J. L. Bowman, M.P. "The Conservative member for this riding is one of my warm personal friends and I am very grateful indeed that although he was out of town attending other business planned a long time ago, he did me the courtesy and kindness to come back and extend a personal welcome."

"It is just what I expected of him. His kindly heart and all-round thoughtfulness have made him a general favorite in the house of commons" Mr. King said.

Mr. Bowman, during the afternoon, had been present at the Broken Pipe Lake Ukrainian picnic, and it was there that he publicly and privately welcomed the former prime minister.

Mr. King also attended the picnic held to celebrate the Ukrainian "Thanksgiving Day."

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In the old country the fruits of the earth are brought to the churches on this day, where, after being blessed by the priests, they are distributed throughout the parish to all tte people. In remembrance of this happy custom, Mr. King was presented with a basket of fruit.

For a moment or two at the picnic, Mr. King spoke in the Ukrainian language, and although his pronunciation was not always correct his effort brought a tremendous cheer from a crowd of more than 3,000.

Later on, in English, Mr. King stressed the fact that Canadians of all races and creeds enjoyed complete political freedom. He felt sure, therfor, they would not surrender their dearly bought privileges for dictatorship by the C.C.F. group.

Before the evening gathering, Mr. King was the dinner guest of the local Liberal Progressive executive at the Hamilton hotel. Other guests at the table were: Hon. T. A. Crerar Hon. D. G. McKenzie, Dr. Rogers Mayor Bennett, R. Hawkins, A. T Warnock, W. J. Ward, C. D. Bates, H A. Hryhorczuk, Roger Watson, Dave McCarthy and E. A. Pickering, private secretary to the Liberal leader.

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The meeting was officered by Dr. Rogers, who was chairman for half an hour, representing the Liberals. He turned over the gavel at 9 o'clock to John Seale, who left no doubt from his "talks" that he is an ardent Progressive.

Warmly Welcomed

Mr. King did not start his address until nearly 11 o'clock. It was shortly after midnight when he finished. Nearly all the audience remained until the end, and hundreds afterwards waited to give him a personal handshake.

After stating that he was able to sympathize with the present prime minister "on his great burden of responsibility," Mr. King went on to say that he thought Mr. Bennett did not yet fully realize the injury the Conservative policy was doing to Canada. "Instead of strangling Canadian business Mr. Bennett should have known," he said, "that what the country needs more than anything else is the opportunity to trade with every nation of the globe. Otherwise there could be no sale for the enormous agricultural output from western Canada," Mr. King told the audience.

Mr. Bennett, he said, was lacking in "vision" and was not willing to listen to the suggestions and warnings of his own party.

"I believe that 99 out of every 100 Conservatives believe that the present tariff is far too high. But apparently they have been unable to alter their leader's outlook."

Dealing with the question raised, he said, by some of his personal friends as to why he was continually "harping" on the tariff, the ex-prime minister said the tariff issue had been made a political question by the Conservatives themselves, and not by the Liberals.

Says Conservatives Raised Issue

"At the last election—that is right up to the time the actual fight started—the tariff was practically out of politics. It was Mr. Bennett himself who made the tariff the main issue in the forthcoming election by the tremendous increases he has made in the duties, amounting in some cases to over 100 per cent.

"This is not protection," he said, "it is absolute prohibition of trade."

The Liberals have always moved in the direction of lower tariffs, and it was unfair to say, he declared, that the tariff was an outworn issue, and that the Liberals only used it during times of election.

The party, he submitted, had always favored "freer trade" as a party, and in and out of office had lived up to their faith.

"Mr. Bennett, the great physician," who had a cure-all at the last election for all Canada's troubles, had nearly strangled the patient, because of an equally strong faith in "economic nationalism," he submitted.

"Without lower tariffs there can be no return to prosperity," the federal leader declared. "I sincerely hope that when parliament meets Mr. Bennett will have eyes [illegible] and agree to lower the tariff. And I have the further hope that the Conservative member for Dauphin will give his support to our efforts, because I am firmly convinced that in his heart of hearts he believes that the present duties are far too high."

"Money is lost to the Dominion treasury because of the high rate of duty," Mr. King stressed, "and as a consequence the government has been forced to take further millions out of the national pocket by a two cent tax on sugar and a boost in the postage rates from 2 to 3 cents."

Urges West to Protest

"Unless there is a strong protest from the west, I am afraid that Mr. Bennett will make no effort to lift the burden, and he may even decide to add a few more bricks to the tariff wall."

Pointing out that no one seemed to know where Mr. Bennett stood on the question of reciprocal trade with the United States, Mr. King said that such a treaty was the considered policy of the Liberal party. "We also will seek treaties with all other countries, and shall lower our tariff on British and Empire goods in return for a greater share in their markets for our great natural products" he declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20580 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

In the old country the fruits of the earth are brought to the churches on this day, where, after being blessed by the priests, they are distributed throughout the parish to all tte people. In remembrance of this happy custom, Mr. King was presented with a basket of fruit.

For a moment or two at the picnic, Mr. King spoke in the Ukrainian language, and although his pronunciation was not always correct his effort brought a tremendous cheer from a crowd of more than 3,000.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20581
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

The World Economic Conference might have ended happily had greater freedom of trade been arranged at the earlier Imperial Conference in Canada, he suggested.

Transportation Question

The transportation question is a live issue at Dauphin, and Mr. King dealt with the point by stating that the Liberal party was solidly behind "the great publicly owned and publicly controlled system."

"I have heard fears expressed on all sides that the Canadian National is not being treated fairly, and there are other "distressing" stories afloat concerning the Hudson Bay railway, "the pride of the Liberal party," he announced. Mr. King asked the railway men and others to read and study the Liberal platform, and he felt sure, he said, that if they did so they would all be satisfied that the C.N.R. would be treated with absolute fairness.

For a moment or two the Liberal leader dealt with the resolutions passed at a Liberal-Progressive convention at Brandon a few weeks ago.

"In the name of the Liberal party I adopt them all, and I pledge myself and the party to carry them on if elected to power," he declared.

Mr. King warned his listeners against the "seductive promises" of the C.C.F. "The Liberal party is ample and sufficient to meet all the present needs of the people," he said.

"During my leadership in parliament we had a surplus for seven of the nine years instead of going behind at the rate of 100 million a year as we are doing at present," he explained. "Every dollar we spent on the country's current business, came out of revenue and we also reduced the rates of postage, income tax, and the public debt."

He explained that he had to oppose the C.C.F. because the C.C.F. is opposed to him, and there was the further and main reason, that the two policies were directly opposite.

Favor Individual Freedom

"The Liberals," he declared, "stand for individual freedom and individual liberty. The C.C.F. stands for the subordination of the individual to the state, with all the liberty of the individual subject to the dictatorship of the state.

"If the C.C.F. get into power a little group will tell you what to do, and where to do it. And if you fail to obey you will take a chance of being shot," he said.

Mr. King again dealt with the difficulties in the way of taking over all the natural resources, pointing out that the provinces would all have to give their consent to turning over the natural resources to the federal authority.

"After that were done, it would still be necessary to capture control of the house of commons and the senate. I tried to get a majority in the senate for nine years, and I couldn't do so." Senators live twice as long as other citizens, he said, and as for abolishing the senate that could only be done by the consent of the senate itself, or civil war might bring it about.

There was the question of where the country was going to get the money to pay for the private property that the C.C.F. intends to take over. "We are going behind now at the rate of $100,000,000 a year," he declared, and asked the question: "Where are they going to get the additional cash to buy every one out?"

"It is not a change in the social system requiring generations to bring about what it wanted," Mr. King asserted with emphasis, "but something that will bring about better conditions as soon as possible.

"The people of Canada, in my opinion, are not particularly pleased with the thought that none of them will own anything but the state will own everything under C.C.F. control of the government. Neither will they be enamored of a small group of men controlling their most intimate actions."

Refers to Russia

Germany and Russia were held up as examples, of what had happened when the people became careless of retaining their liberty.

"The C.C.F. is only a very small number of people who do a lot of shouting and talking. The Liberals, although very much larger in numbers, are far too modest, and do not do enough talking," he suggested.

Organization, he explained, was the only thing that will bring a true expression of Liberal sentiment.

"Show that you appreciate the many blessings it has brought to the country, by working for it, talking for it, and most important of all, voting for it."

The National Anthem closed the meeting. Mr. King and party came to Winnipeg Sunday morning, and left for Ottawa by the evening train. During his stay in the city he was a guest at the Fort Garry hotel.

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34	129	Toronto Men's Liberal Association: Tariff Policy; Imperial Economic Conference, 1932; Liberal Party Policy; Conservative Party Policy	15 Dec. 1932	D 20147 - D 20180	C-2800
34	129	Toronto Commercial Traveller's Association: Toast to Canada	16 Dec. 1932	D 20181 - D 20239	C-2800
Chronological Files, 1933-1939					
35	130	Chronological Files	Jan.-Oct. 1933	D 20240 - D 20401	
35	131	Chronological Files	Jan.-Nov. 1933	D 20402 - D 20499	
35	132	Chronological Files	July-Aug. 1933	D 20500 - D 20581	
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1934 D20582

Notes of Speeches
by
Mr. King

1.	Burns-Wilson Wedding.	Feb. 23.
2.	Toronto Centennial:	
	Wm. Lyon Mackenzie Chapter, I.O.D.E.	Mar. 5.
	Meeting of City Council, City Hall - 11.oo am.	Mar. 6.
	Civic Luncheon - 1.oo pm.	Mar. 6.
	Toronto Regiment Dinner.	Mar. 6.
3.	Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L., Dominion Convention.	Mar. 12.
4.	**Dinner in honour of Rt. Hon. George P. Graham - 75th birthday anniversary. (March 31)**	**Mar. 21.**
5.	Caucus - re General Election 1934.	Apr. 10.
6.	Dominion Drama Festival, Little Theatre, Ottawa.	Apr. 27.
7.	Toronto Women's Liberal Ass'n, 21st Birthday Anniversary.	May 11.
8.	Mitchell F. Hepburn - Luncheon.	June 7.
9.	University of Toronto - Commencement Day Exercises.	June 8.
10.	Government House Dinner, In Honour Lord Duncannon.	June 20.
11.	Liberal Caucus	June 21.

12. Ontario By-elections:

12a - Kenora (K-Rainy-River)-Sep.14
12b - Enterprise (Frontenac-Add)- " 17
12c - Toronto (Toronto East) - " 20.

13. National Liberal Federation of Canada
3rd Annual Meeting. -Dec.12

14. Sir George and Lady Perley -
Rideau Club Dinner. -Dec.19

D20584

Burns - Wilson Wedding

Manor House
Rockcliffe

February 23, 1934

D20585

2

Toronto Centennial 1934

March 5 & 6.

D20586

Dinner of William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter Daughters of the Empire, in Honour of William Lyon Mackenzie, March 5, 1934:

Thanks -

Chapter - re naming after Mackenzie

re banquet at Centennary.

Personspresent representing different political opinion

Mr. Church.

Mellowing Influence of Time -

Chivalry of Mr. Church;

Chivalry Mackenzie showed & would wish for this occasion;

Word picture not easy to give - prejudice;

Macaulay - "Our estimate of a character always depends much on the way in which that character affects our own interests and prejudices."

Descendants should view careers dispassionately

Only time to give few glimpses of his life.

D20587

Significant Periods of Mackenzie's Life -

Prior to Rebellion - 1795-1837; 42 years.

Imprisonment, Exile 12 years.

Remaining Years - 1849-1861; 12 years.

Rebellion obscured first and last periods -

Inevitable fate of those who loose all in vast endeavour;

Rebellion only served to reveal character.

Enters Journalism -

Came to Canada at age of 25;

Married Isabel Baxter;

1824 founded Colonial Advocate - age 29;

When Rebellion started, printing establishment largest in Upper Canada, Mackenzie in good circumstances.

See Exhibit

Enters Parliament -

1827 ran for Parliament.

See Exhibit

Early Advocate of Confederation -

Motive not only improve government, but to preserve British connection.

See Exhibit

Advocates Responsible Government -

His objective - establishment of responsible government;

Part of his regard for British institutions;

Present generation finds difficult to understand;

Responsible government already achieved in Great Britain;

Denial of self-government occasioned Rebellion

No desire for severance of British connection.

D20589

Elections to Parliament -

1828 - Elected 1st time;
entered Parl. 1829 at age of 33.

1830 - elected 2nd time.

1831 - elected 3rd time;
expelled 1st time.

1832 - elected 4th time;
expelled 2nd time;
proceeded to England.

1833 - elected 5th time in absence;
presented Gold Medal;
not allowed to take seat;
elected 6th time.

1834 - expelled 3rd time;
elected Mayor;
elected in general election 7th time.

1836 - 1st and only defeat.

4 acclamations;

once ~~unanimously~~ one vote only.polled against Mackenzie.

D 20590

Toronto's First Mayor -

Services gratuitous;

Coat of arms;

Cholera.

Part II

Rebellion -

Nature of civil war - revolt vs. misrule;

No man more attached to British institutions.

Exhibit

Mackenzie and British Empire -

"Logical inconsistency";

Globe, Jan. 1902:

"We who enjoy the liberties for which and his followers Mackenzie/fought would be ungrateful if we weighed their actions in too nice a balance. They suffered for us and the principles for which they fought proved to be the best not only for Canada but for the Empire."

Aid in his escape showed sympathy of country.

D20591

Imprisonment & Exile -

Political prisoner Rochester prison;

Pardon by Van Buren - New York;

Rebellion Losses Bill - Pardon by Elgin.

Family Life -

My mother born while Mackenzie in New York;

Privation suffered - sale of medal.

Mackenzie's mother, and relation of penury

they suffered together and his principles

Exhibit

Death of his mother. Exhibit

Return to Canada - Remaining Years

Integrity of motive in returning;

Elected for Haldimand - George Brown;

Re-elected for Haldimand 1858, but resigned;

Death - at 66 - Bond Street house;

Tributes - Mr. Lindsey Exhibit

Mrs. Somerville Exhibit

D20592

Meeting of City Council, City Hall,
Toronto, March 6, 1934.

Congratulations on 100th anniversary;

Pride in association of family over 100 years -

Grandfather elected - Mr. Laidlaw's presence;

Association of father - university, law school;

Self at University;

Sisters - social service activities of city.

Tribute to pioneers in Settlement & Government -

laid foundations so well;

Providence being their guide, they builded better than they knew;

City Motto -

Industry, Intelligence, Integrity.

Best Wiehes for Future

True to the Faith of our Fathers.

D20593

Civic Luncheon, King Edward Hotel, Toronto
March 6, 1934

Renewed Congratulations - 100th Anniversary of city.

Thanks - honour proposing toast.

Year of Centennaries -

100 - Toronto;

400 - Jacques Cartier discovered Canada;

300 and over - Quebec;

Confederation - 76 years.

Relation of City to State -

Greek conception - City = State;

reasons for - defence, govt., spoken word;

Modern conception - State = Nation;

Radio - unity of opinion;

national opinion;

may differ in policy, but not in purpose;

World State -

Unrest of times may be throes of wider freedom;

Freedom within borders - economic security

Freedom against aggression - international peace.

D20594

Dinner, Toronto Regiment, March 6, 1934.

Glad to attend to do honour to Mayor -

dinner annual event in honour of mayor;

as grandson of first mayor glad to be present;

thank Mayor for many courtesies.

Honoured at invitation of so distinguished a Regiment -

was 3rd battalion, 1st Brigade, 1st Division;

in war from beginning to close -

sailed for England Oct. 1914;

in France Feb. 1915;

in many of most famous battles from St. Julien to Mons;

took part in occupation of Rhine.

left Canada with 43 officers, 1101 men -

at end of war only 39 originals left

over 6000 passed through battalion,
" 4500 casualties in battle.

Chairman - Lt.-Col Marani

served with regiment in France;

Best wishes to Regiment

D20595

3.

Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L.

Dominion Convention

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa
March 12, 1934
10.00 a.m.

on - B.E.S.L.

20596

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Currie.

D20597

Dinner in Honour of

The Rt. Hon. George P. Graham

The Country Club

March 21st, 1934

D20598

Dinner in Honour of
The Rt. Hon. George P. Graham
The Country Club
March 21st, 1934

Purpose of gathering -

Honour one who is a personal friend of all present;

Honour one about to celebrate 75th birthday anniversary. (March 31st).

Not first gathering of kind on Graham's birthday -

He has usually reversed order of things and made his birthday occasion of extending hospitality to others.

Tonight we follow precedent of 7 years ago -

friends of Mr. and Mrs. Graham entertained them at this Club and presented silver service as expression of affection and regard.

D20599

Occasion distinctly personal -

Not public -

Review long record of service as journalist;

Member and Minister of Crown in Ontario Legislature and Federal Parliament;

both Houses of Parliament;

representative of Canada at international gatherings - Imperial Conference, League of Nations;

first Chairman of Tariff Board;

President of Victorian Order of Nurses;

President of fraternal organizations;

Colonel of a Regiment.

- These things present to our mind.

Not political gathering -

Distinguishing feature is presence of persons of all political parties, past and present political opponents, and friends.

Nor Ottawa gathering -

since many here from outside.

D20600

A gathering of friends -

to do honour to one whose friendship is a dearly valued possession of all present; to give expression of their affection and regard to one who has taught them much of the art of friendship and the secret of the preservation of youth through advancing years.

The Art of Friendship and the ~~Preservation of the Spirit of Youth - Long Life~~

the two seemed to be linked together

to have friends -

you must be friendly to be young.

- you must keep young.

Two qualities which underlie both and give us the secret of both:

(1) Kindliness of heart;

(2) Humour.

D20601

Kindliness of Heart -

Where did it come from?

A son of the Manse;

"The greatest of these is charity".

Outstanding characteristic of Graham -

his generous nature and chivalrous attitude.

Never been cynical, never been unkind in his words or acts towards others.

Humour -

irrepressible and irresistible;

understanding of and love of human nature;

get on with the crowd - tolerance;

no matter what the occasion, see the human side

after-dinner speaker -

hero of Press Gallery banquets;

able to laugh at situation, at himself,

and help others to laugh;

bubbling spring of life itself;

contagion of good humour.

D20602

Reward of a life of kindliness of heart and good humour -

seen in gathering such as the present;

mellowing influence of the years;

few, if any, enemies;

friends in all camps;

- Whittier's "My Birthday";

and re Oliver Wendall Holmes.

Mrs. Graham -

In all said, desire to include Mrs. Graham;

his companion for over half a century of married life;

heightening joys;

consoling griefs;

helping to keep him ever young.

Express my own wish in verse of my own:

To George we wish
Many happy returns of the day;
To Mrs. Graham ~~and him~~
more Years of happiness ~~to come~~ upon life's way;
To both at the end of life's journey,
Happiness together, for ever and aye.

D 20603

The years no charm from Nature take;
  As sweet, her voices call,
As beautiful her mornings break,
  As fair her evenings fall.

Love watches o'er my quiet ways,
  Kind voices speak my name,
And lips that find it hard to praise
  Are slow, at least, to blame.

How softly ebb the tides of will!
  How fields, once lost or won,
Now lie behind me green and still
  Beneath a level sun!

How hushed the hiss of party hate,
  The clamour of the throng!
How old, harsh voices of debate
  Flow into rhythmic song!

. . . .

No sense is here of loss or lack;
  Before his sweetness and his light
The dial holds its shadow back,
  The charmed hours delay their flight.

His still the keen analysis
  Of men and moods, electric wit,
Free play of mirth, and tenderness
  To heal the slightest wound from it.

His sparkling surface scarce betrays
  The thoughtful tide beneath it rolled,
The wisdom of the latter days,
  And tender memories of the old.

The world may keep his honoured name,
  The wealth of all his varied powers;
A stronger claim has love than fame,
  And he himself is only ours!

D20604

Purpose of gathering

Honour a friend
about celebrate [illegible] - birthday

Not first of kind

Grahams gathering
precedent of 7 years ago

Not public function
to honour public career.
features of
" political function - distinguishing
feature all parties
" Atlanta - all parts of Canada

A personal gathering

to express regard & affection for
dearly valued friend

Who has taught us
(1) art of friendship
retain friends this year
(2) art of loving
grow old gracefully
supreme achievement

Secret of both
(1) bondliness of heart
(Son of Mauser)
(2) humour - trust descent
irrepressible = irresistible
Reward - gathering - [illegible] Whittier's verse
[illegible] - share all

20605

Muhuda - 6. 7. ch 91

Still time ahead.

Wishes

To [illegible] -

Many happy returns of the day

to [illegible] [illegible]

More years of happiness upon

life's way.

To [illegible] - at the end of the journey

(when beyond the horizon into the

realm of light beyond)

Happiness together for ever and aye

D20606

Liberal Caucus

April 10, 1934

Liberal Caucus D20607

April 10, 1934

Re: General Elections 1934.

Certainty of election in course of few months.

Forces against us:

Representation Act last session;
Elections Act this session;
Press of country;
No money for campaign;
No candidates in field;
Tory's hold;
Our own people being caught in government ownership trap, etc.

Necessity to get public attention directed to Liberal Party and against Government.

Unemployment Relief Measure:

affords opportunity of disclosing waste and bring out Liberal policy -

and off setting Steven's Committee -

aimed to fool producers and consumers,

and to bring Conservatives and C.C.F. together.

D20608

Marketing Bill -

Agency for bringing together.

Features of -

Touches on.

Wheat Marketing - ditto.

Probability -

Rhodes retiring, also Bennett;

Stevens leader in wilderness -

type of campaign.

D20609

Why Election this year.

General principles governing a last session -

M.P.'s cross over - e.g. Titles;

Lose control his party;

Opposition hold up Supply;

Funds from manufacturers.

Bennett has deciding voice -

(Has not said no - blind)

His health demands it - also his plans;

he has shaped all policies to that end -

filled posts with Tories -
Deputy Ministers, etc;

left a few vacancies to be filled by M.P's in

Civil Service,
in Senate.

Bennett's speeches all over country -

Halifax,
Montreal,
Toronto,
etc.

The U.K.-Canada Agreement:

Provisions re agriculture only for
19

free entry British market:

eggs, poultry, butter, che
and milk products for that

afterwards - preference
quota.

Already British agriculture be
protectionist.

See speech H. of C. - Oct.

The Legislation of this Session is Evide

(1) New Elections Act.

(2) Marketing Bill -
will not have time to operate -
will serve as bli blind.

The Inquiry re Price Spread -

a herring -
effect all gone in six months.

(3) Construction Program - Public Works

Waterways intended.

(4) Blank cheque and blanket legislatic
authorizing again re relief measure
clause re continuance beyond year.

Activity of Organization.

Press boosting re Improvement of Times

and restoration Civil Servants salary.

D20612

Dominion Drama Festival

April 27, 1934.

D20613

Dominion Drama Festival
Little Theatre,
April 27, 1934.

Why Little Theatre Movement should be supported;

" our thanks due His Ex. for promoting competition.

Social Order of world undergoing change -

hope for social justice;

" " world peace;

need - education on present day problems.

(1) Educated need Educating -

Drama holds up mirror to life;

"The play's the thing
~~Wherein~~ I'll catch the conscience of
the King"

Conscience of society needs not catching,
but touching.

" in 2 senses;

social wrongs & injustices portrayed;

Retribution & Nemesis.

(2) Uneducated need Educating -

Problem of unemployment - shorter hours

leisure;

recreation - essential to working class

the machine vs. the spirit.

D20614

Social Settlements give lead -

entertain & educate;

culture and traditions other lands;

a fuller national life.

(3) National Competition Should become International -

Burke - re justice= common concern;

Art = common heritage & teacher;

International drama a real factor for world understanding and good-will, co-operation and peace.

(4) Hope National Value - Gain Recognition as well as Expression -

Re extension State powers & functions time to think of Department of Fine Arts

encourage -

sculpture, painting, music, literature, opera, drama.

Ancient State subsidized genius;

A National Art Gallery;

" " Opera;

" " Theatre;

appropriate home needed.

D20615

p.3.

(5) Gov't. has Programme of Public Works Construction -

P. M. to speak tomorrow night;

Programme include one of these projects;

Co-operation of official opposition,

if project conceived;

and add note of further adornment of

capital of Canada.

20616

D20616-A

Ap. 27, 1934.

Mr. King.

The back of the programme gives the following information:

Name of organization - Dominion Drama Festival;

Officers, etc. -

Patron - His Excellency;

President - Sir Robert Borden;

Chairman - Hon. Vincent Massey;

Honorary Director - Col. H. Osborne;

The programme also states that the "Dominion Drama Festival was inaugurated by the initiative of His Excellency" in October 1932. His Excellency has presented "The Bessborough Trophy" which is awarded for one year for the best play in the Festival.

At its meeting yesterday, the committee of the Festival decided to hold the final competition in Ottawa next year, as in the past two years.

EAP

D20617

1.

Toronto Women's Liberal Ass'n

21st Birthday Anniversary

Banquet

May 11, 1934

D20618

Toronto Women's Liberal Association
Twenty-first Anniversary Banquet
May 11th, 1934.

Introduction:

21 years.

Mrs. Strachan.

List of Presidents -

Alex Mackenzie first Liberal Premier, -

integrity and uprightness.

Descendants carrying torch of Liberalism -

Mackenzie's grandchildren and great grandchildren.

"The Old Order Changing Yielding Place to New"
Tennyson.

The Changing Social Order

due to: war
depression.

What do we want to change?

(1) Political - foundations.

(2) Economic - superstructure.

Quo Vadimus -

Welcome change -

direct - through right channels.

D20619

I. Political Changes.

Extremes - Communism
Fascism.

Democracy - Parliament.

Autocracy - Bureaucracy.

Socialism - C. C. F. - nationalization

towards Communism.

Toryism - towards Dictatorship.

Both tend to dictatorship -

destroy personal liberty.

In Canada -

Relief legislation;

Marketing " -

each assisting a political revolution.

Liberalism = constitutional liberty.

How far constitutional liberty challenged?

Magna Charta - Great Charter.

Liberalism first duty personal liberty:

1. National
2. Constitutional
3. Personal
4. Economic.

 D20620

II. Economic Changes.

Liberalism not laissez-faire.

English experience.

Canadian " -

Department of Labour -

progress.

Investigation a Liberal policy.

As Deputy Minister -

Reports: Sweating, etc.

Henry Government remiss in duties;

Government at Ottawa;

High tariffs no guarantee of high wages.

Question of Jurisdiction - B.N.A. Act.

Need for amendment of B.N.A. Act.

Industry and Humanity -

Re delegation of powers - voluntary.

 D20621

Unemployment - basic problem.

Tory program and results.

Representative National Commission.

National Patriotic Fund.

Parks, Historic Sites, etc.

Wherein Hope Lies - parallel 100 years ago.

Industry in nature of social service;

emphasis on personality.

Not matter - not Communism;

or ? - nor Fascism;

or organism - nor Socialism -

but a living soul;

the personal relationship;

the Christian motive -

Love of God - Love of man.

Woman's Part -

Intuition - Perception - (touch.

D20622

Introductory

Congratulations on 21 years of

of Liberal principles - public service.

Appreciation of services rendered

by President and officers - Mrs. Strachan;

an honour roll of distinguished names -

names prominent for social service.

Recall time of formation of the Association -

Was President of the Ontario Reform Ass'n.

Honour to be associated with Mrs. Strachan -

daughter of Alexander Mackenzie,

first Liberal to hold office of
Prime Minister of Canada since
Confederation.

Present depression reveals what problem must have been in the '70's.

Reforms introduced obscured by the difficulties of time -

Policies were on sound lines, identified with democratic ideals -

Left a name synonymous with integrity, and uprightness in public administration and public life.

D20623

1. Political Changes.

Extremes - Communism;

control by proletariat.

Fascism -

control by authority - power.

Democracy - representative institutions -

Parliament - Control by people of expenditure and everything.

United on extension State authority.

Socialism - C.C.F.

Extension State function

heading towards Communism.

Destroy personal liberty.

Toryism -

In interest of class - manufacturers, producers;
heading towards Fascism;

Dictatorship -

Relief legislation,

Marketing legislation

Both assisting in political revolution.

Liberals standing for constitutional liberty as basis of everything else;

subject particular to general interests

2. Economic Changes.

Liberalism not synonymous with laissez-faire

Laissez-faire and regulation -

methods - depend on conditions;

Physiocrats -

man's self love -

God's

Invisible hand.

Regulated freedom in general interest

in Britain;

e.g. Factory, Mining Acts;

compulsory education;

town planning, etc.;

social insurance.

in Canada:

Question of jurisdiction - B.N.A. Act.

Liberalism in Federal field -

Dept. of Labour - Fair Wages; Labour Gazette; Industrial Disputes Investigation Act; Combines Act; Old Age Pension Unemployment relief -

had to recognize jurisdiction re.

Investigation always a Liberal policy.

(1) Sweating system.

(2) Coal mine workers.

(3) Telephone operators.

(4) Cotton workers.

Present investigation at Ottawa - Price Spreads and Mass Buying.

Tories beginning to discover Liberal policy.

Conditions re hours, wages, sweating, etc. -
provincial matter;

should be held by Henry government -
a way out for both without doing anything;

Legislature over;

Federal Government fall back on jurisdiction.

Need for Amendment B.N.A. Act.

To secure uniformity in laws;

to bring social insurance under federal government.

D20627

Industry and Humanity.

Policy therein laid down.

Basic principles similar to some in N.R.A.,

but different in application.

Four Parties to Industry.

Self government in Industry -

but subject to government of State.

Unemployment - Basic Problem.

Tory program:

expend money,
contribute to provinces,
direct relief - dole,
public works -
highways, etc.

Vast sums -

colossal waste,

political patronage and graft.

D20628

Liberal Method -

Trade - needed to give employment and markets.

Problem of scarcity.

Representative National Commission -

Fuel Commission,
Food Control Board,
Munitions Board.

National Patriotic Fund -

How organized and functioned.

Proven not only similar
but identical.

Enlisted organizations -

Churches, women, etc.

Expenditures under Federal Government.

What could have been done.

Information available for:
Act re Unemployment Insurance,
Necessary public works:
subways, parks, historic sites
in cities
in country.

National Trust in Great Britain.

D20629

New Understanding of Social Needs and Problems.

A new spirit - women can help to bring;

based on personality -

man has a soul as well as a body -

may destroy soul.

Communism - (cannot) bring materialism.

Fascism - (") " "

Both destroy personality, individuality sacrificed.

Socialism - cannot bring organization.

Christianity can bring -

given Christianity - Democracy a chance.

Where does Hope lie?

Parallel of conditions 100 years ago.

Remove restrictions that strangle trade;

" policies of Economic Nationalism;

" " " " Imperialism -

That work for scarcity

and lead to war.

D20630

New Conception of Industry - Social Service.

Extend field of investigation and regulation, laying down rules within which game of industry, like all other games, must be played -

give largest possible play for individual initiative, enterprise, and self-reliance.

So organize -

methods of dealing with;

bring to all our social problems

the intention,

the perception,

the healing touch

which women, above all others in the country, are able to bring.

D20631

Luncheon given by

The Liberal Members of the House of Commons

In Honour of

Mitchell F. Hepburn, Esq., M.P.

Ontario Leader of the Liberal Party.

June 7, 1934

D20632

Luncheon in Honour Mitchell F. Hepburn, by
Liberal Members, H. of C., June 7, 1934

Election Mr. Hepburn Leader, Dec. 17, 1930:

Congratulations and statement issued at time;

Confident of success - re birthday anniversay;
born 1896;
greatgrandfather &
Mackenzie

Difficulties of Leadership:

increased by youth;

co-operation; free hand;

burden pretty much alone;

illness.

Characteristics:

Courage;

Loyalty;

Understanding of people;

Attractive personality.

Accomplishments:

united forces opposed to Toryism;

co-operation of youth;

aggressive fighting force, by-elections;

revived great Liberal tradition of province.

Best Wishes

20633

key
attitude at time
of appt

attitude to today

D 20633 -A

9.

University of Toronto

Commencement Day Exercises

June 8, 1934

D20634

(2)

D20635

Foster a new conception of greatness

Grey - humility (Wrong)

Not - mid-the force

but humanity.

Service of others

Social settlements extending from community to inter-national affairs

Chief among you - servant of all

Extended to Nations as well as

Individ. & classes.

Industry & Humanity

Nationality & Humanity

Each President brought his contribution

(his amount)

M. Carl - the idea of the University

Pr Paul Nelson - Science

James Sandon - Science

Falconer -

Cody -

Each University brings its contribution

~~Harvard~~ Oxford - Harvard. -

—

(3)

D20636

Art & beauty, National [illegible]

Source of creative genius & Social Reform

(see Record - page 7)

How take Greece we foster art.

Humanity -- discovering [illegible] genius

State — fostering [illegible] genius.

Land

art - artists - sculptors - monuments, ruins

—

Lessons to Moscow

Lumber of souls } machine, satisfy material wants

first satisfy "needs of

Re-unemployed moments - spirit

fuchs cast-patterns it

Peace & the arts of Peace.

instead of reversion to war.

Individualism & democracy

relation of politics to life of a people

—

direct torrent with right channels.

welcome the torrent of social unrest & change

the unusually & best to guide it — this

are the right channels — otherwise will

overwhelm — guided & power.

(F) D20637

As foundation stones (of being), they are deep - and as being deep they are withdrawn from view, but time is their witness and their friend: and in the final distribution of posthumous fame - nothing to forfeit only to receive! each goes to his own! all come to their ocean in time.

Quantities of sincerity = truth = quietness of heart = deep convictions.

The law of love - to give in order to receive
to share in order to keep

Lead back to sanity -
Stop drifting from moorings (no night intelligence) (no place for humility - no place for parliament - no place for church. - a pretty dangerous position -. (not - mar - not fruit of mar - but an evil spirit that is abroad in our land & in our time. + - drift -
Moreover - conservation instincts { forest fires / plum fires

Sequence of relations breaking { scarcity - / money - paper -
down - commerce or merge of man

(6)

[illegible] D20639
[illegible]

great tradition - or revolution (about

knowledge a very precious thing

(today the reverence for knowledge.

Cohn Bonavelis statement re his
achievement -

D20640

Dinner Given By

Their Excellencies
The Governor General and Lady Bessborough

In Honour of
Lord Duncannon

June 26, 1934

Government House Dinner in Hon[illegible]
Lord Duncannon - June 20, [illegible]

D20641

Honour in joining with P. M.

Child father of man - know what we may expect.

Absence from Canada - Rideau Hall to college halls

Everything brightest and best at vacation;

Lord D. will always wish return these shores.

Two Interests - Economics

Course at university, renowned for economics;

Conversation at G.H. - motive public service;

Problems of day, economic - working hours.

Stage -

Leisure hours given to drama;

Interpreter of principles underlying human conduct;

contrary forces which serve to arouse passions, inspire ideals which make for havoc or serenity in heart or cowardice or greatness in soul.

Sill and knowledge of life possessed at 21.

Congratulations to Their Excellencies -

Secret of inspiration;

Characteristics born of traditions & culture of two races.

Best Wishes

D20642

Viscount Duncannon

Born March 29, 1913.

Came out to Canada with Lord and Lady Bessborough at time of assumption of office - March 20, 1931.

Made a trip across Canada during the summer of 1931.

Entered Cambridge October 1931:

reading honour economics;

four year course -
expects take degree year from now.

Great interest in theatre -

Has taken part in important productions this year:

1931 - with Montreal Repertoire Players in "The Cat and the Cherub" - a Chinese play produced in Montreal.

1932 - played a role of Hamlet at Little Theatre.

1933 - played role of Romeo at Little Theatre -

Prof. Wilson Knight of Trinity College, Toronto, a great Shakespearean authority, has paid high tribute to Duncannon's "Romeo", particularly the admirable way in which he sustained the rhythm of the poetry, for which the tragedy is famous.

D20643

Government House Dinner
In Honour of Lord Duncannon
June 20, 1934

Congratulations to Lord Duncannon -

Occasion in celebration of 21st birthday anniversary.

Congratulations and good wishes none the less spontaneous and sincere in that three months have elapsed since March 29.

Host of his friends, in both younger and older circles, join in wishing him many happy returns of his birthday anniversary.

Congratulations to Lord and Lady Bessborough -

Must be source of pride to them to see their son and heir attain his majority with so much of attainment of mind and personality to his credit.

His charm of manner and attainments a tribute to his distinguished parents, from whom it is so easy to discern they have been derived.

With his father of an ancient Irish family, and his mother of French, he combines in his person, like Canada herself, many of the best cultural characteristics of Britain and France

Variety of Lord Duncannon's Interests and Studies:

Interest in Canada -

Evinced by his trip across Canada within short time of his arrival;

A well and favourably known figure in all parts of Dominion.

D20644

Interest in Theatre -

His early aptitude for theatre encouraged by father;

His performances constitute a fine series of achievements for one his years, and give promise of great career should he decide to pursue it as such;

His interest along with that of Their Excellencies has done much to vitalize the theatre in Canada;

- great and important place the theatre can play in life of nation as well as individual.

Interest in Problems of Day -

Evinced bu his selection of economics as field of special study;

Most of problems of our day are related in one way or another to economics - without some knowledge in this department, clear grasp of them hardly possible;

In choice of department, as in choice of University, following tradition set by his father - financies, his work in City.

Lord Duncannon to be congratulation upon combing his interest in economics, which deals with activities of man's working hours, with his interest in theatre, which deals with activities of man's leisure.

D20645

Good Wishes -

His first 21 years have given every promise that he will maintain and develop the fine traditions of his family;

Our best wishes for the remainder of his career at Cambridge and for all that the years may bring.

D20646

Liberal Caucus

June 21, 1934

Caucus - June 21, 1934 D20647

Re: Ontario and Saskatchewan Elections.

Messages of congratulation to Hepburn and Gardiner.

Re defeat of Progressives.

Twentieth Century Clubs - Lapointe.

General Election in Fall.

Investigations probable in Ontario and Saskatchewan.

Certainty of demand of party for new leader.

Reply of Bennett in House yesterday.

Our duty to see Bennett does not go to another Imperial Conference.

Wisdom of fighting for principles -

Marketing Bill,
Ottawa Agreements.

Nonsense about planning.

Vote of Want of Confidence in Government on Supply.

Public Works Programme.

Note clause re contract - $5,000.00.

Avoidance of parliamentary control by attaching schedules.

Re Railways -

Express - Telegraph.

Re: Franchise Act -

Double enumerators for revising lists.

Notification of electors by returning officers or revising officers.

See what is done re revising officers.

Name for Franchise Commissioner.

Need for Organization.

Word of Thanks.

D20649

Ontario By-Elections

September 24, 1934

12a - Kenora - Sept. 14th.

12b - Enterprise - Sept. 17th.

12c - Toronto - Sept. 20th.

Book / Notes

D20650

Kenora, Sept. 14, 1934.

Miniature General Election -

Reason for by-election -

Kenora-Rainy River, should have been acclamation -

Earl Hutchinson carried riding -

Labour, supporting Mr. Hepburn;

Political complexion of riding remains same in provincial and federal;

only constituency honoured by having Minister of Crown in new govt. in Ont.

Action of Lib. party when Bennett govt. formed -

Stevens - defeated by Mackenzie, Vancouver Centre; elected acclamation Kootenay East - McLean resigned.

Rhodes - Resigned P.M. of N.S. Aug. 11/30 to become Minister Fisheries; (Finance, Feb. 1932);

J. A. Macdonald resigned Richmond West - Rhodes given acclamation;

Macdonald appointed Senate, Feb. 1932.

D20651

Re Mr. Stevens -

More to say at another time;

Not voting for Mr. Steven's govt. but Bennett's-
which Stevens appears to be opposing
(See last paragraph famous pamphlet); ✓

Sufficient for present to know -

1. Stevens issued pamphlet;

2. Bennett ordered it destroyed.

Only two possible relationships - 1. antagonism;
2. collusion;

if (1) as between the two, surely not
support Bennett;

if (2) another case of "Humbug".

Significance of By-Elections -

Under British parliamentary method of govt.;

Evidence of loss confidence in Bennett adminstn.

By-elections to be followed by general election;

If not, will cause party to modify its policies
re trade, etc.

Why Govt. Should no longer receive Support -

D20652

2a.

General Election Imperative; and Why Bennett Government Should not be Allowed to carry on any Longer.

1. Bennett govt. elected for definite purpose - has failed to carry out;

   govt. has had ample opportunity to carry out pledges; has failed.

2. Overwhleming evidence govt. has lost confidence -

   1. provincial elections;

   2. by-elections;

   3. fact govt. will not bring on g. e.

   4. Bennett doesn't see and hear.

3. Important new issues have come up since 1930 - on which people should have opportunity to pronounce -

   trade policies - economic nationalism;

   " imperialism;

   banking and monetary policies;

   marketing;

   where old policies failed, chance should be given for new ones;
   Canada only country since 1930, no g.e.

2b. D20653

...ting spirit of constitution in carrying on.

...of people vs. will of invids. and interests;

...instrument by which will of people ...nds expression in legislation and ...ministration;

...ion not one of power or legal right;

...t vs. letter of constitution - re 5 ...ar term;

...ufficient for govt. to have majority ... H. of C.

...t of other parlts. Emg. and Canada.

...become Parlty. (democracy); and ...dictatorship (will of individual) - ...lative violence.

D20654

6. Dangerous Tendency in times like these -

leads to govt. being brought into contempt

and lowering tone of public life;

leads to all govt. being brought into contempt;

British system has saved revolution.

7. Unsettled condition makes progress impossible -

nation itself won't settle down;

other countries won't negotiate -

e.g. resolution Chamber of Commerce re

reciprocity.

8. Evident Lib. govt. wanted by people to deal with problems of today; to work in co-operation with provincial govts -

Bennett cannot negotiate with provinces;

all are opposing him at present time -

statement to press re Conf.

9. Cannot trust Administration to hold another session

people's freedom fettered.

D20655

10. Cannot trust govt. to go to another I. C.

11. Another session means waste of public money -

encouragement of spoils system;

discussion etc. for election purposes;

leads to intrigue, e.g. Stevens.

12. Make increasingly difficult Reform later on -

civil service;

Senate;

Statutes;

will postpone day of all reform.

13. Time some country and some part of Empire gave lead

away from economic nationalism

" " " imperialism.

14. Time some party gave lead to a new social order -

preserve what is best in old;

being farther regulation.

 D20656

Reasons Why Liberal Party Should be given Support -

Program to be set forth at time of general elect.

At present, deciding whether that opportunity shall be given sooner rather than later.

Reasons Why Kenora-Rainy River Should support McKinnon

Grounds on which I appeal very similar to those urged when I spoke here in support of Mr. Heenan:

1. Desirability of having in Parlt. members selected from ranks of Labour, who will join with members from other associations and walks of life in supporting Lib. Principles and policies.
2. Close identification of Lib. Party in Canada with interests of Labour and solution of Labour problems.

D20657

As to (1):

Importance in present day world situation and tendencies to preserve gneral character of political parties;

Base them on principles and policies - rather than on class;

Avoidance of class representation as tending to dictatorship, and dictatorship to autocracy and despotism - more accomplished for Labour in end;

Liberalism believes we are all members one of another -

seeks supremacy of general over particular interest.

 D20658

As to (2):

Liberalism & Labour

Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier -

Creation Department of Labour - Labour Gazette;

Conciliation Act;

Fair Wages Resolution;

Suprression of Sweating - Report in 1898.

Work as Deputy Minister of Labour -

~~Combines Investigation Act;~~

Reports as D. M. - annual and special;

Royal Commissions, &c. -

Railway Labour Disputes Act;

Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

Appointed Minister of Labour -

Combines Investigation Act;

Royal Commission re Technical Education;

Phosphorous necrosis - legislation passed in 1914

G. T. strike - pensions and seniority rights.

6. D20659

What has been Conservative Record? - 1911 to 1921:

Repeal of Combines Act; substitution Board of Commerce and Fair Prices Acts - declared unconstitutional;

Technical Education Bill - based on report of Lib. administration.

Government of Mackenzie King -

Appointment of Member Railway Brotherhood - James Murdock as Minister of Labour; secured a seat;

Appointment Representative of Labour on C. N. R. Board of Directors;

Rescind Hanna order re non-participation by Can. Nat. employees in politics;

Restoration pension and seniority rights, G.T.

Restoration Combines Investigation Act.

Alien Labour;

Annuities Act;

Appointment, after defeat of Meighen Shadow Govt. - 8 years ago today - of another Railway Brotherhood man as Minister of Labour.

D20660

Reference to Heenan, Mrs. Heenan, Son, Eldest Daughter; others following.

1. Congratulations - being selected Minister of Lands and Forests;
" to constituency re acclamation in Kenora;
conversation at time - Hepburn; Peter.

2. Appreciation of Services as Colleague -
loyalty, industry, integrity;
settlement of strikes - 160 disputes;
industrial peace.
colliery boy to cabinet minister -
security of democracy and the state;
true to the cause;
return to engine;
wide knowledge of human nature and human heart gained in collieries.

3. Representation at Geneva -
accompanied by Mr. McKinnon;
carried out all provisions of Labour policy of Covenant of League of Nations -
children at sea, etc.

D20661

Reference Heenan, Contd. - Abhievements:

4. Fair Wages Policy extended - to apply to

8 hour day on govt. work;

Sunday observance, one day in 7;

all classes of federal workers - police,

firemen, etc.

Legislation re immigration;

Administration Annuities Act;

Old Age Pensions -

Committee H. of C.	- 1924;
Recommendation	- 1925;
Bill introduced, thrown out by Senate	- 1926;
Enacted	- 1927.

5. Supported Liberal policies -

During Lib. administration furthered

policies that brought good times -

increased trade & employment;

reduced debt - taxation:

income, sales,
postage,
nuisance taxes.

D20662

Liberal Policy since 1930 -

Unemployment of first concern;

National Commission;

Present Gov't.'s failure - no discussion H.ofC.

different policies.

Nat. Unemployment Insurance Scheme -

4 years lost;

should be part of large social insurance scheme.

Amendments to B. N. A. Act -

by agreement, not coercion;

Recommended -

1. Nat. Committee to consider problem of unemployment;

2. Conference re financial arrangements betwee provinces -

suspension grants in aid meanwhile;

revision of subsidies;

amendment to B. N. A. Act;

unemployment = Social Insurance Scheme.

fears of Labour.

Unemployment related to trade policies -

Economic Nationalism fatal to Employment.

D20663

Liberal Policy, Cont'd.:

Labour on directorates of industry;

shape policies, share in control of policies;

4 Parties to Industry -

if Labour members can be Cabinet ministers,

they can hold their own on boards of

directors;

ability and determination to succeed

(character) more important than wealth,

or rank or birth;

Pynn - "That form of government is best which

doth actuate and dispose every member

of the State

to the common good".

D20664

Mr. McKinnon -

Is logical successor in the representation of riding;

Is Labour, Liberal, Engineer, Railway Brotherhood

has commanding and pleasing personality;

will make place for himself in H. of C.

look forward to welcoming him to Ottawa;

if not to last session this parlt.

to first session new partl.

tell present administration and other

countries that it is people who govern;

that will of people will be made

to prevail.

Book of notes

Enterprise, Ont.
Sept. 17, 1934.

D20665

Referances to Dr. Spankie;

Jo Haycock;

Colin Campbell;

Fraser.

Reason Why Com. Candidate being opposed -

demand for g. e.

Why Govt. Should go to Country - Duration of Parl. / Elections in other countries. Ex.

Manions Statement

Govt. policies may be modified.

Stevens Inquiry -

Nature of;

Part of Liberals re;

Need for legislation;

Liberal action H. of C. - self;

McKenzie;

Veniot.

What it is we oppose;

inquiry has shown sweating due to govt. policies

re ethics - rules of parliament;
jurisprudence;
oath of office;
loyalty to colleagues.

Propaganda re Combines and Monopolies.

D 20666

Changing Social Order -

Democracy or Dictatorship;

Blank Cheque;

Peace Order and Good Government -

order in council.

Banking Bill;

Franchise Act.

Need for Lib. party to show World way to -

greater freedom of trade;

peace.

Democracy

What is m

Work of Li

Industrial

Fears of I

Needs abou

How can St

What we ow

Question o

Govt. take

Lib

Amendment

Pur

Government

Nature of

Canada and

Make of In

D20668

Third Annual Meeting

National Liberal Federation of Canada

Dec. 12, 1934.

13

D 20669

3rd Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation.

Greetings to all present.

Appreciation of work of Federation and report by Mr. Massey;

of reports of organizations;

" " by delegates from different parts of Can.

Significance of present meeting and approaching year.

My own health - eagerness to begin the encounter.

Trip abroad -

what it has contributed in way of health;

opportunity of conversation with public men in England, France, Italy, and observing conditions in those countries;

conditions in Europe - need for all forces working together for furtherance of peace and good-will;

conviction that peace bound up with destruction of Nationalism of past few years and with development of trade;

D20670

Trip abroad -

peace bound up with breaking down of dictatorships and restoration of democratic government through parliamentary institutions

in all 3, Canada should lead the way;

in Canada, Liberal party, true to the traditions of Liberalism, should lead.

underneath all, is demand for social justice;

make use of paragraph from address Empire Club 1919.

taken from Industry & Humanity originally Exhibit.

refer to Industry and Humanity being written as a guide to post-war reconstruction.

paragraph re social legislation. ?

why?

It is at p - Industry & Humanity

D20671

Approaching campaign -

Mr. Bennett's speech at Brockville setting forth issue as Ottawa Agreements;

Issue nothing so limited - issue more immediate;

right of Bennett government to carry on -

for withdrawal consent of the provinces

no moral right or authority;

already found wanting;

by-elections;

necessity of having this matter quickly decided;

other countries waiting for new administration;

Lines of campaign indicated by Bennett speech -

favourable balance of trade;

misrepresentation Liberal position;

etc., etc.

p.4.

D20672

Ottawa Agreements -

Attitude of Liberal party in approaching question-
methods not those of P.M. - ultimatums, &c;
dignified approach to British govt. with view
to all round revision which will be
welcome to British govt. and other
countries.

Mr. Bennett would keep agreements where they are
for sake of maintaining privileged position
of vested interests this side of Atlantic -
seeks to divert attention from this
by talking of Canadian position in
sheltered markets overseas.

with barring of doors to Canada

My conviction Canada can secure infinitely better
position in British market by changes in
Agreement which will involve beneficial
changes to consumers in this country.

See Globe Dec 9-38

D20673

Ottawa Agreements (Contd)

If given mandate by electorate will take up immediately question of revision, setting forth Canada's determination to eliminate those features which restrict trade development with other countries as well as Britain.

If impossible secure fiscal freedom with Agreements as altered, will then consider what may be necessary by way of cancellation

after expiration 1930
c 1932

Social Problems - [illegible]

Similar effort of party will be to restore democratic government in Canada with view to securing democratization of industry.

Touch on social programme and what is to be found in "14 Points" of party's position on present problems.

Liberal Party's line of approach to social question is along line of control and regulation, but to avoid laissez-faire, on one hand, and socialism on the other.

D20674

Need for Organization -

necessity for effective organization;
use of diversity of gifts to utilize services of all in winning victory, not only for Liberalism in Canada, but for the good of Liberalism throughout the world.

D 20675

Join with Massey in extending welcome.

Thanks for welcome extended to myself.

Persons to thank: -

Speaking as Leader of the party - the parliamentary party and the party in the country.

Mr. Massey - President, N.L.F. - Mrs.Massey

Nat. Fed. of Lib. Women

20th Century Lib. Ass'n.

Provincial Organizations

Staff of Office - Lambert, Deachman, Savard, O'Malley.

Appreciative of services to party and myself.

Information and organization

Liberal Summer Conference

Liberal Monthly

Voters' Lists

Campaign organization

Candidates in Field

D 20676

Finance Committee - Mr. Albert Matthews.

Need of Financial assistance.

National Liberal Federation - A Political Organization, performing a national service in a manner worthy of the party and the country it seeks to serve.

A National Liberal Club.

Further notes re meeting of N.L.F.

D 0677

Need for General Election.

Three reasons given by Massey:

(1) National

(2) Imperial

(3) World.

No moral or political right.

The wish of the people -

the provincial elections and the by-elections.

Business at a standstill.

Against public interest - incapacity to deal with.

Necessity of a Government having authority to speak at Conference.

Need for a Liberal Administration ? by Liberal minds.

a federal meeting

Peace Policy

— The Letters of Presidents — Baldwin vs Bonnet

— the Sunnyside

— a General Election — Unit of campaign [illegible]

— the 14 points —

— Social Justice — Line of appeal - Liberty.

D 20678

3rd Annual Meeting
National Liberal Federation
Dec. 12, 1934

The danger of war -

the need for peace -

war fears and war spirit.

See memorandum

The necessity of fostering good-will and commercial intercourse.

Declaration of policy re disarmaments;

re other nations.

The evils of Nationalism -

inseparable from competitive arming in munitions;

" " " tariffs in trade;

economic isolation;

"let tariffs fight for you";

economic imperialism.

D'20679

The Ottawa Agreements -

Bennett vs. Baldwin;

Bennett - tariffs fight for you -

economic nationalism and imperialism;

Baldwin - reduction of tariffs - encouragement of trade;

substitute the one for the other.

Aim -

bring the Ottawa Agreements into harmony with the Baldwin concepts.

Method -

not that of Bennett at Conference of 1930 and 1932 -

but that of Laurier.

If returned to power, approach British Govt. - see what can be accomplished as result of conference;

readiness to revise.

When attempt at revision fails, will be time to see whether immediate cancellation desirable, or agreements subject to modification to be permitted to run till 1937.

Revision aim at restoration of our fiscal liberty -

control of Parliament over this form of taxation and trade; removal of restrictions which limit negotiation

power to trade with other nations of world.

Why Bennett would like this to be the issue -

would thank Heaven for any issue which might take it away from present govt. ;

would like to continue tariff for another decade;

will electorate trust his negotiations further?

Mr. Bennett - Speech at Brockville:

The issue - Trade agreements, whether to be renewed 1937;

obviously nothing new - repetition of what said at last g.e. and since:

1. Balance of Trade;

2. Figures (or statistics on trade);

3. Mis-statement as to Laurier's position - Sir Wilfrid tried.

4. Mis-statement of Liberal position at Conference of 1923; Mr. King tried and failed.

5. Beauharnois and campaign funds -

may find that inquiry into Beauharnois not ended;

may find that inquiry into campaign funds may continue where left of;

what has really taken place with respect to Beauharnois -

agreement favourable to people,

changed into an agreement favourable to interest.

This is not to be the issue -

Need not wait till election announced to define the issue.

Issues already defined by the Canadian people -

viz. the right of the Bennett Government longer to administer the affairs of this country.

That issue arose after the Economic Conference of 1932 and the manner in which it was conducted, and the policies it put into force, -

Strangulation of trade, etc.

It was the issue in all the by-elections of 1933:

in Restigouche-Madawaska (N.B.)

in Mackenzie (Sask.)

D20683

It will be the party that is best able to take this country out of the depression - bring a return of better times - and carry out the work of reconstruction in industrial and international relations - Whether it will be Dictatorship or Democracy - Government in interest of a class or of the whole people.

Between the extremes of Dictatorship, serving special interests in the one case, and interests of a class in the other - Liberal Party stands for freedom and equal justice for all.

To carry us into a new era - an era of social justice, an era that will restore democracy in politics, control by the people of their parliaments, and will substitute for autocracy in industry a true industrial democracy; will place the emphasis on personality, not on property, on life, not on wealth; an era that will serve to rid humanity of its fears in industrial and international relations.

D20684

Sir George and Lady Perley

Rideau Club Dinner

Dec. 19, 1934

D 20685

Rideau Club Dinner to Sir George and Lady Perley, Dec. 19, 1934.

Pleasure to be associated with P.M.

- thank club for honour.

Added pleasure year of Hill's presidency -

- recollect being best man to emphasize friendships.

Reasons for Pleasure being present -

1. Personal Friendship enjoyed with Sir G. and Lady Perley - as a friend:

my father and mother;

Sir George's home;

hospitality Mrs. Thomas White;

May Queen - magical and enviable position;

Warmth of welcome of late Mrs. Thomas White;

Distinguished forbears - memories perpetuated;

- Commandment.

D20686

2. Many causes and services with which lives identified -

as leader of political party, pay tribute to high offices in state;

unselfish service emphasized by self-effacement, and services to leaders;

added to name of self and party in filling offices.

3. Perley's Contribution to Parliamentary Life -

differant perspectives of P.M. and self - he with colleague, me with opponent;

desire to pay tribute to chivalry as opponent;

Nature of Parliament -

for conduct of public business;

not machine, rules, &c., but gathering of men;

necessity for absence of enmities;

" " respect of differences of opinions;

motives, etc.

D20687

Grillions Club in London -

its purpose;

founded to avoid violence of political controversy;

same true of tradition of legal profession.

Perley's Place in this tradition -

Trusted confidant of colleagues and opponents;

No wounding or injuring of friendships;

Example belongs not to garden of friendship, but to public life.

Conclusion -

In drinking toast, have in mind, not only what lives have meant to each other

but

what joint service and traditions of their homes and lives have meant to:

City

Country

Other parts of world.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
34	129	Toronto Men's Liberal Association: Tariff Policy; Imperial Economic Conference, 1932; Liberal Party Policy; Conservative Party Policy	15 Dec. 1932	D 20147 - D 20180	C-2800
34	129	Toronto Commercial Traveller's Association: Toast to Canada	16 Dec. 1932	D 20181 - D 20239	C-2800
Chronological Files, 1933-1939					
35	130	Chronological Files	Jan.-Oct. 1933	D 20240 - D 20401	
35	131	Chronological Files	Jan.-Nov. 1933	D 20402 - D 20499	
35	132	Chronological Files	July-Aug. 1933	D 20500 - D 20581	
35	133	Chronological Files	Feb.-June 1934	D 20582 - D 20687	
36	134	Chronological Files	Mar.-Dec. 1934	D 20688 - D 20841	

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D 20688

TORONTO CENTENNIAL 1934.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE CHAPTER,
IMPERIAL ORDER OF THE DAUGHTERS
OF THE EMPIRE.

BANQUET
MARCH 5, 1934
7.30 PM

ROYAL YORK HOTEL
TORONTO.

D20689

SPEECH BY MR. MACKENZIE KING ON WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

MARCH 5, 1934.

This is the first occasion since the formation of the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire that I have been privileged to address its members. I should like my first word to be one of thanks to the Chapter for the honour they have done my grandfather's name in selecting it as that of the Chapter. I have as well to thank the members of the Chapter for the further tribute they have paid Mackenzie's memory in arranging, on this Centennial Eve of the incorporation of Toronto, a banquet in honour of the City's first Mayor. I should like, as Mackenzie's grandson, to express my thanks as well to all others who are present for joining with the members of the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire in this great gathering representative of the city's present-day organized activities, and representative as well of all shades of political thought and opinion. These expressions of heartfelt gratitude I desire to convey, not on my own behalf alone, but also on behalf of the other descendants of Mackenzie who are present this evening. We are all deeply grateful for this tribute being paid Mackenzie's name and memory tonight.

D20690

I thank the Chapter for the honour it has done me in asking me to be the guest speaker of the evening, and in selecting as the one to introduce me, a gentleman, who, for seven years, occupied the position of Mayor of this City, and who, for nine years, sat as one of its representatives in the Parliament of Canada. As Mr. Church has told you, not only have we shared years of membership in the House of Commons; but also years of intimate personal friendship; a friendship, may I add, the more valued because of one which existed between him and my father, to whom he has referred in such kindly terms this evening. I acknowledge with feelings not less of gratitude than pride, all that Mr. Church has said by way of tribute to the memory of my grandfather, and of my father, and what the generosity of his nature has prompted him to say about myself.

THE MELLOWING INFLUENCE OF TIME.

The fact that Mr. Church and I belong to political parties which have been traditionally opposed, and which in Canada had their origins in the political struggles of a century ago, makes me the more appreciative of all that he has said. It is chivalry of a kind which Mackenzie was constantly showing towards those whose views and opinions differed from his own, and which, beyond all else, he would have appreciated. If, concerning Toronto's first Mayor, there is one thing above another to be desired

D20691

on this one Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Toronto as a City, it is that, despite all there has been of controversy associated with his name, the mellowing influences of time and the truer and wider perspective which comes with the years may serve to reveal him in his true light to the citizens of the Toronto of Today, irrespective of their political or other affiliations.

It is not an easy task to give to others a word picture of the character of an individual whom one has never personally known, and about whose part in the public life of the country so much of controversy has waged. The task is not made any the less difficult because assigned to one who is a direct descendant of the subject to be portrayed, and himself a participant in present day political conflicts. Macaulay, who possessed a genius for delineating character, has said that "our estimate of a character always depends much on the way in which that character affects our own interests and prejudices". To few, if to any names in Canadian history, is that more applicable than to Mackenzie's. One would hardly expect that Sir Francis Bond Head and those who surrounded him in the thirties of the last century, would do justice to Mackenzie's character or name, any more, perhaps, than they would have wished to leave their names and reputations to him. That is no reason, however, why the descendants of both, if they are concerned more with truth than prejudice, should not, as most of them happily are, be the best of friends;

and, at this distance of time, be able to view dispassionately the virtues, as well as the limitations, of those who so strenuously opposed each other a century ago. It is in this spirit at least that I should like to give, and would be grateful to have accepted, what I have to say in performing the task you have assigned to me this evening as guest speaker at a banquet given in honour of Toronto's first Mayor.

In the time at my disposal, I cannot attempt more than to afford glimpses of Mackenzie as he was known to his contemporaries. This I shall do more in the words of others than my own. Had time allowed, I should have preferred to permit Mackenzie to speak for himself. At most, unfortunately, I can include but an extract or two from his writings and speeches. These, however, I trust may be sufficient to indicate some of the qualities which, not only caused his fellow townsmen of a century ago to choose Mackenzie as the Chief Magistrate of the first municipality in Upper Canada to become incorporated as a city, but which have given his name a conspicuous place among those of the Makers of Canada.

SIGNIFICANT PERIODS IN MACKENZIE'S LIFE.

The life of William Lyon Mackenzie embraces a period of sixty-six years. In the light of the events of his times, it calls naturally into three main divisions: the first period, that prior to the Rebellion, which runs from his birth in Scotland in 1795 to the beginning of the insurrection in 1837 -

in all, forty-two years; the second, the years of the Rebellion and of Mackenzie's imprisonment and exile - twelve in all; and the third, the twelve remaining years of his life, which embrace the period from the time of his return to Canada in 1849 to his death in 1861.

Because of its significance as a national event, the Rebellion of 1837-38 has received a prominence which, so far as Mackenzie's life is concerned, has done much to obscure what preceded and followed that event. Its incidents, and the traditional manner of treating whatever savours of revolt, have done much to occasion misconception of the man himself, his motives, his character, and his actions. This is perhaps the inevitable fate of those who risk their all, and lose their all, in any last endeavour. There is nothing seemingly that succeeds like success, and nothing, seemingly, as destructive as defeat, especially where the struggle is one on behalf of those who feel themselves to be oppressed. Blighted hopes and aspirations, imprisonment and exile, poverty and broken health may prove the fiery crucible in which character is tested; they are not the kind of thing which lend immediate glory to their victims. Had there been no resort to physical violence in '37, had the reformers of that day been able to effect their aims, as Mackenzie had hoped, by a bloodless revolution, how different to the generation immediately succeeding would have appeared the character of the man, who bore the brunt of the struggle! Yet the Rebellion, with all that it occasioned of crushed hopes and

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blighted life and fortune, imprisonment, exile and poverty, did not conceal, but rather served to reveal the character of the man who endured these sufferings, and to disclose how wholly disinterested he was, and how great his integrity. What above all else stands out in bold relief, is that the Rebellion itself was but the culmination of a period of grave discontent, which Mackenzie had done his utmost to end by peaceful and constitutional means. It was because of his known convictions and character, and because the people believed in his high purpose and disinterestedness, and found in him a true and tried champion of their rights, that a hundred years ago he was accorded the great honour of being chosen the Mayor of Toronto at the time of its incorporation as a City.

MACKENZIE ENTERS JOURNALISM.

Mackenzie was twenty-five years of age when he came to Canada. Like many another who emigrated to the new world in those years, he had experienced much of hardship and struggle in his early days. He possessed, however, a quite exceptional education, was widely read, and had had a good business training. In Canada he entered at once upon commercial pursuits, which, with his industry and ability what they were, soon brought him a competance and gave promise, had he sought them, of ensuring him wealth and leisure as well.

Mrs. Mackenzie, whose name before her marriage was Isabel Baxter, and to whom he was betrothed in Scotland, came later to Canada with Mackenzie's mother. They were happily married.

D20695

His heart was centred in his family. His love of his adopted country and Scotland, from whence he came, was only surpassed by his love of home.

In 1824 he decided to take up journalism and began the publication at Queenston of a paper known as "The Colonial Advocate". The following year he moved to Toronto, then still known as York.

At the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion, his printing establishment was the largest and the best in Upper Canada, and, although not rich, he was in good circumstances. In the previous year his account for public printing alone was $4,000.00. His book store contained twenty thousand volumes, and he had an extensive bindery. He also owned considerable property. Everything, including all his movable property, was risked and sacrificed at the time of the Rebellion.

Mackenzie was twenty-nine years of age when he decided to go into journalism and to interest himself in politics. I cannot do better, in revealing his motives, than to permit him to do so in his own words.

During the period of his exile, writing to a friend who had known him in 1820, he reminded him that at that time, though still a young man, his connection with trade in York and Dundas, and his conduct of the partnership concerns of a large trading establishment, afforded satisfactory evidence that he had no occasion to leave his private pursuits for the stormy sea of politics, with a view to the improvement of his

D 20696

pecuniary prospects. He continued:

"When I did so, and assumed, as the westernmost journalist in the British dominions on the continent of America, the office of a public censor, I had no personal enemies, but was on friendly terms with many of the men whom since then I have steadily opposed. I never interfered in the public concerns of the colony, in the most remote degree, until the day in which I issued twelve hundred copies of a newspaper, without having asked or received a single subscriber. In that number I stated my sentiments, and the objects I had in view fully and frankly."

There follows a reference to conditions in the country as he saw them at the time, "whereby obvious public improvements were stayed; dissension was created among classes; citizens were banished and imprisoned in defiance of all law; the people had been long forbidden, under severe pains and penalties, from meeting anywhere to petition for justice; large estates were wrested from their owners in utter contempt of even the forms of the courts."

The latter concludes with reference to the monopoly of lands by one religious denomination, and to a few leading officials whom he said "divided the public revenue among themselves", and were "the avowed enemies of common schools, of civil and religious liberty."

"Other men", he added, "had opposed, and been converted by them. At nine-andtwenty I might have united with them, but chose rather to join the oppressed, nor have I ever regretted

D20697

that choice, or wavered from the object of my e arly pursuit."

MACKENZIE ENTERS PARLIAMENT.

It was in 1824 that Mackenzie began his journalistic career. In 1827 he decided to run for parliament. Having permitted him to speak for himself of the motives which actuated him in the one step, I do not know that I can do better than to permit him to speak for himself as regards the motives which actuated him in the other. They will be found expressed in the address which he issued to the electors of the County of York. It is dated York, December 17, 1827, and reads in part as follows:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF YORK. - Gentlemen:

I have the honour to inform you that it is my intention to come forward as a candidate at the next Election of Members to serve for your County in the Provincial Parliament; and I most respectfully solicit your votes and support.

"I have no end in view but the well being of the people at large - no ambition to serve but that of contributing to the happiness and prosperity of our common country. The influence and authority with which you may invest me, shall always be directed, according to the best of my judgement, for the general good; and it will be my care to uphold your rights to the utmost of my power, with that firmness, moderation, and perseverance, which become the representative of a free people.

" I have ever been opposed to ecclesiastical domination; it is at enmity with the free spirit of Christianity; and nations

D 20698

which have bowed to its yoke, are become the dark abodes of ignorance and superstition, oppression, and misery.

"That corrupt, powerful, and long endured influence which has hitherto interfered with your rights and liberties, can only be overthrown by your unanimity and zeal. An independent House of Assembly, to Upper Canada, would be inestimable.

"I have been a careful observer of the conduct of the people's representatives in the Colonial Assemblies; I have seen men in whom was placed the utmost confidence, fall from their integrity and betray their sacred trust; men, too, who had entered upon their legislative duties with the best intentions towards the people, and who evinced for a time a firm determination to support their rights. But there are others who continue to maintain and uphold the interests of their country, unshaken and undismayed; who consider it their highest honour to persevere in a faithful discharge of their public duties, and eagerly strive to deserve the good will, the affection, and the confidence of their fellow subjects.

"Among this latter class I am desirous of being numbered; and, unless I shall be found deserting the cause of the people, I trust that the people will never desert me.

""Accept my sincere thanks for the abundant proofs of kindness and confidence, and for the liberal assurance of support, with which you have honored me, and believe me,

"Gentlemen, Your faithful and humble servant,

"W. L. Mackenzie."

York, Dec. 17, 1827.

D20699

MACKENZIE AN EARLY ADVOCATE OF CONFEDERATION.

I have not time to speak of Mackenzie's political career, but there is one incident which is often forgotten, to which I should like to refer, as it serves to reveal, not only how far ahead of his times he was, but also how deeply attached he was to the British Crown and to British institutions of government.

He was one of the very first to advocate Confederation, and he did so as a means, not only of improving existing conditions, through a better system of government, but also to ensure the preservation of the British Colonies in North America to the British Crown.

In a letter from Queenstown to the Rt. Hon. George Canning, dated June 10, 1824, Mackenzie touched upon this project. The following is a paragraph from his communication:

"A union of all the colonies, with a government suitably poised and modelled, so as to have under its eye the resources of our whole territory, andhaving the means in its power to administer impartial justice in all its bounds, to no one part at the expense of another, would require few boons from Britain, and would advance her interests much more in a few years, than the bare right of possession of a barren, uncultivated wilderness of lake and forest, with some three or four inhabitants to the square mile, can do in centuries."

This he contrasted with the "seven inferior sets of legislative bodies, reigning like so many petty kings during the Saxon heptarchy".

On December 14, 1826, we find in his journal his continuous advocacy of this measure, under the head of "A Confederation of the British North American Colonies." The article reads:

"We have written much and often, advocating an effective united government for the colonies, in the bonds of amity and relationship with England, we have sent hundreds of copies of our journal to Europe to distinguished persons, with that project specially marked and noted, but were always afraid that the idea would be treated as "An idle chimera", even by the wisest and ablest of British statesmen. It would, however, be the best and safest policy; for England can continue to hold Cabotia (a designation given to the whole of British North America) only by the ties of friendship, amity, and mutual advantages - ties which, with the divine blessing, would be greatly strengthened, were the talent, the resources, the enterprise of all the colonies fully brought into action in a liberal, enlightened, and united general government."

In the Colonial Advocate of June 24, 1824, Mackenzie had gone the length of outlining the way in which he thought the method followed thirty years later will appear from the following, which are the words in which he expressed his view:-

"Let an Act be passed in the British Parliament calling a convention of all the colonies, and let a British nobleman or gentleman of competent knowledge preside, as representing His Majesty, at that convention; let representatives from each section of British America, chosen by the people and in proportion to the

population, compose that convention; let the outlines of a constitution be drawn up by this confederation of the talents and wisdom of His Majesty's American subjects, and sent home for the consideration of the Imperial Parliament; let the convention be dissolved, and Great Britain will then know what her colonies want, what they require, and it will be for the British Legislature to alter or amend such constitution, so that justice may be done to all parties, and the interests of neither sacrificed."

MACKENZIE ADVOCATES RESPONSIBLE GOV'T

What I have read will be sufficient to show that Mackenzie's great objective, as indeed the objective of all who espoused the cause of reform, was to bring about a change in the system of government which would lead to the establishment in Canada of what is known as Responsible Government. Here may I quote one, who, in this connection at all events, will be regarded as an impartial authority. In his volume entitled "Canada and The Canadian Question", Goldwin Smith says:

"All the special grievances and demands of the Reformers were summed up and merged in their demand for 'responsible government'. By responsible government they meant that the government should be carried on, not by an executive nominated by the governor and independent of the vote of parliament, but, as in England, by a cabinet dependent for its tenure of office on the vote of the Commons. They meant, in short, that supreme power should be transferred from the Crown to the representatives of the people. It was nothing less than a revolution for which

they called under a mild and constitutional name."

Mackenzie's advocacy of Responsible Government, as will be seen, was a part of the great regard he had for British institutions and government, and of his desire to see established in Canada institutions similar to those already existing in Britain, and which would serve to end popular discontent and keep Canada loyal to the British Crown.

The present generation, having known no system of government other than that of responsible government, either in the provinces or in the Dominion, of necessity must find it difficult to comprehend a condition of affairs where not only the advisers of the Governor were selected by the Governor, without reference to the elected representatives of the people, but where the Executive itself, exercising executive power and controlling all the revenues, was in no way responsible to the Assembly which was elected by the people.

The fact that, in Great Britain, responsible government had already been achieved, and that most of those who came from the British Isles to settle in Canada were already familiar with the struggles which had brought about a larger liberty there, is something which we, who have become accustomed to our parliamentary institutions as now constituted, are apt to forget. These men felt they were being deprived of the rights of British citizens. It was the assertion of British rights, and their denial by those in authority, and nothing more, which occasioned the Rebellion. The movement which Mackenzie headed was less a

movement against the Crown's authority than against the abuse and prostitution of it. Until hope of redress was crushed by absolute despair, no public man of his time gave stronger proofs than Mackenzie of his attachment to the British Crown and British institutions, or laboured more earnestly to preserve all that is implied by British connection.

MACKENZIE'S SEVERAL ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

What some of the circumstances were which caused Mackenzie and others to despair of ever securing reforms by peaceful and constitutional means, is well illustrated by what occurred in Mackenzie's representation of York in the years immediately preceding the Rebellion. This, however, I cannot more than indicate in chronological fashion. Be it recalled that York was the most populous and influential of all the counties in Upper Canada. Mackenzie was first elected to Parliament in 1828. He entered Parliament at the age of 33, in 1829. He was re-elected a second time in 1830. He was elected a third time in 1831, in which year he was expelled on a pretext of the executive. He was re-elected, for the fourth time, in 1832, and expelled the same year for the second. That year he personally proceeded to England, largely at his own expense, to take up, at first hand, the grievances of the Colony with the government of Great Britain. It was while he was in England that, in 1833, he was re-elected to Parliament for the fifth time. After his re-election, he was presented with a gold medal and chain by his constituents "as a token of their approbation of his political career." He was not,

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however, allowed to take his seat, and, later in 1833, he was again re-elected, for the sixth time.

In 1834, the year of the incorporation of Toronto as a city, he was again expelled. But in that year he was not only elected Mayor of Toronto, but, in the general elections of 1834, was re-elected as member for one of the new constituencies of York. He continued to occupy the position of Mayor for the first year of Toronto's existence as a city, and to sit in the Legislature from 1834 until 1836, when he encountered his first and only defeat under circumstances of unfairness which served to heighten the resentment of the Reformers.

It is worthy of note that Mackenzie's election to the office of Mayor of Toronto came at the time when his activities in voicing the need for reform were at their height. The citizens of York County had previously elected him to the Legislature on six different occasions, on four of them by acclamation. On one occasion, when he was not elected by acclamation, there was but one vote polled against him. As his political opponent voted on the occasion, it was not difficult to account for that particular vote. It was while serving as Mayor of Toronto, that he was elected to Parliament for York County for the seventh time. These elections not only afforded the clearest approval of Mackenzie's attitude, but were a most emphatic expression on the part of the electors themselves of the need for change in the system of government of the day.

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Men do not receive recognition of this kind from their fellowmen without possessing in considerable measure the qualities which inspire confidence and merit trust.

MACKENZIE - TORONTO'S FIRST MAYOR.

Mackenzie gave his time gratuitously to the interest of the City, and discharged the duties of Mayor with the same vigour which he carried into everything he undertook. This involved having to do with the construction of and the setting into motion the machinery of municipal government, as well as the discharge of duties as a magistrate, and the promoting of much needed civic improvements.

As Mayor of Toronto, it was Mackenzie's privilege to design the coat of arms of the city and to give it the legend which it continues to bear. In the motto "Industry, Intelligence and Integrity", he sought to give to his fellow citizens the watchwords of the city's future progress. Each of them was a guiding principle of his own life; for there never was a man who was more industrious, or who sought more diligently to enlighten himself, and to aid in the enlightenment of others, or whose "innate integrity of soul" scorned more completely "the bribes of place and power and gain". It is a motto to which Toronto herself has been true; one which, in industry and finance, in trade and commerce; in science and education, in the arts and letters; in the honourable fulfilment of corporate obligations and high civic endeavour in great causes, has given to her the proud place which, among the cities of the work, she enjoys today.

D20706

There is but a single incident associated with Mackenzie's tenure of office to which I shall allude. I do so because it reveals so clearly a characteristic of his entire life. Mackenzie never asked another man to do what he was not prepared to do himself; nor did he ever hesitate, where danger was concerned, to put himself in the front. During the term of Mackenzie's mayoralty, cholera revisited the city and swept away every twentieth inhabitant. Throughout the whole of the plague, Mackenzie was at his post of duty and of danger. He sought out the helpless victims of the disease and administered to their wants. He was constant in his attendance at the cholera hospital. In the height of the panic occasioned by this terrible scourge, when nobody else could be induced to take the patients to the hospital, he visited the homes of the victims, and placing them in the cholera cart with whatever assistance he could get from the families of the plague stricken, drove them to the hospital. On some days he made several visits of this kind to the pest house. Day and night he gave himself no rest. At length, worn out by fatigue, the disease overtook him. Fortunately, the attack was not of an aggravated nature, and his robust constitution carried him safely through.

THE REBELLION OF 1837-38.

Any account of the Rebellion of 1837-38 and its incidents, I shall have to leave for another time and another occasion. All I wish to say at the moment is that I agree with those who hold to the view that the insurrection was in the nature of a civil war. It was a revolt against local misrule, not against British authority.

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It was a conflict between political parties carried to the point of physical violence. It is true that, once the outbreak became general and loss of life occurred, and a bounty had been placed on the head of Mackenzie and other of the leaders of the movement, Independence was declared and a provisional government set up. But no one can read of what was taking place at the time, or what is now known of what was planned by Mackenzie and others, without realizing that what those who participated in the revolt really aimed at, and believed it was possible for them to accomplish, was the seizure of the Governor and his advisers, and the calling of a representative convention which would secure the redress of grievances and effect the change of government which was desired. Even in the later stages, when independence was formally declared, and assistance given the rebels by American citizens, it was always contemplated that, if successful, a convention should immediately be held which would determine the future position of the Colony. There was no man who, in his heart of hearts, was more attached to the British form of government, and to institutions of government as they had developed in Britain, than Mackenzie, or who sought more zealously to have them established in Canada.

I do not know that I can better summarize what I believe to be the generally accepted view with respect to this period than to quote the words of the late Sir John Willison in his "Political History of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party". In its opening chapter, Sir John Willison says:

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"No one now disputes that William Lyon Mackenzie and the Reformers of 1837 fought to put down intolerable evils. The argument that constitutional agitation would surely have achieved the reforms that were finally conceded to tumult and revolt, has been advanced in mitigation of every abuse that has bred riot and rebellion among British freemen. It may be that Mackenzie was impetuous and turbulent but the Rebellion of 1837 was at best a pitiful expression of the discontent which the greed and the oppression of the Family Compact had developed. Too much has been said of the rash counsels and unhappy adventures of Mackenzie, and too little of the crying grievances which an insolent and autocratic Executive would not redress, and of the privileges they were resolved to maintain. It is in such fashion that the decisive blow has been dealt to tyranny and privilege all down the splendid centures of British history; and if in the story of Liberalism in all countries there are wild and sanguinary chapters, it is because only in that way could popular government be established and perpetuated.

"The main achievements of Mackenzie and his associates were to subject the Executive to the control of Parliament and the people, to drive out of the Council the nominees of the Governor, and to impose substantial checks upon presumptuous imperial interference in the domestic affairs of the Canadas."

MACKENZIE AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

A friend of mine, speaking of the name of this Chapter, said to me, a day or two ago, that the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire was one of those inconsisten-

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cies, I think he termed it "logical inconsistencies", which were characteristic of British peoples and of which they alone seem to be capable. Far from regarding the matter in this light, I am of the view that few sequences could be more logical or consistent. If it be true that the establishment of responsible government in Canada is the corner stone of the British Empire, it can hardly be denied that the struggles of 1837-8 were a main contributing factor to that achievement. If such be the case, fair play and justice will scarcely deny to the one who risked and lost his all in the endeavour, his rightful place, not among the Makers of Canada alone, but among those who have contributed to the upbuilding of the British Empire as a Community of Free Nations enjoying equality of status under the British Crown.

If proof were needed that the country at heart sympathized with Mackenzie and admired his dauntless courage, it would be found in the fact that, in making his escape, once all hope of success had vanished, he owed the preservation of his life to political foes as well as to friends, to the assistance, directly or indirectly afforded by some of those in authority under the Crown, as well as by those who had taken up arms, and this, notwithstanding that a reward had been placed upon his head of a thousand pounds to be given to whomever might apprehend him dead or alive. As Mackenzie said in an account of his escape, written by himself, he passed, while being pursued, through parts of the country in which he was known to almost every man, and where but for the readiness of others to risk their lives in order that his might be spared, he could not

possibly have escaped death. It is not in this fashion that those who are believed to have betrayed the cause of their country are permitted to retain their freedom.

IMPRISONMENT AND EXILE.

The assistance given the rebels by American citizens raised a serious question between the United States and Great Britain. Its settlement involved the imprisonment of Mackenzie on the ground of violation of the neutrality laws of the United Sates. For almost a year he suffered confinement as a political prisoner in Rochester prison. Part of the time, it was solitary confinement. Finally, as the result of petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of citizens, was pardoned by President Van Buren and freed from prison. He remained, however, an exile from Canada.

He went to live in New York where he engaged in one pursuit after another, and remained there until the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1848, after which a pardon was granted by Lord Elgin and he was permitted to return to Canada. This pardon was granted after the presentation of a widely signed petition of Canadians. (It was presented to the Governor-General by a little girl with long wavy golden hair, the grandmother of the Chairman of this evening.)

MACKENZIE'S FAMILY LIFE.

The years of imprisonment and exile were years of anguish and privation. In my account thus far, I have had time to say nothing of Mackenzie's family life. I should like to have spoken of that from what I have heard from the lips of my own mother.

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She was born in New York after her father had been released from prison, but while Mackenzie was still in exile. She was the thirteenth child. I have heard her say that her parents regarded it as a miracle that she had ever lived, so near were they all to the verge of starvation at the time of her birth and during the days of her infancy. It was at this time that the gold medal and chain given Mackenzie by his constituents and carried with him through the Rebellion and the period of his imprisonment had to be disposed of in order to secure necessary food. Two or three of his children died during this period. The greatest grief of all, however, which Mackenzie had to bear was that of the death of his aged mother while he was a prisoner in Rochester jail.

To understand Mackenzie and his zeal for reform, as well as the principles which guided his life, one has to know something of this relationship between mother and son, and what they had shared together of penury and struggle in his early years. Here again, allow me to let him speak for himself. The following is from one of his speeches in reply to the charge of democracy and disloyalty by his political opponents.

"I was only three weeks old at his death; my mother took upon herself those vows which our Church prescribes as needful at baptism, and was left to struggle with misfortune, a poor widow, in want and in distress. It is among the earliest of my recollections, that I lay in bed one morning during the grievous famine in Britain, in 1800-1, while my poor mother took from our large Kist (which is an article of furniture of a sort only to be

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found among the Scotch and Irish) the handsome plaid of the tartan of our clan, which in early life her own hands had spun, and went and sold it for a trifle, to obtain for us a little coarse barley meal, whereof to make our scanty breakfast; and of another time during the same famine, that she left me at home crying from want and hunger, and for (I think) 8s. sold a handsome and hitherto carefully preserved priest-gray coat of my father's to get us a little food. How the mechanics and laborers contrived to exist during these times, is what I cannot tell; my recollections of this period are faint and indistinct.

"Well may I love the poor, greatly may I esteem the humble and the lowly, for poverty and adversity were my nurses, and in youth were want and misery my familiar friends; even now it yields a sweet satisfaction to my soul, that I can claim kindred with the obscure cottar, and the humble laborer, of my native, ever honored, ever loved Scotland.

"'Long may thy hardy sons of rustic toil
Be blest with health, and peace, and sweet content!"

"My mother feared God, and He did not forget nor forsake her: never in my early years can I recollect that divine worship was neglected in our little family, when health permitted; never did she in family prayer forget to implore that He, who doeth all things well, would establish in righteousness the throne of our monarch, setting wise ~~and~~ and able counsellors around it. A few of my relations were well to do, but many of them were poor farmers and mechanics, (it is true my mother could claim kindred

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with some of the first families in Scotland; but who that is great and wealthy, can sit down to count kindred with the poor?) yet amongst these husbandmen, as well as among their ministers, were religion and loyalty held in as due regard, as they had been by their ancestors in the olden time. Was it from the precept - was it from the example of such a mother and such relations, that I was to imbibe that disloyalty, democracy, falsehood, and deception, with which my writings are by the government editor charged?"

DEATH OF MACKENZIE'S MOTHER.

The strongest reciprocal affection existed at all times between Mrs. Mackenzie and her son. She had come out to Canada, as I have mentioned, in 1822, and the last 17 years of her life were spent in Mackenzie's home. What his love was for her, as well as for Canada, may be gathered from a letter he wrote from Rochester prison at the time of her death to his son James. It gives an account of the last conversation they had together and the means contrived to bring it about. It reveals as well something of the anguish of mind and heart from which Mackenzie was suffering at the time, and which, though it did not break, served to crush his brave spirit. Devotion to the members of his family, his mother, his wife, and his children, was a strongly marked characteristic. What Mackenzie must have suffered because of the privations which exile, poverty and separation brought upon those he so dearly loved can well be imagined. How completely his mind was sapped by the sorrow occasioned by his mother's death is evident

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from the circumstances that this letter to his son begins, not "Dear James" as all other letters written to him which I have seen, begin, but "Dear Sir". He realized what it was he had to communicate, but this to the exclusion of all else. The letter itself is as follows:

LETTER OF MACKENZIE - TO HIS SON JAMES

FROM ROCHESTER PRISON

To Jas. Mackenzie, Lockport.

Sunday eve, 22 dec. 1839.

Dear Sir/

I have been very ill with the fever and ague for weeks, and the fever is now heavy on me. I would have wrote you else. It is now my duty to inform you that at half-past-four o'clock this afternoon, your poor, affectionate, warmhearted grandmother paid the last debt to nature. She had been more than a week ill. But for the last 6 days death was expected. Every effort was made to get me to see her, but all failed until John Montgomery got up a writ against Roberteon, subpoened me as a material witness, sued out a writ of habeas corpus, and the judge agreeing that it should be returnable at my dwelling, where he held his court the sheriff took me up there on Friday eve, and I spent an hour and more with granny, at which she rejoiced greatly. Fortunate it was that I could go then, for yesterday & today she has been speechless, until at half past four she breathed her last. I have little to say to you James - I am pained and ill able to write, but I wished

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to tell you of this change. Strangers will bury her in a land of strangers, and who can say that such will not also be our fate!

Affectionately yours,

(Sgd) Wm. L. Mackenzie.

RETURN TO CANADA AND REMAINING YEARS.

So much for the years of absence from Canada. There could be no truer evidence of Mackenzie's love for his adopted country, nor of the integrity of his own motives in all for which he had striven, than the fact that, the moment the ban was removed, he returned with his family to Canada and resided once more in the city of which he had been the Chief Magistrate. In the first constituency which opened after his return from exile, he offered himself again as a candidate for the Parliament of the United Canadas which had come into being under the Union Act. He did not hesitate to declare that he sought a review of his aims and actions by his fellow countrymen. This was in 1851. He was returned at the head of the poll. The result was the more significant from the fact that, while one of his opponents was a candidate of the Conservative party, he had yet another formidable opponent, a Liberal of the moderate school, in no less a person than the Hon. George Brown, editor of The Globe, who later was one of the Fathers of Confederation.

Not only was Mackenzie elected in this contest, but he was re-elected for Haldimand in 1858. In the same year, due largely to impaired health and strength, he decided to retire from public life and resigned. Three years later, at the age of 66,

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he died, in the house which still stands on Bond Street, and which, after his return from exile, had been presented to him as a testimonial of the affection and regard of friends.

The tribute which was paid Mackenzie's memory by the large cortege of friends which followed his remains to the Necropolis, and the expressions of opinion of the local press in all parts of Canada, the Toronto papers appearing in mourning columns with appreciative obituaries, are eloquent of the esteem he carried with him to the grave.

Two tributes only, I shall quote in conclusion. One is from the pen of his son-in-law, Charles Lindsey, the grandfather of Major Lindsey, this evening's chairman, who, though a life long Conservative and strongly opposed to Mackenzie politically, knew him in many ways more intimately than most of his contemporaries. The other tribute, and it is fitting that it should be given here, is by Mrs. Somerville. It is expressed in verse, and appeared in The Toronto Globe at the time of Mackenzie's death. It has all the tenderness of a woman's touch, as well as the perception of a woman's intuition.

In his "Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie", Mr. Lindsey concludes his introduction in the following words:

"I first saw Mr. Mackenzie, in 1849, when he came from New York to Canada, on a visit. Our differences of opinion on the politics of Canada during the last ten years have been notorious. Still I knew his real views perhaps better than any one else. In private he never concealed his hand to me, during

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the whole of that time. By the hour, when no third person was present, he would speak with great earnestness and animation on the claims of justice, the odiousness of oppression, and the foulness of corruption. The offer of office under the Government was more than once obliquely - once, I think, directly - made to him after his return to Canada, and it always threw him into a fit of passion. He received it as an attempt to destroy his independence or to shackle his freedom of action. A thousand times I have heard him protest that he would rather die of starvation than descend to any meanness, or be guilty of any act that would deprive him of that title to an unpurchasable Patriot, which he deemed the best heritage he could bequeath to his children."

An unpurchasable patriot! That is the heritage which Mackenzie bequeathed not to his children only, but to the city he loved, and within whose bounds his ashes lie.

Mrs. Somerville's tribute was as follows:

"Mute is the tongue that eloquently plead
Our country's right, our country's sacred cause,
Whose burning words not seldom have availed
To gain for freemen, freemen's rights and laws.

"Cold is the heart that never ceased to yearn
For Canada, her welfare and her weal,
Consuming lavishly life's precious oil
In Deep, unresting, and undying zeal.

"And if the flowing zeal that fired his heart,
Crushed by injustice and oppression long,
Burst into action, erring, rash, and wild,
Maddened by private and by public wrong -

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"Yet was the flasing of that rebel brand
The herald of Canadian liberty;
A beacon light to guide our country's bark
Safely into the harbor of the free.

"An alien and an outlaw from the land
His darkest errors had conspired to bless,
Sinning- though sinned against - it was denied
To give atonement, or to find redress.

"Blighted life's harvest years - their due reward
Snatched from the ready pen and busy brain,
Exile, imprisonment, and penury,
Stamped on his heart and brow deep lines of pain.

"Longing for, loving still, his chosen land,
Finding no rest upon a foreign shore;
The ban removed, with gladly hastening feet,
He trod the soil of Canada once more, -

"And stood within her legislative halls,
Lifting his voice for truth and right again;
In his innate integrity of soul,
Scorning the bribes of place and power and gain.

"But time and change had marked his exiled years,
And suffering had quelled his spirit's fire;
Hopes, promises, and plans of better days
Lay in the ashes of their funeral Pyre.

"And so he sadly laid his armor down,
Feeling, perchance, his course was almost run,
No wordly honors crowned his life of toil,
No laurel, when the weary race was won.

"Peace to his burning, patriotic heart,
Peace to his fearless and undaunted soul,
Peace to his spirit, tried and tempest-tossed -
In some fair haven, some calm, quiet goal!

"Although among the great ones of the earth
His humble name may never find a place,
Posterity, this rarest epitaph
Upon the Patriot's tomb shall proudly place -

"Here lieth one who prized the public weal
Far above earthly honors, wealth, or fame,
Whose life-long labors in his country's cause
Were pure from sordid end or selfish aim.

"Oppressed, wronged, exiled, spurned from the land
He would have given his life to bless and save,
His country, on whose shrine his all was laid,
Bestowed upon the Patriot - a grave."'

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L. B.
Return to
1934
Speech Book

Toronto Centennial 1934.

William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter,
Imperial Order of the Daughters
of the Empire.

Banquet
March 5, 1934
7.30 pm

Royal York Hotel
Toronto.

1934 9/

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Speech by Hon. Mackenzie King
on
William Lyon Mackenzie
March 5th, 1934

This is the first occasion since the formation of the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire that I have been privileged to address its members. I should like my first word to be one of thanks to the Chapter for the honour they have done my grandfather's name in selecting it as that of the Chapter. I have as well to thank the members of the Chapter for the further tribute they have paid Mackenzie's memory in arranging, on this Centennial Eve of the incorporation of Toronto, a banquet in honour of the City's first Mayor. I should like, as Mackenzie's grandson, to express my thanks as well to all others who are present for joining with the members of the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire in this great gathering representative of the city's present-day organized activities, and representative as well of all shades of political thought and opinion. These expressions of heartfelt gratitude I desire to convey, not on my own behalf alone, but also on behalf of the other descendants of Mackenzie who are present this evening. We are all deeply grateful for this tribute being paid Mackenzie's name and memory tonight.

~~May~~ I thank the Chapter for the honour it has done me in asking me to be the guest speaker of the evening, and in selecting as the one to introduce me, a gentleman, who, for seven years, occupied the position of Mayor of this City,

and who, for nine years, sat as one of its representatives in the Parliament of Canada. As Mr. Church has told you, not only have we shared years of membership in the House of Commons; but also years of intimate personal friendship: a friendship, may I add, the more valued because of one ~~he similarly shared~~ that we would likewise have in ~~with~~ and my father, to whom he has referred in such kindly terms this evening. I acknowledge with feelings not less of gratitude than pride, all that Mr. Church has said by way of tribute to the memory of my grandfather, and of my father, and what the generosity of his nature has prompted him to say about myself.

The Mellowing Influence of Time.

The fact that Mr. Church and I belong to political parties which have been traditionally opposed, and which in Canada had their origin in the political struggles of a century ago, makes me the more appreciative of all that he has said. It is chivalry of a kind which Mackenzie was constantly showing towards those whose views and opinions differed from his own, and which, beyond all else, he would have appreciated. If, concerning Toronto's first Mayor, there is one thing above another to be desired on this one Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Toronto as a City, it is that, despite all there has been of controversy associated with his name, the mellowing influences of time and the truer and wider perspective which comes with the years may serve to reveal him in his true

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light to the citizens of the Toronto of today, irrespective of their political or other affiliations.

It is not an easy task to give to others a word picture of the character of an individual whom one has never personally known, and about whose part in the public life of the country so much of controversy has waged. The task is not made any the less difficult because assigned to one who is a direct descendant of the subject to be portrayed, and himself a participant in present day political conflicts. Macaulay, whose genius for delineating character ~~has not been surpassed by any historian~~, has ~~well~~ said that "our estimate of a character always depends much on the way in which that character affects our own interests and ~~feelings~~ prejudices". To few, if to any names in Canadian history, is that more applicable than to Mackenzie's. One would hardly expect that Sir Francis Bond Head and those who surrounded him in the thirties of the last century, would do justice to Mackenzie's character or name, any more, perhaps, than they would have wished to leave their names and reputations to him. That is no reason, however, why the descendants of both, if they are concerned more with truth than prejudice, should not, as most of them happily are, be the best of friends; and, at this distance of time, be able to view dispassionately the virtues, as well as the limitations, of those who so strenuously opposed each other a century ago.

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It is in this spirit at least that I should like to give, and would be grateful to have accepted, what I have to say in performing the task you have assigned to me this evening as guest speaker at a banquet given in honour of Toronto's first Mayor.

In the time at my disposal, I cannot attempt more than to afford glimpses of Mackenzie as he was known to his contemporaries. This I shall do more in the words of others than my own. Had time allowed, I should have preferred to permit Mackenzie to speak for himself. At most, unfortunately, I can but include an extract or two from his writings and speeches. These, however, I trust, may be sufficient to indicate some of the qualities which, not only caused his fellow townsmen of a century ago to choose Mackenzie as the Chief Magistrate of the first municipality in Upper Canada to become incorporated as a city, but which have given his name a conspicuous place among those of the Makers of Canada.

Significant Periods in Mackenzie's Life.

The life of William Lyon Mackenzie embraces a period of sixty-six years. In the light of the events of his times, it falls naturally into three main divisions: the first period, that prior to the Rebellion, which runs from his birth in 1795 in Scotland

to the beginning of the insurrection in 1837 - in all, forty-two years; the second, the years of the Rebellion and of Mackenzie's imprisonment and exile - twelve in all; and the third, the ~~seven~~ 17 remaining years of his life, which embrace the period from the time of his return to Canada in 1849 to his death in ~~1855~~ 1861.

Because of its significance as a national event, the Rebellion of 1837-38 has received a prominence which, so far as Mackenzie's life is concerned, has done much to obscure what preceded and followed. Its incidents, and the traditional manner of treating ~~aught that~~ whatever savours of revolt, have done much to occasion misconception of the man himself, his motives, his character, and his actions. This is perhaps ~~an~~ the inevitable fate of those who risk their all, and lose their all, in any vast endeavour. There is nothing ~~that~~ seemingly succeeds like success, and nothing, seemingly, as destructive as defeat, especially where the struggle is one ~~for greater freedom on the part~~ on behalf of those who feel themselves to be oppressed. ~~Defeated~~ Blighted hopes and aspirations, imprisonment and exile, ~~and~~ poverty, and broken health may prove the fiery crucible in which character is tested; they are not the kind of things which lend immediate glory to their victims. Had there been no resort to ~~physical~~ violence in '37, had the reformers of that day been able to effect their aims, as Mackenzie had hoped, by a bloodless revolution, how

different to the generation immediately succeeding would have appeared the character of the man, who bore the brunt of the struggle! Yet the Rebellion, with all that it occasioned of crushed hopes and blighted life and fortune, imprisonment, exile and poverty, did not conceal, but rather served to reveal the character of the man who endured these sufferings, and to disclose how wholly disinterested he was, and how great his integrity. What, ~~I think,~~ above all else, ~~should be brought out~~ stands out in bold relief, is that the Rebellion itself was but the culmination of a period of grave discontent, which Mackenzie ~~did~~ had done his utmost to end by peaceful and constitutional means. It was because of his known convictions and character, and because the people believed in his high purpose and disinterestedness, and found in him a true and tried champion of their rights, that a hundred years ago he was ~~given~~ accorded the great honour of being chosen the Mayor of Toronto at the time of its incorporation as a City.

Mackenzie Enters Journalism.

Mackenzie was twenty-five years of age when he came to Canada. Like many another who emigrated to ~~Canada~~ the new world in those ~~days~~ years he had experienced much of hardship and struggle in his early ~~days~~ days.

D20726

He ~~had learned~~ received, however, a quite exceptional education, was widely read, and had had a good business training. In Canada he entered at once upon commercial pursuits, which, with his industry and ability what they were, soon brought him a competance and gave promise, had he sought them, of ensuring him wealth and leisure as well.

Mrs. Mackenzie, whose name before her marriage was Isabel Baxter, and to whom he was betrothed in Scotland, came later to Canada with Mackenzie's mother. They were happily married. His heart was centred in his family, ~~and~~ his love of his adopted country and Scotland, from whence he came, ~~was~~ only surpassed by his love of home.

In 1824 he decided to take up journalism and began the publication of a paper known as "The Colonial Advocate" at Queenston. The following year he moved to Toronto, ~~at the time known as~~ then still York.

At the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion, his printing establishment was the largest and the best in Upper Canada, and, although not rich, he was in good circumstances. In the previous year his account for public printing alone was $4000.00. His book store contained twenty thousand volumes, and he had an extensive bindery. He also owned considerable property.

Everything, including all his movable property, was risked and sacrificed at the time of the Rebellion.

Mackenzie was ~~not~~ twenty-nine years of age when he decided to go into journalism and to interest himself in politics. ~~I do not know that~~ I can do better, ~~by way of~~ in revealing his motives, than to permit him to do so in his own words.

D20728

During the period of his exile, writing to a friend who had known him in 1820, he reminded him that at the time, though still a young man, his connection with trade in York and Dundas, and his conduct of the partnership concerns of a large trading establishment, afforded satisfactory evidence that he had no occasion to leave his private pursuits for the stormy sea of politics, with a view to the improvement of his pecuniary prospects. He continued:

"When I did so, and assumed, as the westernmost journalist in the British dominions on the continent of America, the office of a public censor, I had no personal enemies, but was on friendly terms with many of the men whom since then I have steadily opposed. I never interfered in the public concerns of the colony, in the most remote degree, until the day in which I issued twelve hundred copies of a newspaper, without having asked or received a single subscriber. In that number I stated my sentiments, and the objects I had in view fully and frankly."

There follows a reference to conditions in the country as he saw them at the time, "whereby obvious public improvements were stayed; dissension was created among classes; citizens were banished and imprisoned in defiance of all law; the people had been

D 20729

long forbidden, under severe pains and penalties, from meeting anywhere to petition for justice; large estates were wrested from their owners in utter contempt of even the forms of the courts."

The letter concludes with reference to the monopoly of lands by one religious denomination,and to a few leading officials whom he said "divided the public revenue among themselves", and were "the avowed enemies of common schools, of civil and religious liberty."

"Other men", he added, "had opposed, and been converted by them. At nine-and-twenty I might have united with them, but chose rather to join the oppressed, nor have I ever regretted that choice, or wavered from the object of my early pursuit."

~~(pp. 39-41 - Vol. I)~~

1824 began Declaration
1827 case for prot-
(see related

D 20730

Mackenzie enters Parliament.

It was in 1824 that Mackenzie began his journalistic career. In 1827 he decided to run for parliament. Having permitted him to speak for himself as to the motives which actuated him in the one step, I do not know that I can do better than to permit him to speak for himself as regards the other. The motives which actuated him in them will be found expressed in the address which he issued to the electors of the County of York, and which is dated York, December 17, 1827, and it reads in part as follows:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF YORK. - Gentlemen:- I have the honor to inform you that it is my intention to come forward as a candidate at the next Election of Members to serve for your County in the Provincial Parliament; and I most respectfully solicit your votes and support.

"I have no end in view but the well being of the people at large - no ambition to serve but that of contributing to the happiness and prosperity of our common country. The influence and authority with which you may invest me, shall always be directed, according to the best of my judgment, for the general good; and it will be my care to uphold your rights to the utmost of my power, with that firmness, moderation, and perseverance, which become the representative of a free people.

"If honored with your suffrages, it will be alike my duty and my pleasure to watch over the local interests of this great county, and to promote every public improvement and useful undertaking, which shall be found conducive to your prosperity and the general welfare.

"I have ever been opposed to ecclesiastical domination; it is at enmity with the free spirit of Christianity; and nations which have bowed to its yoke, are become the dark abodes of ignorance and superstition, oppression, and misery.

"That corrupt, powerful, and long endured influence which has hitherto interfered with your rights and liberties, can only be overthrown by your unanimity and zeal. An independent House of Assembly, to Upper Canada, would be inestimable.

"I have been a careful observer of the conduct of the people's representatives in the Colonial Assemblies; I have seen men in whom was

"placed the utmost confidence, fall from their integrity and betray their sacred trust; men, too, who had entered upon their legislative duties with the best intentions towards the people, and who evinced for a time a firm determination to support their rights. But there are others who continue to maintain and uphold the interests of their country, unshaken and undismayed; who consider it their highest honor to persevere in a faithful discharge of their public duties, and eagerly strive to deserve the good will, the affection, and the confidence of their fellow subjects.

"Among this latter class I am desirous of being numbered; and, unless I shall be found deserting the cause of the people, I trust that the people will never desert me.

"Accept my sincere thanks for the abundant proofs of kindness and confidence, and for the liberal assurance of support, with which you have honored me, and believe me,

"Gentlemen, Your faithful and humble servant,

"W. L. Mackenzie."

York, December 17th, 1827.

re Political Career

~~(pp.143-44 - Vol. 1)~~

Early Advocate of Confederation — (3)

Mackenzie an early Advocate of Confederation.

I have not time to speak of Mackenzie's political career, but there is one incident which is often forgotten, ~~if not deliberately concealed~~, to which I should like to refer, as it serves to reveal, not only how far ahead of his times he was, but also how deeply attached he was to the British Crown and to British institutions of government.

He was one of the very first to advocate Confederation, and he did so as a means, not only of improving existing conditions, through a better system of government, but also to ensure the preservation of the British Colonies in North America to the British Crown.

3

4

D-0734

Kat Union of all British American Colonies.

In a letter from Queenstown to the Rt. Hon. George Canning, dated June 10, 1824, Mackenzie touched upon the question of a union of all the British American colonies. The following is a paragraph from this communication:

> "A union of all the colonies, with a government suitably poised and modelled, so as to have under its eye the resources of our whole territory, and having the means in its power to administer impartial justice in all its bounds, to no one part at the expense of another, would require few boons from Britain, and would advance her interests much more in a few years, than the bare right of possession of a barren, uncultivated wilderness of lake and forest, with some three or four inhabitants to the square mile, can do in centuries."

This he contrasted with the "seven inferior sets of legislative bodies, reigning like so many petty kings during the Saxon heptarchy".

On December 14, 1826, we find in his journal the following testimony of his continuous advocacy of this measure, under the head of "A Confederation of the British North American Colonies". The article reads:

> "We have written much and often, advocating an effective united government for the colonies, in the bonds of amity and relationship with England, we have sent hundreds of copies of our journal to Europe to distinguished persons, with that project

"specially marked and noted, but were always afraid that the idea would be treated as 'an idle chimera', even by the wisest and ablest of British statesmen. It would, however, be the best and safest policy; for England can continue to hold Cabotia (a designation given to the whole of British North America) only by the ties of friendship, amity, and mutual advantages - ties which, with the divine blessing, would be greatly strengthened, were the talent, the resources, the enterprise of all the colonies fully brought into action in a liberal, enlightened, and united general government."

In the Colonial Advocate of June 24, 1824, Mackenzie had gone the length of outlining the way in which he thought the proposed change could best be brought about. How similar the method followed thirty years later will appear from the following, which are the words in which he expressed his view:-

"Let an Act be passed in the British Parliament calling a convention of all the colonies, and let a British nobleman or gentleman of competent knowledge preside, as representing His Majesty, at that convention; let representatives from each section of British America, chosen by the people and in proportion to the population, compose that convention; let the outlines of a constitution be d rawn up by this confederation of the talents and wisdom of His Majesty's American subjects, and sent home fro the consideration of the Imperial Parliament;

D20736

"let the convention be dissolved, and Great Britain will then know what her colonies want, what they require, and it will be for the British Legislature to alter or amend such constitution, so that justice may be done to all parties, and the interests of neither sacrificed."

~~(page 38 - Vol. 1)~~

Machinery and Industry
Responsible Govt (4)

Goldwin Smith

D 20737
(4)

Mackenzie Advocates Responsible Government.

What I have read will be sufficient to show that Mackenzie's great objective, as indeed the obejctive of all who espoused the cause of reform, was to bring about a change in the system of government which would lead to the establishment in Canada of what is known as Responsible Government. Here may I quote one, who, in this connection at all events, will be regarded as an ~~important~~ important authority. In his volume entitled "Canada and The Canadian Question", Goldwin Smith says: ~~(1891 page 112)~~

> "All the special grievances and demands of the Reformers were summed up and merged in their demand for 'responsible government'. By responsible government they meant that the government should be carried on, not by an executive nominated by the governor and independent of the vote of parliament, but, as in England, by a cabinet dependent for its tenure of office on the vote of the Commons. They meant, in short, that supreme power should be transferred from the Crown to the representatives of the people. It was nothing less than a revolution for which they called under a mild and constitutional name."

His advocacy of Responsible Government, as will be seen, was a part of the great regard Mackenzie had for British institutions and government, and of his desire to see established in Canada institutions similar to those already existing in Britain, and which would serve to end popular discontent and keep Canada loyal to the British Crown.

The present generation, having known no system of government other than that of responsible government, either in the provinces or in the Dominion, of necessity must find it difficult to comprehend a condition of affairs where not only the advisers of the Governor were selected by the Governor, without reference to the elected representatives of the people, but where the Executive itself, exercising executive power and controlling all the revenues, was in no way responsible to the Assembly which was elected by the people.

The fact that, in Great Britain, responsible government had already been achieved, and that most of those who came from the British Isles to settle in Canada were already familiar with the struggles which had brought about a larger liberty there, is something which we, who have become accustomed to our parliamentary institutions as now constituted, are apt to forget. These men felt they were being deprived of the rights of British citizens. (It was the assertion of ~~these~~ British rights, and their denial by those in authority, and nothing more, which occasioned the Rebellion. The movement which Mackenzie headed was less a movement against the Crown's authority, than against the abuse and prostitution of it.)

D 20739

Until hope of redress was crushed by absolute despair, no public man of his time gave stronger proofs than Mackenzie of his attachment to the British Crown and British institutions, or laboured more earnestly to preserve all that is implied by British connection.)

Mackenzie's Several Elections to Parliament

What some of the circumstances were which caused Mackenzie and others to despair of ever securing reforms by peaceful and constitutional means, is well illustrated by what occurred in Mackenzie's representation of York in the years immediately preceding the Rebellion. This, however, I cannot more than indicate in chronological fashion. Be it recalled that York was the most populous and influential of all the counties in Upper Canada. Mackenzie was first elected to Parliament in 1828. He entered Parliament at the age of 33, in 1829. He was re-elected a second time in 1830. He was elected a third time in 1831, in which year he was expelled on a pretext of the executive. He was re-elected, for the fourth time, in 1832, and expelled the same year for the second. That year he personally proceeded to England, largely at his own expense, to take up, at first hand, the grievances of the Colony with the government of Great Britain. It was while he was in England that, in 1833, he was re-elected to Parliament for the fifth time. After his ~~xxx~~ re-election, he was presented with a gold medal and chain by his ~~political~~ constituents "as a token of their approbation of his political career". He was not, however, allowed to take his seat, and, later

D20740

in 1833, he was again re-elected, for the sixth time.

In 1834, the year of the incorporation of Toronto as a city, he was again expelled. But in that year he was not only elected Mayor of Toronto, but, in the general elections of 1834, was re-elected as member for one of the new constituencies of York. He continued to occupy the position of Mayor for the first year of Toronto's existence as a city, and to sit in the Legislature from 1834 until 1836, when he encountered his first and only defeat under circumstances of unfairness which served to heighten the resentment of the Reformers.

It is worthy of note that Mackenzie's election to the office of Mayor of Toronto came at the time when his activities in voicing the need for reform were at their height. The citizens of York County had previously elected him to the Legislature on six different occasions, on four of them by acclamation. On one occasion, when he was not elected by acclamation, there was but one vote polled against him. As his political opponent voted on the occasion, it was not difficult to account for that particular vote. It was while serving as Mayor of Toronto, that he was elected to Parliament for York County for the seventh time. These elections not only afforded the clearest approval of Mackenzie's attitude, but were a most emphatic expression on the part of the electors themselves of the need for change in the system of government of the day.

ses Reports re Chestnut — re Architect

D 20741

Men do not receive recognition of this kind from their fellowmen without possessing in considerable measure the qualities which inspire confidence and merit trust.

Mackenzie - Toronto's First Mayor.

Mackenzie gave his time gratuitously to the interest of the City, and discharged the duties of Mayor with the same vigour which he carried into everything he undertook. This involved having to do with the construction and setting into motion the machinery of municipal government, as well as the discharge of duties as a Magistrate, and the promoting of much needed civic improvements.

As Mayor of Toronto, it was Mackenzie's privilege to design the coat of arms of the city and to give it the legend which it continues to bear. In the motto "Industry, Intelligence and Integrity", he sought to give to his fellow citizens the watchwords of the city's future progress. Each of them was a guiding principle of his own life; for there never was a man who was more industrious, or who sought more diligently to enlighten himself, and to aid in the enlightenment of others, or whose "innate integrity of soul" scorned more completely "the bribes of place and power and gain". It is a motto to which Toronto herself has been true, ~~and~~ one which, in industry and finance, in trade and commerce; in science and education, in the arts and letters; in the honourable fulfilment of corporate obligations and high civic endeavour in great causes, has given to her the proud place which, among the cities of the world, she enjoys today.

There is but a single incident associated with Mackenzie's mayoralty to which I shall allude. I do so because it reveals so clearly a characteristic of his entire life. Mackenzie never asked another man to do what he was not prepared to do himself; nor did he ever hesitate, where danger was concerned, to put himself in the front. During the term of Mackenzie's mayoralty, cholera revisited the city and swept away every twentieth inhabitant. Throughout the whole of the plague, Mackenzie was at his post of duty and of danger. He sought out the helpless victims of the disease and administered to their wants. He was constant in his attendance at the cholera hospital. In the height of the panic occasioned by this terrible scourge, when nobody else could be induced to take the patients to the hospital, he visited the homes of the victims, and placing them in the cholera cart with whatever assistance he could get from the families of the plague stricken, drove them to the hospital. On some days he made several visits of this kind to the pest house. Day and night he gave himself no rest. At length, worn out by fatigue, the disease overtook him. Fortunately, the attack was not of an aggravated nature, and his robust constitution carried him safely through.

D20743

Part II

The Rebellion of 1837-38.

Any account of the Rebellion of 1837-8 and its incidents, I shall have to leave for another time and another occasion. All I wish to say at the moment is that I agree with those who hold to the view that the insurrection was in the nature of a civil war. It was a revolt against local misrule, not against British authority. It was a conflict between political parties carried to the point of physical violence. It is true that, once the outbreak became general and loss of life occurred, and a bounty had been placed on the head of Mackenzie and other of the leaders of the movement, ~~a declaration of~~ Indpendence was declared and a provisional government set up, ~~and rebellion openly avowed~~. But no one can read of what was taking place at the time, or what is now known of what was planned by Mackenzie and others, without realizing that what those who participated in the revolt really aimed at, and believed it was possible for them to accomplish, was the seizure of the Governor and his advisers, and the calling of a representative convention which would secure the redress of grievances and effect the change of government which was desired. Even in the later stages, when independence was formally declared, and assistance given the rebels by American citizens, it was always contemplated that, if successful, a convention should immediately

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be held which would determine the future position of the Colony. There was no man who, in his heart of hearts, was more attached to the British form of government, and to institutions of government as they had developed in Britain, than Mackenzie, or who sought more zealously to have them established in Canada.

I do not know that I can better summarize what I ~~should~~ adhere to be the generally accepted views ~~like to say~~ with respect to this period than to quote the words of the late Sir John Willison in his "Political History of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party". In its opening chapter, Sir John Willison says:

Willison

(5)

D 20745

Willison on Rebellion

"No one now disputes that William Lyon Mackenzie and the Reformers of 1837 fought to put down intolerable evils. The argument that constitutional agitation would surely have achieved the reforms that were finally conceded to tumult and revolt, has been advanced in mitigation of every abuse that has bred riot and rebellion among British freemen. It may be that Mackenzie was impetuous and turbulent, but the Rebellion of 1837 was at best a pitiful expression of the discontent which the greed and the oppression of the Family Compact had developed. Too much has been said of the rash counsels and unhappy adventures of Mackenzie, and too little of the crying grievances which an insolent and autocratic Executive would not redress, and of the privileges they were resolved to maintain. It is in such fashion that the decisive blow has been dealt to tyranny and privilege all down the splendid centuries of British history; and if in the story of Liberalism in all countries there are wild and sanguinary chapters, it is because only in that way could popular government be established and perpetuated.

"The main achievements of Mackenzie and his associates were to subject the Executive to the control of Parliament and the people, to drive out of the Council the nominees of the Governor, and to impose substantial checks upon presumptuous imperial interference in the domestic affairs of the Canadas."

(Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party
(by J. S. Willison - pp.2-3, Volume 1)

D20746

Mackenzie and the British Empire

A friend of mine, speaking of the name of this Chapter, said to me, a day or two ago, that the William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire was one of those inconsistencies, I think he termed it "logical inconsistencies", which were characteristic of British peoples and of which they alone seem to be capable. Far from regarding the matter in this light, I am of the view that ~~nothing~~ few consistencies sequences could be more logically consistent. If it be true that the establishment of responsible government in Canada is the corner stone of the British Empire, it can hardly be denied that the struggles of 1837-8 were a main contributing factor to that achievement. If such be the case, fair play and justice will scarcely deny to the one who risked and lost his all in the endeavour, ~~its~~ his rightful place, not among the Makers of Canada alone, but ~~with~~ those who have contributed to the upbuilding of the British Empire as a Community of Free Nations enjoying equality of status under the British Crown.

If proof were needed that the country at heart sympathized with Mackenzie and admired his dauntless courage, it would be found in the fact that, in making his escape, once all hope of success had vanished, he owed the preservation of his life to political foes as well as friends; to the assistance, directly or indirectly afforded by those in authority under the Crown, as well as by those who had taken up arms, and this, notwithstanding a reward upon his head of a thousand pounds to be given to whomever might apprehend him dead or alive. As Mackenzie ~~says~~ said in an account of ~~the~~ his escape, written by himself,

D 20747

he was passing, while being pursued, through parts of the country in which he was known to almost every man, and where but for the readiness of others to risk their lives in order that his might be spared, he could not possibly have escaped death. It is not in this fashion that those who are believed to have betrayed the cause of their country are permitted to retain their freedom.

Imprisonment and Exile.

The assistance given the rebels by American citizens raised a serious question between the United States and Great Britain. Its settlement involved the imprisonment of Mackenzie on the ground of violation of the neutrality laws of the United States. For almost a year he suffered confinement as a political prisoner in Rochester prison. Finally he was pardoned by President Van Buren, as the result of petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of Canadians and freed from prison. He remained, however, an exile from Canada.

He went to live in New York where he engaged in one pursuit after another, and remained there until the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1848, after which a pardon was granted by Lord Elgin and he was permitted to return to Canada. This pardon was granted after the presentation of a widely signed petition of Canadians. It was presented to the Governor-General by a little girl with long wavy golden hair, the grandmother of the Chairman of this evening.

D20748

Mackenzie's family life

The years of imprisonment and exile were years of anguish and privation. In my account thus far, I have had time to say nothing of Mackenzie's family life. I should like to have spoken of that from what I have heard from the lips of my own mother. She was born in New York after her father had been released from prison, but while Mackenzie was still in exile. She was the thirteenth child. I have heard her say that her parents regarded it as a miracle that she had ever lived, so near were they all to the verge of starvation at the time of her birth and during the days of her infancy. It was at this time that the gold medal and chain given Mackenzie by his constituents Two or three of his children died during this period. The greatest grief of all, however, which Mackenzie had to bear was that of the death of his aged mother while he was a prisoner in Rochester jail.

To understand Mackenzie and his zeal for reform, we needed the principles which guided his life, one has to know something of this relationship between mother and son, and what they had shared together of penury and struggle in his early years. Here again, let him me to speak for himself. The following is from one of his speeches in reply to the charge of democracy and disloyalty by his political opponents.

6

constituents and carried with him through the rebellion and the period of his imprisonment and to the distribution of the orders to secure necessary food.

D20749

"I was only three weeks old at his death; my mother took upon herself those vows which our Church prescribes as needful at baptism, and was left to struggle with misfortune, a poor widow, in want and in distress. It is among the earliest of my recollections, that I lay in bed one morning during the grievous famine in Britain, in 1800-1, while my poor mother took from our large Kist (which is an article of furniture of a sort only to be found among the Scotch and Irish) the handsome plaid of the tartan of our clan, which in early life her own hands had spun, and went and sold it for a trifle, to obtain for us a little coarse barley meal, whereof to make our scanty breakfast; and of another time during the same famine, that she left me at home crying from want and hunger, and for (I think) 8s. sold a handsome and hitherto carefully preserved priest-gray coat of my father's to get us a little food. How the mechanics and laborers contrived to exist during these times, is what I cannot tell; my recollections of this period are faint and indistinct.

(Page 19 - Vol. 1)

"Well may I love the poor, greatly may I esteem the humble and the lowly, for poverty and adversity were my nurses, and in youth were want and misery my familiar friends; even now it yields a sweet satisfaction to my soul, that I can claim kindred with the obscure cottar, and the humble laborer, of my native, ever honored, ever loved Scotland.

"'Long may thy hardy sons of rustic toil
Be blest with health, and peace, and sweet content!"

"My mother feared God, and He did not forget nor forsake her: never in my early years can I recollect that divine worship was neglected in our little family, when health permitted; never did she in family prayer forget to implore that He, who doeth all things well, would establish in righteousness the throne of our monarch, setting wise and able counsellors around it. A few of my relations were well to do, but many of them were poor farmers and mechanics, (it is true my mother could claim kindred with some of the first families in Scotland; but who that is great and wealthy, can sit down to count kindred with the poor?) yet amongst these husbandmen, as well as among their ministers, were religion and loyalty held in as due regard, as they had been by their ancestors in the olden time. Was it from the precept - was it from the example of such a mother and such relations, that I was to imbibe that disloyalty, democracy, falsehood, and deception, with which my writings are by the government editor charged?"

~~(Page 30, Vol. 1).~~

1899
17
1822
D 20751

Death of Mackenzie's Mother

The strongest reciprocal affection existed between Mrs. Mackenzie and her son. She had come out to Canada, as I have mentioned, in 1822, and the last 17 years of her life were spent in Mackenzie's home. What his love was for her, as well as for Canada, may be gathered from a letter he wrote to his son James from Rochester prison at the time of her death. It gives an account of the last conversation they had together and the means contrived to bring it about. It reveals as well something of the anguish of mind and heart from which Mackenzie was suffering at the time, and which, though it did not break, served to crush his brave spirit. Devotion to the members of his family, his mother, his wife, and his children, was a strongly marked characteristic. What Mackenzie suffered because of the privations which exile, poverty and separation brought upon them, ~~I doubt if words can express~~. How completely his mind was sapped by the sorrow occasioned by his mother's death is evident from the circumstances that this letter to his son begins, not "Dear James" as all other letters written to him which I have seen, begin, but "Dear Sir". He realized what he had to communicate, but ~~it~~ was to the exclusion of all else.

The letter itself is as follows:

D20752

Letter of Mackenzie - To his son James from Rochester Prison

To Jas. Mackenzie, Lockport.

Sunday eve, 22 Dec. 1839.

Dear Sir/

I have been very ill with the fever and ague for weeks, and the fever is now heavy on me. I would have wrote you else. It is now my duty to inform you that at half-past-four o'clock this afternoon, your poor, affectionate, warmhearted grandmother paid the last debt to nature. She had been more than a week ill. But for the last 6 days death was expected. Every effort was made to get me to see her, but all failed until John Montgomery got up a writ ag[illegible] Robertson, subpoened me as a material witness, sued out a writ of habeas corpus, and the judge agreeing that it should be returnable at my dwelling, where he held his court, the sheriff took me up there on Friday eve, and I spent an hour and more with granny, at which she rejoiced greatly. Fortunate it was that I could go then, for yesterday & today she has been speechless, until at half past four she breathed her last. I have little to say to you James - I am pained and ill able to write, but I wished to tell you of this change. Strangers will bury her in a land of strangers, and who can say that such will not also be our fate!

Affectionately yours,

(Sgd) Wm. L. Mackenzie.

Returned to Canada and remaining years
Exiled & lose for can = unlight of mem
Waldimus - dwell — brothers

D'20753

Return to Canada and Remaining Years

So much for the years of absence from Canada. There could be no truer evidence of Mackenzie's love for his adopted country, nor of the integrity of his own motives in all for which he had striven, than the fact that, the moment the ban was removed, he returned with his family to Canada and resided once more in the city of which he had been the ~~First Mayor~~ Chief Magistrate. In the first constituency which opened after his return from exile, he offered himself again as a candidate for the Parliament of the United Canadas which had come into being under the Union Act. He did not hesitate to declare that he sought a review of his aims and actions by his fellow countrymen. This was in 1851. He was returned at the head of the poll. The result was the more significant from the fact that, while one of his opponents was a candidate of the Conservative party, he had yet another formidable opponent, a Liberal of the moderate school, in no less a person than the Hon. George Brown, editor of The Globe, who later, most one of the Fathers of Confederation.

Not only was Mackenzie elected in this contest, but he was re-elected for Haldimand in 1858. ~~Later~~ In the same year, due largely to impaired health and strength, he decided to retire from public life and resigned. Three years later, at the age of 66, he died, in the house which still stands on Bond Street, and

D 20754

which, after his return from exile, had been presented to him as a testimonial of the affection and regard of friends.

The tribute which was paid Mackenzie's memory by the large cortege of friends which followed his remains to the Necropolis, and the expressions of opinion of the local press in all parts of Canada, the Toronto papers appearing in mourning columns with appreciative obituaries, are eloquent of the esteem he carried with him to the grave.

Two tributes only, I shall quote in conclusion. One is from the pen of his son-in-law, Charles Lindsey, the grandfather of Colonel Lindsey, this evening's chairman, who, though a life long Conservative and strongly opposed to Mackenzie politically, knew him in many ways more intimately than most of his contemporaries. The other tribute, and it is fitting that it should be given here, is by [redacted] Mrs. Somerville. It is expressed in verse, and appeared in The Toronto Globe at the time of Mackenzie's death. It has all the tenderness of a woman's touch, as well as the perception of a woman's intuition.

In his "Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie", Mr. Lindsey concludes his introduction in the following words:

D 20755

Statement by Charles Lindsey

"I first saw Mr. Mackenzie, in 1849, when he came from New York to Canada, on a visit. Our differences of opinion on the politics of Canada during the last ten years have been notorious. Still I knew his real views perhaps better than any one else. In private he never concealed his hand to me, during the whole of that time. By the hour, when no third person was present, he would speak with great earnestness and animation on the claims of justice, the odiousness of oppression, and the foulness of corruption. The offer of office under the Government was more than once obliquely - once, I think, directly - made to him after his return to Canada, and it always threw him into a fit of passion. He received it as an attempt to destroy his independence or to shackle his freedom of action. A thousand times I have heard him protest that he would rather die of starvation than descend to any meanness, or be guilty of any act that would deprive him of that title to an unpurchasable Patriot, which he deemed the best heritage he could bequeath to his children."

(page 6 - Vol. I)

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An unpurchasable patriot! That is the heritage which Mackenzie bequeathed not to his children only, but to the city he loved, and within whose bounds his ashes lie.

Mrs. Somerville's tribute was as follows:

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D20757

Poem by Mrs. Somerville
in Toronto Globe

"Mute is the tongue that eloquently plead
Our country's right, our country's sacred cause,
Whose burning words not seldom have availed
To gain for freemen, freemen's rights and laws.

"Cold is the heart that never ceased to yearn
For Canada, her welfare and her weal,
Consuming lavishly life's precious oil
In deep, unresting, and undying zeal.

"And if the glowing zeal that fired his heart,
Crushed by injustice and oppression long,
Burst into action, erring, rash, and wild,
Maddened by private and by public wrong -

"Yet was the flashing of that rebel brand
The herald of Canadian liberty;
A beacon light to guide our country's bark
Safely into the harbor of the free.

"An alien and an outlaw from the land
His darkest errors had conspired to bless,
Sinning - though sinned against - it was denied
To give atonement, or to find redress.

"Blighted life's harvest years - their due reward
Snatched from the ready pen and busy brain,
Exile, imprisonment, and penury,
Stamped on his heart and brow deep lines of pain.

"Longing for, loving still, his chosen land,
Finding no rest upon a foreign shore;
The ban removed, with gladly hastening feet,
He trod the soil of Canada once more, -

"And stood within her legislative halls,
Lifting his voice for truth and right again;
In his innate integrity of soul,
Scorning the bribes of place and power and gain.

"But time and change had marked his exiled years,
And suffering had quelled his spirit's fire;
Hopes, promises, and plans of better days
Lay in the ashes of their funeral pyre.

D20758

64- P. 39.

"And so he sadly laid his armor down,
Feeling, perchance, his course was almost run,
No wordly honors crowned his life of toil,
No laurel, when the weary race was won.

"Peace to his burning, patriotic heart,
Peace to his fearless and undaunted soul,.
Peace to his spirit, tried and tempest-tossed -
In some fair haven, some calm, quiet goal!

"Although among the great ones of the earth
His humble name may never find a place,
Posterity, this rarest epitaph
Upon the Patriot's tomb shall proudly place -

"'Here lieth one who prized the public weal
Far above earthly honors, wealth, or fame,
Whose life-long labors in his country's cause
Were pure from sordid end or selfish aim.

"Oppressed, wronged, exiled, spurned from the land
He would have given his life to bless and save,
His country, on whose shrine his all was laid,
Bestowed upon the Patriot - a grave.'"

(~~Page 299-301, Vol. II~~)

D20759

1934 Speeches
by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Leader of the Opposition

(Outside Parliament)

	Date	Place	Occasion
1.	March 5.	Toronto.	William Lyon Mackenzie Chapter, ~~Independent~~ Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire - Banquet in honour of Toronto's First Mayor - William Lyon Mackenzie.
2.	April 11.	Norwich - Afternoon Tillsonburg - Evening.	South Oxford by-election.
	" 14.	Ingersoll.	
3.	April 27.	Ottawa.	Dominion Drama Festivel, Little Theatre.
4.	May 11.	Toronto.	Toronto Women's Liberal Association - Twenty-first Birthday Anniversary.
5.	June 7.	Ottawa.	Mr. Mitchell F. Hepburn, M.P. - Complimentary Luncheon by Liberal Members of House of Commons.
6.	June 8.	Toronto.	(University of Toronto) Alumni Association - Commencement Day Exercises.
7.	August 7.	Ottawa.	Florists and Gardeners Convention.
8.	Sept. 14.	Kenora, Ontario	Kenora-Rainy River By-election.
9.	" 17.	Enteprise, "	Frontenac-Addington "
10.	" 18.	Markham, "	North York "
11.	" 19.	St. Thomas, "	Elgin West "
12.	" 20.	Toronto,	Toronto East "
13.	" 21.	Montreal, P. Q.	Meeting of Provincial Federation of Liberal Women of Quebec.
14.	" 21.	"	Rally of Young Liberals of ~~Montreal~~ Quebec.
15.	Dec. 12.	Ottawa.	3rd Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation of Canada.
16.	Dec. 19.	Ottawa.	Dinner to Sir George and Lady Perley.

D20760

South Oxford By-Election

April 11 - Afternoon - Norwich
Evening - Tillsonburg

14 - Evening - Ingersoll

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20761 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The London Advertiser

Date April 12/34

Subject

Federal Liberal Leader Speaks To Crowded Election Meetings At Norwich and Tillsonburg

Says Cabinet Is Usurping Power At Expense Of Constitutional Liberties—Real Danger Of Dictatorship Menaces Canada—Gov't Should Go To Country This Fall If Defeated In S. Oxford

OTTAWA PACTS CLOSING MARKETS TO FARMERS; VAST SUMS SQUANDERED IN RELIEF EXPENDITURES

Wonders What Influence Kept Tobacco Report Unpublished So Long—Vigorous Speeches Made By M. F. Hepburn, M.P., Hon. J. C. Elliott, M.P., And A. S. Rennie, Liberal Candidate

The choice for Canada today is between dictatorship and democracy through Parliamentary Government, declared Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, in addresses before two large meetings yesterday in the interest of A. S. Rennie, Liberal candidate in the South Oxford federal by-election on Monday next. Already, said Mr. King, Parliament under the domination of a Tory majority has transferred most of its powers to the Governor-in-Council, which usually means the Cabinet but today means Mr. Bennett.

"I wonder if you realize to what extent your Parliamentary institutions have been shot to pieces in this country. Today we are in the middle of a world social revolution and the problem before us is where is it going to end."

Large Meetings

The afternoon meeting was at Norwich where far more than could be accommodated sought admision to the hall. At Tillsonburg at night another thousand people heard Mr. King and accorded him a spontaneous and prolonged ovation.

Mr. King uttered a clarion call for a national unemployment policy. The $110,000,000 dollars of federal expenditures in the last four years have not touched the fundamentals while all this money was being spent the government was promoting its policy of scarcity through trade and wheat production restrictions. The home market is being destroyed along with the purchasing power of the people.

Must Go To Country

Mr. King declared that the Bennett government in the event of a defeat in South Oxford could not afford to carry on the government of the country past next fall. The last four by-elections have demonstrated, he said, that it entirely lacks the confidence of the people.

At Tillsonburg Mr. King dealt at length with the Sutherland tobacco report and declared that the government was "humbugging" the farmers again.

At Norwich Mr. King was introduced by Hon. J. C. Elliott, K. C., M. P. Other speakers were Mr. Rennie and Mitchell Hepburn, M. P., Ontario Liberal leader. Mr. Rennie and Mr. Hepburn also spoke at Tillsonburg.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20702
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

By Staff Reporter

Tillsonburg, April 11—A world social revolution, which because of its extent is without parallel in history, is going on today. It will test in Canada the principle of Parliamentary government, declared Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King, Liberal leader, here tonight before a cheering throng in Tillsonburg town hall. Every inch of space in the auditorium, along the aisles, behind the stage, at the windows and every nook and corner was crowded as 800 people saw and heard Mr. King. Downstairs in the council chamber another 200 people heard the addresses relayed by loud speaker, and scores more gathered outside where there were more loud speakers.

Ready for Change

The Liberal party welcomes and is prepared to sponsor the changes which have become necessary in the world social and economic order, said the leader.

Changes of equal importance with the crusades, the Renaissance, the American revolution and the industrial revolution. "Today we have something which resembles them all but which instead of confining itself to one country takes in the world. We are in a world revolution.

"For my part I welcome those changes with all my heart. Not all of them. But I welcome that which will bring a more equitable distribution of wealth. I welcome the change to bring social justice. I welcome the change to bring much to many instead of most to a privileged few. I am glad to live in an age in which it is possible to bring these things about.

Needs Direction

"These changes will lead to terrible results in some parts of the world and must go farther than we expect in others. It will sweep right over us, this great onward movement of social change; it will sweep away the lives and homes of the people as well if not properly directed," he said.

Only by being true to the great principles of government which have guided British history can Canada escape chaos, he said.

"There is nothing in the world today comparable to British institutions, freedom from dictatorship and faith in the common sense of the common people. Let us hold to these institutions. Let us direct these great forces through the halls of parliament. Let us bring into parliament men of courage who will say, 'You, Mr. Banker, must give up your special rights and let the people have more credit! Who will say that it is time for manufacturers to cease to take exorbitant profits and give instead fair wages to labor. But the place to say and do those things is in parliament," he said.

Other speakers tonight were Mr. Rennie and Mitchell F. Hepburn, M. P., Ontario Liberal leader.

Mr. King was given a rousing greeting as he rose. He said he came here to discuss with the people of South Oxford the problems that confront Canadians as "a fellow citizen of this Dominion."

Confidence Gone

The Liberal victories in the past four federal by-elections, he declared, "showed clearly that the people do not want the present government to continue in office.

"By electing Mr. Rennie next Monday you will be serving notice to this government that it is time it got out," Mr. King asserted, amid a burst of applause.

Mr. King said he hoped to show that the voice of the people had very little part in the present government. The public will was being thwarted on every hand; its representatives were being given no chance to express the people's will; and democracy was in peril in this Dominion.

"What appreciation has been shown to this riding of South Oxford by the Bennett administration?" Mr. King asked. "It had the opportunity of showing that appreciation at the time the Redistribution Bill was brought down and what did he do? It has wiped the constituency of South Oxford off the map altogether.

"I tell you that if Mackenzie King had been at the head of the government when the Redistribution Bill came up, South Oxford would not have been wiped out," the speaker asserted.

Answering the question, "Why isn't South Oxford represented at this session?" Mr. King said that there was a feeling in some persons that they would rather have someone boss them than think for themselves. It was the trend toward dictatorship. The people of South Oxford now had the opportunity of saying what they thought about such a system.

A Hard-Won Privilege

"It is important that our parliaments be kept representative because we are getting farther and farther away from that ideal. It was that right of representation of the people that the pioneers and leaders of the past fought for in this country," Mr. King continued.

Turning to Mr. Bennett's pre-election promises, the Liberal chieftain declared that the two main ones on which he secured election were that he would give work, not the dole, and that he would provide markets for Canadian products. He had promised to call a special session of Parliament to deal with unemployment but other than voting $20,000,000 for six months' relief, that session had achieved only the raising of tariffs against the rest of the world.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition
D 20763

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Dealing particularly with the $20,000,000 which Mr. Bennett had voted for unemployment relief, Mr. King recalled that during the ten years of the Liberal regime from 1920 to 1930, the entire amount spent for the same purpose was less than $2,000,000.

At the time when Mr. Bennett was obtaining this huge appropriation, Mr. King further recalled, he had urged him that the only way to end unemployment was to encourage trade; that trade could be fostered by reducing the cost of production, not by raising tariffs.

"I said in the House at that time that unemployment had become a national problem. I urged Mr. Bennett to appoint a national commission to deal with the situation. I suggested that on it should be representative of all phases of Canadian life, of labor, of industry, manufacturers, social services, and women's organizations. I suggested further that the sums that were to be paid out to the provinces should be all audited. And Mr. Bennett said that it would be an insult to the provinces to audit the accounts. At that time I said he would rue the day that the accounts were not audited. And what is the situation today?"

A recent report of the auditor-general had shown that huge sums of federal money appropriated for relief purposes have been wasted in every province, from coast to coast. It had been spent on administrative costs, for dental services, for gasoline and other things.

The Blank Cheque

In 1931 Mr. Bennett brought in his "blank cheque" legislation, giving the governor-in-council power to spend unlimited sums without consulting parliament. From 1930 to 1934, over $110,000,000 had been spent in federal money alone in this way.

"That is the thing we have been fighting against. It is being debated in the House tonight. But Mr. Bennett with his majority will carry it through," Mr. King predicted.

The same bill went even further by giving the government power to guarantee bank loans. He cited the $60,000,000 C.P.R. loan.

A large increase in the public debt and an increase in unemployment were the only results from the expenditure of colossal sums for relief, and the people were only beginning to find out "the shocking way in which the money had been spent," Mr. King said. Nothing had been done along the lines of making public parks and improving roads, such as the Liberals had contemplated.

Pork Barrel

"Remember that this year will probably be the year of a general election," Mr. King declared. "Under this legislation, the Conservative Administration will be able to dig into the treasury and spend what it likes on relief."

All the Opposition could do at present was to fight against these measures and to fight for democratic institutions, and the leader urged the people of South Oxford to give them a hand by electing Mr. Rennie as their member.

Mr. King declared that the home market is not the place, but the purchasing power of the people. The Tillsonburg market isn't the square on which goods are bought and sold but the purchasing power of the people who attend it. In the same way the home market of which Mr. Bennett speaks is the buying ability of the people in it.

Lack Buying Power

"Mr. Bennett can't see that. He keeps talking economic self-sufficiency and as we cut off trade with tariffs our home market withers up," he said.

The Liberal leader turned his attention to the questions raised in the report of Hon. Donald Sutherland, Conservative candidate, who in March 1933 presented to the registrar under the Combines Investigation Act his report on an investigation into an alleged combine among tobacco buyers.

"You would not know yet what was in that report had it not been for the Opposition. Mr. Eccles Gott asked for it a long while ago, but the matter was allowed to stand on the order paper for weeks. I wondered if there were something in it which the government didn't want the people to see and I queried about it in the house. Why should Mr. Gott let his uestion stand if the government hadn't asked him to do so? The minister of labor made a long explanation about possible prosecutions as a result of the report. We kept asking for it.

"Finally on Monday Mr. Bennett said we could have it because they were saying he was a director of the Imperial Tobacco Co. Was it in your interests or to protect Mr. Bennett that the report was brought down?

Ecuses

"I had heard the minister say the report couldn't be brought down for certain reasons so I looked at it when the house received it. It said that the evidence was not sufficient to establish a combine within the meaning of the act. Where are you going to get prosecutions out of that? How are you going to send anybody to jail when the investigator says there is no evidence?" asked Mr. King.

Mr. King noted that the letter of the registrar to the minister when he handed Mr. Sutherland's report on reminded him that if he concluded that there was no necessity for a further inquiry, he should notify those who had sought it. "The report was made in March, 1933. Nothing has been done about it, but those who asked for the investigation have never been notified. If they had they might have gathered further evidence or sought an inquiry through another channel."

Tariff Sweating

Mr. King said that with the tariff at the highest level in Canadian history, sweating of labor has gone on on a scale never known before. It is inevitably so. "Once trade is strangled by tariffs, then you can form monopolies and squeeze the workingman to the lowest level."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20764 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

The marketing bill now before Parliament is bait for the farmers, said Mr. King. He urged them not to be humbugged again. One clause in the bill gives the Governor-in-Council, which in practice means Mr. Bennett, the power to prohibit import or export of any article.

"If that clause remains it means that you are parting entirely with the right of yourself and parliament to control trade," he said.

Dictatorship

In Mr. Bennett Canada has a real dictator, said Mr. King. He has the power to legislate as he pleases under the "Peace, order and good government" measure, and to spend what he will from the public treasury. Under the marketing act he can regulate trade in any manner he sees fit.

"The Liberal policy has always been to develop trade. That is a policy of plenty. But once you begin to restrict trade you have a policy of scarcity," he said, adding that in the wheat pact to restrict production and export of wheat the policy had been carried through to the logical conclusion.

"This government has done all it can to destroy trade and now it seeks to destroy production," he said. Subsidies to various pests would be a cheaper way to regulate production than an army of officials.

Mr. Rennie

Mr. Rennie declared that only the Liberal policy aims at a solution of problems of agriculture, aod until these are solved things canot be much better. His trips up and down the highways during the campaign have shown him as nothing else could, the hopelessness which is blighting the lives of young unemployed transients.

Mr. Hepburn, who introduced Mr. King, wanted to know why Mr. Bennett did not come into the riding instead of entering it from Ottawa vit the radio. Here a heckler interrupted Mr. Hepburn.

"If the gentleman has anything to say let him come to the platform and say it," said Mr. Hepburn. Whereupon Alex Reynolds, Tillsonburg, marched to the platform amid loud shouts of disapproval from the crowd. "I would like to ask Mr. Hepburn why he is not at the Ontario House defending his record," asked Mr. Reynolds.

"Very well. I will tell you. The House should have been dissolved a year ago. It carried on on borrowed time," said Mr. Hepburn as the audience roared approval, and indicated its unwillingness to tolerate further interruptions.

Mr. Hepburn Explains Again

"It was well known when I accepted the leadership of the Ontario party that I would not leave the people of West Elgin until I had finished the term for which they elected me. There is such a thing as loyalty. I have not folowed the line of least resistence. I might have entered the legislature through an acclamation in East Kent. I know that I have a difficult riding in Elgin now but I will stand or fal by the decision of the people in my own country," said Mr. Hepburn.

Mr. Hepburn declared that Canada under the Bennett government, has drifted far from established parliamentary practices. "We have little democracy in this country today. We are nearer to a dictatorship than the people realize. We want a new deal. We want Mackenzie King as premier. We want a new government and we want Liberal prosperity," he said.

William Brown, Tillsonburg, was chairman. Mrs. L. G. Little and Mrs. Jack Climie sang solos. Flowers were presented to the singers by Misses Dorothy Daniels and Margery Stafford.

Among those on the platform were Dougald Graham, George Perry, N. J. Griffith, G. A. P. Brickenden, Dr. A. S. Duncan, Paul Gravelle, Charles Oliver anl Hon. J. C. Elliott, all of London; Colin C. Hawkins, Brownsville; R. A. Baxter, M.L.A., C. E. Brown, Tillsonburg; P. M. Dewan, Woodstock; Jack Jewell, Tillsonburg; Keith M. Somers, Tillsonburg; Eric Cross, Simcoe; Vern Meek, M. G. Dean, Dr. J. M. Rogers, and H. A. Copeland, Ingersoll.

The Tillsonburg Citizens' Band under the leadership of Boyd Sylvester played before the meeting got under way.

Special to The Advertiser
(By Staff Reporter)

Norwich, April 11—"If this constituency goes Liberal on Monday next, I say the Prime Minister cannot afford to carry on the government of this country any longer without going to the people next fall," declared the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, speaking to the Liberal rally in Edison Hall here this afternoon.

Mr. King's speech this afternoon was a short one, lasting scarcely an hour, but in it he raised issues of tremendous importance. He declared that the actions of the Bennett government in transferring power to the cabinet constituted a very serious threat to constitutional and democratic forms of government in Canada and that it is quite conceivable in the event of a European crisis in the near future Mr. Bennett might decide to let his administration carry on indefinitely.

Opening his speech Mr. King said that a public man has no greater privilege than to come into the ridings after a battle for the people's liberties in parliament and get from the people their opinion of his stand.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20765 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Left Unrepresented

"The question now before you is whether you trust a government which does not trust you. If you approve of the fact that you have had no representation in parliament this year, then by all means vote for Mr. Sutherland. Mr. Bennett does not trust South Oxford and has let it go unrepresented", said Mr. King. The Liberal practice had been to bring on by-elections as soon as possible. Mr. Bennett had brought on three recently but left South Oxford out.

"Mr. Bennett knew that his government did not possess the confidence of the people. He hoped to carry one of the three by-elections which were called but he left out the one that will beat him the worst," he said. "Your vote won't put Mr. Bennett out but it will decide definitely if we will have a general election in the fall or if we are to have another year of Bennett rule."

Series of Defeats

Mr. King said that the Liberal party welcomed the South Oxford by-election as another opportunity to show the government that it has lost the people's confidence. Under the British parliamentary system it is an established practice for a government to go to the country when it loses a series of by-elections. The Bennett government could not hope to avoid this appeal if on top of Restigouche-Madawaska, Yamaska, [illegible] and South Huron it loses South Oxford as well.

"All parts of Canada are striking in at this administration and telling it to get out. If on top of all this the people of South Oxford tell Mr. Bennett to get out of the way, it seems to me that he will be obliged to go to the country this fall. A big opportunity is yours," he said.

The political and economic problems facing Canada are the most important in her history, said the Liberal leader. He recalled that in the general election of 1930 he had told the people that the world was facing a great depression and that Liberal policies had been fashioned in this belief. The depression was partly because of the war and partly because of the orgy of speculation, but, said Mr. King, he believed that the Liberal policies had prevented Canada from feeling the full impact of the world depression.

Set Example To World

"The Liberal party brought Canada out of a depression in 1921. It was not a mere accident but the result of certain policies moving toward definite ends. Other nations went in for economic isolation but we resolved to extend our markets. We thought that we at least in the British Empire need not go in for the policy of economic nationalism but rather felt we should set an example to the rest of the world. The Dunning budget was directed to the lowering of tariffs in the British Empire. Our policy was met with Mr. Bennett's 'Canada first' and protectionist interests were told that tariff walls would be put up all over. If things had been left there, there might have been a different story in that election. But Mr. Bennett said he would provide work for all men. There would be no doles. His two great promises were 'Everyone will work and everyone will have markets.' He included the whole people and the people took him at his word."

The Liberal leader asked how many had work today compared with four years ago. How many have the markets they had four years ago? Those are questions for South Oxford to answer.

Mr. King declared an expansion of trade to be the only solution to this unemployment problem. Work cannot be supplied from taxes indefinitely. It must come from the wealth of the soil, forest, mine and sea.

"We must use the wealth which God has given us and until we exchange these things we cant' have things running very well," he said.

Assailed for Peace Work

The League of Nations had been founded to promote the mutual interests of the nations and to prevent war, said Mr. King. Canada was a member of the League and had done her best. Yet in 1930 the Liberal party was assailed by Mr. Bennett because it had had the courage to lower tariffs in an effort to solve economic problems, problems directly related to those of peace and war. "But you ask the Conservative candidate where trade was then and where it is now," urged Mr. King.

The problem facing the world, economic isolation for the different nations or a policy of international co-operation in trade and everything else with a view to ending economic nationalism and to building a greater brotherhood of mankind is well stated in the difference between Liberal and Conservative policies in Canada today, said Mr. King.

Social Revolution Here

Leaving the trade problem Mr. King said that the times demand a change in the social order. Men, women and children demand more social justice, more to be done for the common good and greater opportunity for all. Those things which have shattered forms of government to Europe and brought the 'New Deal' to the United States are touching Canada.

"To day we are in the middle of a social revolution, a world social revolution, and the problem is where it is going to end as far as the people are concerned. Humanity is on the march. Some say we should have a planned economy. But that means a dictatorship, force and power. Others put their faith in principles and say that these have guided men and women for centuries, and that is the Liberal policy. There are principles for work, peace, and progress and the people who fashion their laws in accord with them will enjoy peace," he said.

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D20766

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

Danger of Dictatorship

There is a danger right now of a dictatorship in Canada, Mr. King said, and it is up to the people of South Oxford to say that this country must be controlled by the parliamentary system. In Italy, Germany, Russia, Austria and other places, representative institutions have disappeared. In the United States larger powers than ever have been invested in the executive. But under the British system the executive is responsible to the people's represeniatives and must get his power from them.

"But Mr. Bennett started out four years ago on the theory of an emergency and demanded emergency powers. He called parliament to deal with unemployment and then raised the tariffs," said Mr. King, reviewing the factors which led to the breakdown of the 1930 session of the Imperiol economic conference. "Mr. Bennett's offer to Britain of a preferential tariff really meant a step further along the road of economic nationalism because the tariff was to be raised against all other nations."

British Market Endangered

Mr. King said that in the House of Commons he had stated that the agreements reached at the 1932 conference would endanger the British market for Canadian producers and today the British agriculturist is demanding protection against his Canadian competitors in cattle and dairy products.

"Remember where this policy started and if you approve of it vote for the Bennett candidate," he said.

Even worse than economic nationalism is economic imperialism, continued Mr. King. Every thinking man stands aghast when he thinks of an empire seeking to stand out as a unit against the rest of the world.

"Unless this sort of thing ends, economic war will give way to actual war," he predicted. "Unless some country comes along to set an example the world will face a worse situation than ever."

Parliament Being Shelved

Mr. King declared that the Bennett policy for Canada is to get rid of parliament altogether and to let the executive do what it pleases. He referred to the "Peace, order and good government" clause now before the Commons which gives the government unlimited powers. It can guarantee corporation loans, lend millions to the provinces. "The government, under one clause of that bill, is getting even the authority to prevent a general election. It might be used in the event of a European crisis. That was what was done in Cromwell's day. We cannot afford now to turn over all government to the governor in council," declared Mr. King, asserting that the Liberal party would keep up the battle to guard parliament's rights.

Vast Sums Squandered

Moneys paid out for relief under the "Peace, order and good government" clause had been improperly spent, said Mr. King. Money was wasted on the worst scale in Canada's history. To the provinces had been loaned $52,000,000 and it is doubtful if the Federal treasury will ever see it again. Bank guarantees of more than $100,000,000 have been given, including the $60,000,000 C. P. R. guarantee.

"What is worse is that the provinces are now following Mr. Bennett's example and transferring power to the cabinets from the people's representatives," the speaker continued. The British Columbia premier has taken powers like those that Mr. Bennett has. A bill to this end is under way in Alberta. Already it is in effect in Saskatchewan in respect to some things, while the same is true of Manitoba."

Bennett Set Example

"Do you think these premiers would have thought of it if Mr. Bennett had not set the example?" asked Mr. King.

The Liberal leader noted that the other day Mr. Bennett told the Commons that he needed the powers he asked so he could combat British Columbia. "It is a matter of competitive arming for legislative and executive power. How long would it be in this province until Mr. Henry took those powers if he were re-elected?"

"We have a spirit of warfare abroad, the spirit which has bedevilled European nations. Our dictators say they must have new powers. I say to you that economic war and competitive arming in whatever form it comes sooner or later results in actual war. Let it come to Europe and how long will it be until we feel it? One country needs to stand up for democratic institutions and international good will. It is this larger policy which the Liberal party is working out."

Hall Is Packed

Crowds began gathering around the hall long before the time set for the meeting. Although it was snowing, many stood in the streets and in doorways to listen-in as sound apparatus carried the music and speeches to those outside. Every available inch of space inside was taken, with the balconies packed, and spectators standing in the aisles and even in the wings of the platform.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

D20767

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Mr. King and the other speakers were given a rousing reception, John McKee of Norwich acted as chairman and those on the platform included M. F. Hepburn, Ontario Liberal leader; Hon. J. C. Elliott, M. P., former minister of public works; Reeve John Armour of Norwich; Rev. James Skene, Norwich; R. A. McDougall, Dominion president, and Donald Begg, provincial president of the Twentieth Century Club; P. M. Dean, provincial Liberal candidate for Oxford, and the Liberal candidate in this by-election, A. S. Rennie.

Children's Hero

To the children of the town, Mr. King came as a popular hero. Because of his visit they were given a half holiday from school and many of them were in the audience. The platform was decorated with flowers and in places of honor were flag-draped pictures of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, William Lyon Mackenzie and other Liberal leaders.

Mr. Rennie was the first speaker, opening his address with a sincere tribute to T. M. Cayley, late Liberal member. He blamed the Conservatives for the fact that South Oxford had not had representation for the greater part of the present parliamentary session, declaring that the people of this riding had been ill treated in the government's delaying the election until this time, thus disenfranchising them for most of the session.

Policies Poles Apart

"The policies of Mr. King and Mr. Bennett are as far apart as the poles," the candidate declared. Liberal policies, he said, will bring a return of prosperity to the farmer, while a continuation of Conservative rule meant the addition of restrictions to trade and even worse conditions than those that exist today.

Referring to statements made in the riding by Hon. R. J. Manion, Mr. Rennie declared that the Conservative speaker was wrong when he informed the people that Canada stood fifth in trade in the world. He quoted from a report of Hon. H. H. Stevens, minister of trade and commerce, showing that it had dropped from fifth to ninth place since 1930. Conservative speakers were also misleading in statements that Canada's export trade had greatly increased, Mr. Rennie declared, giving a comparison with other countries which showed that while exports in Australia increased 35 per cent, in Sweden and Switzerland 29.1 per cent, Canada's exports had gone up only 7.6 per cent.

"It is about time the Pension Act is properly administered," the speaker declared, in touching on veterans' legislation. Under the present government the act was being unfairly administered, he said.

Hepburn Predicts Victory

Mr. Hepburn was greeted with cheers and he paid tribute to Mr. Rennie, predicting for him a victory on April 16. The Liberal leader also spoke words of praise for his federal leader, Mr. King, declaring that he was "probably the greatest statesman this country has ever produced."

In not coming into the riding but instead intending to speak over the radio, Mr. Bennett had shown that "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak," Mr. Hepburn declared.

You will either vote to perpetuate Mr. Bennett's government in office or register a protest against its record, the speaker said. Mr. Bennett was doing nothing for the farmer and working man. He did nothing but raise tariffs, granting privilege to the strong and more charity to the weak. With this policy of playing both ends against the middle the whole financial structure of the country was in danger of collapse.

Significant Election

The result of this vote will have a great effect throughout the entire Dominion. It will have an effect on the coming general election in Ontario and if Mr. Rennie is elected, it will provide a ray of hope in these dark days, the Liberal leader concluded.

Mr. Elliott introduced Mr. King in a brief speech and thunderous applause greeted the federal leader. Reeve Armour read an address of welcome and Mr. King received a lovely bouquet and a kiss from little Jean Snell as he rose to speak.

D20768 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The London Morning Advertiser

Date ..... April 16, 1934

Subject ..... At Ingersoll - April 14th.

Overflowing Meetings Of S. Oxford Electors Hear Lapointe and King

Go To Polls Today To Elect Member Of House Of Commons

GOVERNMENT RECORD IS ISSUE, LIBERALS STRESS

All Signs Point To Imminent General Election, Mr. King Declares

Two great Liberal rallies, featured by overflow meetings when the largest halls in the riding failed to accommodate those who wanted to hear the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, and the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, former minister of justice, closed the South Oxford federal by-election campaign on Saturday night. Mr. King spoke at Ingersoll and Mr. Lapointe and Mitchell F. Hepburn, M.P., at Tillsonburg, scene of the main meetings. Another meeting was also held at Norwich.

Today the electors of South Oxford will elect either Alon Secord Rennie, Tillsonburg, Liberal, or the Hon. Donald Sutherland, Conservative, to fill the unexpired term of the late Thomas Cayley, Liberal M.P., who died in May, 1933. When the present parliament is dissolved, either this year or in 1935, South Oxford as a constituency will disappear and be merged with North Oxford.

King's Presence Big Feature

The visits of Mr. King on Wednesday and Saturday were the outstanding features of the campaign. At Norwich and Tillsonburg on Wednesday, many hundreds more than could be accommodated sought to hear the Liberal leader. The same was true Saturday night at Ingersoll. Long before eight o'clock, the hour set for meeting, the town hall and its entrance-ways were crowded. Mr. King was scheduled to speak at nine o'clock, the hour the radio broadcast started, but was delayed a few minutes when he spoke briefly to three overflow meetings in advance of the big one. These meetings were held in the council chamber, the Liberal committee rooms and the market building. Altogether well over a thousand people were in Ingersoll to hear Mr. King. Loud-speakers were installed at the overflow meetings to carry Mr. King's main address to them.

Long a Liberal Riding

The Conservatives had no meetings on Saturday night, their last big gun being fired on Friday at Ingersoll when the Hon. Harry Stevens spoke.

In the 1930 election Mr. Cayley won by 55 votes, the figures being, Cayley, 5,711, Hon. Donald Sutherland, 5,656.

From 1867 until 1911 South Oxford was Liberal. In the reciprocity campaign Mr. Sutherland won it and retained it until 1926, when Mr. Cayley defeated him by 700.

MR. KING'S SPEECH

Special to The Advertiser
(By a Staff Reporter)

Ingersoll, April 14—"From one end of Canada to the other people are saying 'I wish we could have a general election to express our feelings in respect to federal policies at the present time'," declared the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, in his address in the town hall here Saturday night. Bute said Mr. King, it is just this fear of a general election on the part of private Conservative members which has enabled Mr. Bennett to hold his parliamentary majority in line.

"Would Mr. Bennett have been able to hold his followers on the titles question unless he had said to his supporters "Unless I get support there'll be a dissolution'," said Mr. King.

General Election Looms

However, the speaker continued, all signs point to a general election. The central bank, the marketing measure, amendments to the election act all would indicate that Mr. Bennett is preparing for an appeal to the country.

"If South Oxford on Monday speaks loudly there is a chance of the modification of some of these policies in a way better to serve the people, coupled with the chance that the government will give the people a chance at a general election." While in general elections the policies advanced by the parties appealing for favor might make the issue, in a by-election the only issue is the government's record, Mr. King pointed out. It is Mr. Benett's record which the electors of South Oxford will approve or condemn on Monday.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20769 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Sanderson And Taylor Speak

Dr. J. M. Rogers was chairman of the town hall meeting. Fred G. Sanderson, M.P., Ontario Liberal whip, and William Taylor, M.P., for Norfolk-Elgin, spoke before Mr. King.

Miss E. A. Seldon, president of the Ingersoll and District Women's Liberal Association, presented an address of welcome to Mr. King, while little Miss Margaret Copeland, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Harley Copeland, and a niece of Mitchell F. Hepburn, M.P., presented Mr. King with a nicely-bound package of Ingersoll's famous cream cheese.

Mr. Sanderson read to the audience a statement from the Borden Milk Co. which showed that in 1929 the lowest summer price of milk at Ingersoll was $1.74 a cwt. and the highest winter price, $2.17. In 1933 the lowest summer price was 70 cents and the highest winter price 95 cents.

"Now which party has the best policy for the dairy industry in Oxford?" asked Mr. Sanderson.

Mr. King jocularly remarked, opening his speech, that he and Mr. Bennett differed on almost everything but "I am told if we were married we'd probably learn how to make up. I hope Mr. Bennett will be fortunate enough to achieve that end, while I haven't despaired of it myself."

Tobacco Report

Mr. King discussed the failure of the Bennett government to present the report of the Hon. Donald Sutherland on his investigation into tobacco-buying practices to parliament until last week.

"If in the Sutherland report there was ground for believing that there is a combine against the public interest, that is all the more reason the report should have been made public a year ago instead of a week ago. It is not Mr. Sutherland but the government which is on trial in this election. Yet now Mr. Stevens, a minister of the crown, comes into the riding and says he wants Mr. Sutherland returned to help in the fight of the tobacco growers. I tell you it is not one person but the policies of the government which will settle the fate of the tobacco growers. If one wants to be critical one can say that Mr. Stevens' plea was a threat of no battle for the tobacco growers unless Mr. Sutherland is returned. On the other hand it might be a bribe. I am not saying Mr. Stevens intended it as either. He shouldn't have made the statement at all. Under parliamentary institutions it doesn't matter who the man is, whether he be Liberal, Conservative, Farmer or Labor, every man stands for the interests of the constituency from which he is sent."

Dr. Manion's Prediction

Mr. King made reference to the speech of the Hon. Dr. Manion in the constituency in which Dr. Manion said that he had every reason to believe the government would lower interest rates on loans and mortgages. Mr. Bennett was asked in the House concerning this and answered that the predictions of any member of the government were based on his knowledge of what the government intends to do. No direct answer was given.

"Why did Mr. Manion need to bring up the question at all unless he was trying to leave in your mind the impression that he was stating something the government was going to do? Mr. Bennett told the House of Commons a few weeks ago that this couldn't be done. Mr. Bennett will take action at the time he thinks it should be taken, and any predictions his ministers make mean nothing," said Mr. King.

The Liberal leader declared that if parliament exists for any purpose at all, it is that the people's representatives might have control of the public treasury which is filled by taxation. Yet under the blank cheque clause of the relief bill the cabinet is taking this power away from parliament and a supine Tory majority says nothing. The dangers in such a policy have been exposed by the auditor-general's report on irregularities in the spending of funds under the blank cheque clause, said Mr. King.

Disastrous Trade Policies

The economic nationalism which has featured the Bennett trade policies cannot but in the end prove disastrous to Canadian agriculture and the other basic industries, he went on to say. Negotiation of trade treaties with countries outside the empire has been made more difficult by the Imperial Economic Conference trade agreements but today the Canadian farmer faces the loss of his markets in Britain through the demand of British farmers for protection. It is not to be expected, said Mr. King that Great Britain should adopt a protectionist policy in regard to some industries and not in the end apply it to agriculture.

"Where I think the Conservative party is wrong—perhaps I shouldn't use that expression because I don't think the majority of the party agree with Mr. Bennett but rather think he has gone too far in economic nationalism and the raising of tariffs—is in the misconception of the home market as a place and not as a purchasing power. As long as our basic industries produce as they do, it follows that a great share of the purchasing power in the home markets must come from the markets of the world," he said.

Menace Of Dictatorship

Mr. King said that the Liberal policy did not favor free trade but did stand for the keeping of those restrictions necessary to retain the standards of living in this country. But the Bennett policy has gone far beyond this and has, in fact, had an adverse effect on living standards.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20770
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

In conclusion Mr. King pointed out that in many European countries parliamentary institutions have been done away with and dictatorship of individuals or groups substituted. In the steady sapping of parliament's powers in Canada the same trend is apparent. "There is the same trend today to do away with the great guardians of the people's liberties, the House of Commons," he declared.

MR. LAPOINTE'S SPEECH

Special to The Advertiser

Tillsonburg, Ont., April 14—Declaring that the Bennett Government was bound to disappear in the near future and that we must see that it does not destroy Canada in its spasms of agony, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, former Minister of Justice in the King Government, closed an eloquent speech here this evening in the interests of A. S. Rennie, Liberal candidate, on the eve of Monday's election. Duplicating the meeting of the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, scores had to be turned away and this notable son of Quebec was given a great ovation as he was introduced by R. A. Baxter, M.L.A., for South Oxford.

Mr. Lapointe was critical of the Bennett regime but abstained from personalities. He stated he believed the Canadian people have been deceived the last few years and that the mouths of the farmers and laboring men could not be sweetened by simply yelling money.

The Benett Government has intensified the depression by false promises in 1930 and by the policies they have followed the past four years. Confidence is the mainspring of life for any government and the Canadian people in the last few months have shown the present government that they have lost the confidence of the country. All the wild statements and promises of the government made in 1930 are now coming home to roost.

It is not production that is at fault but distribution, and the trade of Canada has been strangled since the Liberals were defeated in 1930. The past four years in parliament has been jazz or whoopee politics played to the tune of blank cheques at the expense of the people and parliament has been treated with contempt by the present administration, the speaker asserted.

"If anyone desires a title he should apply at once as the crop is low and there will not be another crop. It is freely rumored that the prime minister is to receive a peerage and I would suggest that the seven lean cows of the Scriptures be put on the coat of arms," Mr. Lapointe declared amid laughter.

"The people of Canada will judge the Bennett Government on its record and not on its prospectus and the return of the Liberal party will remove the shackles that have been forged for Canadian trade the past few years."

The Liberal candidate, A. S. Rennie, and Mitchell F. Hepburn, M.P., also spoke briefly and urged a large Liberal majority on Monday.

D20771

Dominion Drama Festival

April 27, 1934 - Little Theatre, Ottawa.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20772
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa ~~Journal~~ Citizen

Date ..... April 28, 1934 ..... April 27 - Drama Festival

Subject .....

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King Suggests Building to House National Theater, Opera and Art Gallery.

Would Support Such Move If Made By Govt.

Enthusiastic Applause For This Proposal Advanced At Drama Festival.

That provision be made by the government of the day for the erection of a building to house a national theater, opera and art gallery, was the suggestion of Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who was the guest speaker at the Dominion Drama Festival last evening.

"I suggest that you take advantage of the appearance of the Prime Minister here tomorrow night and impress upon him the desirability of including such a building in the government's program of public works for the relief of unemployment," said Mr. King.

Mr. King, who was introduced by Col. Henry Osborne, said that he wished to express a word of approval to His Excellency for having made the Dominion Drama Festival possible. Great changes were taking place in the social order and social justice and the guarantee of peace would have to be the result of education on the part of those who had it or believed they had it.

Best Use of Leisure.

It was inevitable, he said, with the development of machinery that the hours of labor would become shorter and there must be provision for filling the hours of leisure or unemployment. How better could the hours of leisure be filled than by recreation of the true kind, which would bring out latent talents. Drama furnished a fine medium for bringing out what was best and finest in the community.

"I hope," said Mr. King, "that drama will not only be national but international. Art is the common teacher and heritage of mankind."

Such competition, he thought, would develop a greater understanding between the nations competing. That, however, was for the future. At present the development of national drama was the end to be attained. To assist this and fine arts generally, Canada should have a national theater and national opera.

Mr. King was applauded with enthusiasm.

While he might not agree with Mr. Bennett on matters of national policy, said Mr. King, the Prime Minister, if he did something along those lines, would be assured of the very hearty support and co-operation of the leader of the opposition.

D20773

Toronto Women's Liberal Association

21st Birthday Anniversary

Banquet

May 11, 1934

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20774
From the Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Toronto Star

Date May 12, 1934 (At Toronto - May 11th)

Subject Toronto Women's Liberal Association 21st birthday anniversary.

KING SEES FASCISM POSSIBLE FATE HERE

Bennett Rule Condoned by C.C.F., Threatens Canada's Institutions, He Claims

COMMONS IGNORED

Large Gathering Attends Birthday of Women's Liberal Association

Canada in the throes of a political revolution, with Fascist developments beginning to manifest themselves in many quarters as a direct result of the efforts of the Bennett government, condoned by the C.C.F., was pictured by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in an address last night at the twenty-first birthday celebration of the Toronto Women's Liberal association in the Royal York hotel.

Mr. King expressed fear that unless steps are taken to check this tide of revolution, or at least turn it in the right direction, the people will become so accustomed to delegating powers of government to only a few that a Fascist state will be the ultimate fate of Canada.

C.C.F. Like Communism

Mr. King reviewed the growth of Communism in Russia and Fascism in other European countries. Both of these political movements, he stated, depend on force for their existence. He then turned to movements of a similar nature in Canada, first the C.C.F., which, he said, proposes that the state should take over and manage those natural resources, the development of which to a large extent has been left in the hands of private industry.

"If it has so much in its favor why have we had to wait until 1934 before we get an expression of it?" asked Mr. King. "It would substitute political managers for industrial managers. It must back up its power by force and that is where socialism tends towards Communism.

"There is a tendency in the Conservative party, as it exists under its present leader, toward that form of government which exists in Fascist countries. We are gradually developing a dictatorship in this country. We are getting away from parliamentary institutions and placing power in the hands of one man. The measures that have been introduced under the score of an emergency are still on the statute books, because the public mind is being educated to such a form of government.

"So far as unemployment is concerned, all that has been done in the way of solving the problem is to spend public money. There has been no great, ordered, systematic scheme. Between 1920 and 1930 the amount spent on unemployment did not come to $2,000,000. In the first session of the present parliament, Mr. Bennett asked for $20,000,000 to spend in six months. In the next session he asked for a blank cheque," he said.

"The public mind is becoming accustomed to taking these vast sums out of the public treasury even though there have been no parliamentary appropriations," he said. "The government has taken into its hands the right to legislate under the guise of peace, order and good government. Do you see how close that comes to Fascism?"

Questions Government Loan

He told of the government's guarantee of loans by banks. One, he said, was a guarantee of loans to Newfoundland. Another a loan to the C.P.R. "Why wasn't parliament told that the C.P.R. needed money?" he demanded. "All we ask is that the old parliamentary system of government be preserved. Do you see what is happening? A political revolution is taking place."

At the very beginning of the depression, stated Mr. King, the Liberal party took the stand that the unemployment problem was one that was liable to be present for some time. It proposed, he said, that a national, representative commission be established to deal with the matter, because it believed that no single department of government was capable of it.

Audit Would Be Insult

"Already $110,000,000 has been spent. Not a mention was made in the original act of an audit. Indeed when I suggested it, the prime minister said that it was an insult to the provinces. And what has happened? Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been wasted and payrolls have been padded. Has the money been used to relieve unemployment or has it been used to serve political ends and party purposes?"

"The Liberal party welcomes changes, provided the changes are in the right direction," concluded the Liberal chieftain, "and do not undermine the social and political institutions of the country. It believes in directing these changes through the halls of parliament."

Women for Social Problems

Senator Wilson expressed the opinion there is more scope for women in the provincial fields because it is there they come in closer contact with social problems with which, she said, women are well able to cope."

Mrs. Wilson said she has recently returned from Europe where she found great interest centred around the coming Canadian elections. "It is expected," she said, "that we will show the world what Liberalism really means. The hope of the future certainly lies in an enlightened and educated electorate."

D20775

Complimentary Luncheon

to Mr. Mitchell F. Hepburn by Liberal Members of the House of Commons, at the Chateau Laurier, June 7, 1934.

D20776 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... Toronto Star,

Date ..... June 7, 1934.

Subject ..... Mr. Mitchell F. Hepburn.

KING BACKS HEPBURN PREDICTS LANDSLIDE FOR ONTARIO LIBERALS

Says Henry Government Is Facing Certain and Well Deserved Defeat

SWING TO LIBERALS

Special to The Star

Ottawa, June 7.—Expressing the utmost confidence in Mitchell Hepburn's ability as leader of the Ontario Liberal party to carry the coming provincial election, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at a luncheon tendered Mr. Hepburn by M.P.'s and senators, explained why he was not participating in the present campaign. He felt that a federal leader should not participate in provincial campaigns because of later events when the federal and provincial premiers would be doing public business together.

Mr. Hepburn declared that the difference between himself and Premier Henry was that the latter had been trained under a politician (with due respect to Mr. Ferguson), and he had been trained under one of the greatest statesmen Canada had ever produced, Mr. King.

Senator George P. Graham referred facetiously to Mr. Hepburn as "our young and troublesome leader."

Mr. King was vociferously cheered. He expressed the appreciation of the Liberal senators and M.P.'s of the position Mr. Hepburn had made, not only for himself, but also for the Liberal party. He recalled that Senator Graham was a former leader of the Liberal party in Ontario.

I am anxious to make perfectly clear the reason I am not taking a part in the Ontario elections, he said. "Our opponents are saying it is because I am not supporting Mr. Hepburn. I can say Mr. Hepburn has no more loyal and enthusiastic supporter than myself; no one has a greater admiration for him or has followed his course with increasing admiration."

"Government Will Be Defeated"

Mr. King explained that when he had become leader of the Liberals in the Dominion parliament he felt that a Dominion leader should not participate in provincial elections.

"Personally, I would like to participate in the Ontario election for two reasons," said Mr. King. "I would like to do all in my power to defeat the Henry government; it is deserving of defeat, and will be defeated. Secondly, I would like to do all in my power to see the return of Mr. Hepburn to the premiership of Ontario."

Mr. King complimented Mr. Hepburn on the wisdom and acumen he had shown since taking the leadership of the Liberal party in Ontario. Some people thought it was a crime to be young, but it was the young people of to-day who would have to face the crisis of the present situation.

There had been eight leaders of the Liberal party in Ontario since it went out of office 30 years ago, evidence of the difficulty of finding or retaining men of the right quality. Mr. Hepburn had succeeded in a marvellous way in uniting the forces in Ontario opposed to Toryism, evidence of his capacity for leadership.

These last few years it had been more difficult to find people who would take an interest in political organization and the provision of the necessary funds for organization. Mr. Hepburn had had to take many of these matters in his own hands and it was marvellous what he had done. He had not spared himself in any particular, he had not even allowed a very critical condition in his own health to interfere; and had taken many personal risks. No man in the public life of Canada had given himself more completely to public service.

Wanted Hepburn at Ottawa

Mr. King regretted Mr. Hepburn's withdrawal from the federal field. He had regardcd him as one of his ablest lieutenants and did not want to lose him. When the convention wanted Mr. Hepburn, there had been some conferences between them and Mr. King had wanted Mr. Hepburn to remain with him if the provincial party could find someone else, but the party was insistent on Mr. Hepburn. The young men and women were particularly keen on getting him and it was a great tribute that he had been able to arouse the young people to such enthusiastic interest in public affairs.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20777
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Under Mr. Hepburn's leadership, Liberalism in Ontario would return to the place it held under Blake, Mowat, Hardy and Ross, said Mr. King. He referred to the "gerrymander" of the Ontario constituencies as a serious handicap placed on the Liberal candidates.

"All of us of the federal Liberal party, both in the Senate and in the Commons, have the utmost admiration and appreciation of the services Mr. Hepburn has rendered and have entire confidence in his ability to lead the party to victory and carry on government successfully," he said.

Hepburn Confident

No one had regretted his leaving the federal field more than himself, said Mr. Hepburn. He had greatly appreciated being trained in Mr. King's school of political thought. During Mr. King's regime, Canada had seen taxation decreased, the debt reduced and the standard of living raised. In Ontario, under Premier Henry, the debt had been increased, taxation increased and the standard of living lowered.

He had not personally desired the Ontario leadership, but had accepted and would make the best fight he could for the reform forces in Ontario. He believed the Liberals were sweeping on to certain victory. Liberal speakers were getting a great reception all over the country, while the radio broadcasts of Conservative meetings sounded like broadcasts of a wrestling match.

The government at Ottawa had taken extreme powers to itself and the same thing had happened in Ontario. The Liberals intended to give back to the people of Ontario the government of the province. The Conservative administration had built up a machine that would take care of the needs of a whole nation. A Liberal victory in Ontario would mean a contribution also to a Liberal victory in the coming Dominion election.

"We are going to win in Ontario," said Mr. Hepburn. "The last resort of the Tory party seems to be to divide the forces in opposition to them. The people are not taking seriously the third party in Ontario and are determined to register their resentment against reactionary Toryism. After June 19, the flag of Liberalism will be flying over Queen's Park.

"I am sincere in my desire to improve the economic lot of the people of Ontario," said Mr. Hepburn, referring to privation in the midst of plenty, which now existed, he said.

"Toryism is on its way out," he declared. "The Liberal victories in Nova Scotia, British Columbia and the five by-elections indicate that. It is fighting with its back to the wall in Ontario. I have been subjected to a campaign of vilification, ridicule and slander but I can stand it. It is the last resort of the losing side."

Scores Henry's "Straight Furrow"

Mr. Hepburn "cleaned out" his desk at the parliament buildings here to-day and prepared to burn his bridges behind him, his resignation as a member of the federal House being now in the hands of Mr. King.

Speaking at Morrisburg and Carleton Place to capacity audiences yesterday, Mr. Hepburn reiterated his pledge to reduce provincial administration expenses by 50 per cent., by cutting the "high salaried executives of the numerous boards and commissions who are doing the work of our well-paid cabinet ministers."

He attacked the "Straight Furrow", Conservative propaganda organ which is being mailed to Ontario electors, and declared business concerns which were receiving favorable tariff consideration by the federal government were being "coerced" into purchasing advertising in the newspaper.

Referring to Premier Henry, he said: "Honest George talks of plowing a straight furrow. Let me tell you how straight that furrow would be if he made the necessary detours. He would have to detour around the increased provincial debt; the $50,000 payment to John Aird, Jr., of Toronto; the resignation of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen as Hydro commissioner; the payment of $40,000 to financial advisers for their services regarding the recent loans. That furrow would look like a corkscrew until it reached your pocket-book—then it would go right up the centre."

Again he challenged Premier Bennett to "come out and endorse Premier Henry—to tell Ontario a vote for Henry is a vote for Bennett." He charged Conservative tariff policies had cut Canada's trade by more than half, and stated there was a direct link between the Dominion and provincial Conservative policies.

Premier Henry, he said, had shown "colossal stupidity" or "collusion with the money-lenders" in paying three Toronto financiers $40,000 for advice concerning the recent provincial $40,000,000 loan.

Hon. William Finlayson, minister of lands and forests, had referred to him as a "Bolshevik and a red," said Mr. Hepburn. "But let me tell you a few things about Mr. Finlayson. In addition to his luxurious limousine, upkeep of which cost us $4,400 last year, he has a mahogany yacht on a northern lake. He claims the vessel is for fire-ranging work, but no fire-ranger ever dared set his hobnailed shoes on the deck of that craft. Then a few weeks ago, he used an Ontario forestry air service aeroplane to fly to a political convention at Barrie.

"He has us on the ground, on the water and in the air. For don't forget you are the people who pay the shot."

D 20778

University of Toronto

Alumni Association

Annual Dinner

June 8, 1934

D 20779 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The Toronto Globe .....

Date ..... June 9, 1934 ..... At Toronto - June 8th University of Toronto Alumni Ass'n Annual Dinner.

Subject .....

STUDENTS ADVISED BY MACKENZIE KING

Graduating Class Urged to Seek Fruit of Their Ideals

"Out of the associations of the university and the ideals you will take with you today will come the opportunities that open up along your paths," Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King told the graduating class of University College at the annual dinner of the Alumni Association of that school in Hart House last night.

Relating some of his early associations with the Chancellor, Sir William Mulock, who proposed the toast to Mr. King as the guest-speaker, the former Prime Minister asserted that it was to these and similar associations born within University College that he owed the course of his career. Sir William, in his toast,, made reference to his early associations with Mr. King, and related how, while forming the new Department of Labor, he had selected him to fill a post with that department at $1,500 a year. Mr. King was at the time at Harvard University receiving a much larger salary.

Mr. King read to the large assembly, which overflowed the Great Hall, excerpts of a speech delivered by his father, then a member of the University Senate, to a body of graduating students prior to Confederation. That speech, which charged the students with the duty of working out the problems of "a coming Dominion," the problems of Empire and of the world, was just as applicable to the present time.

It was a natural conflict with men that each should long for the other's task and means of expression, Mr. King declared, but to both was assigned the duty of seeking truth and spreading truth and knowledge for the betterment of mankind.

At the beginning of the evening, Dr. A. T. DeLury, retiring Dean of the Faculty of Arts, as toastmaster, proposed a silent toast to Colonel W. C. Michell, former President of the Alumni Association. The toast to the University was proposed by F. C. Carter, succeeding President, and responded to by President H. J. Cody, who paid tribute to Dr. DeLury, retiring this year. Seated at the head table with the various speakers was Senator Arthur Meighen, a classmate of Mr. King.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20780 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Journal .....

Date ..... August 8, 1934 ..... At Ottawa - August 7, 1934
Florists and Gardeners Convention.

Subject .....

7.

Flowers Fulfill Human Necessity

MacKenzie King Addresses Canadian Florists—Mayor Voices Welcome.

Flowers were a necessity in the lives of people in order to offset so much that was sordid and unpleasant in life, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King told the members of the Canadian Florists and Gardeners' Association at the official opening of their convention last night, at the Chateau Laurier.

Mr. King, in a few informal remarks of welcome to the approximately 300 delegates in attendance, referred to the work of beautification that had been carried on in Ottawa in past years, stating that it was the desire of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to make Ottawa "the Washington of the North" and that this idea had been fostered by successive governments.

Incidentally Mr. King referred to his own efforts to grow flowers, with varying degrees of success. He paid tribute to the contributions which the Canadian Florists and Gardeners' Association were making to the advancement of the community in their respective fields. Mr. King's speech was given an ovation.

Mayor P. J. Nolan, in his usual witty manner officially extended the freedom of the city to the delegates and handed them the key to the city of Ottawa. He hoped their convention would result in renewed inspiration for those attending and that their sojourn in the Capital would be one of pleasing memories.

When the convention opened invocation exercises were conducted by Canon Robert Jefferson of St. Matthew's Anglican church. Charles Craig, well known Ottawa horticulturist, and chairman of the Ottawa committee was in the chair. The reply to the address of welcome was delivered by J. C. Armour who introduced the president, P. E. Angle of Richmond Hill, Ont.

There was a private meeting of the directors at 9.30. During the opening ceremonies, vocal numbers were contributed in excellent voice by Miss Evelyn Cuthbert.

D20781

Ontario By-Election Speeches
(September 24, 1934)

Sept.	14	Kenora	Kenora-Rainy River.	8
"	17	Enterprise	Frontenac-Addington.	9
"	18	Markham	North York.	10
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20782 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Sept. 15, 1934 Kenora Meeting - Sept. 14

Subject

BENNETT NO LONGER HAS RIGHT TO RULE, SAYS MACKENZIE KING

Government Has Lost Confidence of People, Liberal Chief Says In Address At Kenora

Speaks in Interest of McKinnon, Liberal-Labor Candidate in Forthcoming By-Election

(Special Despatch to the Free Press by Staff Correspondent.)

By T. H. HART

Kenora, Ont., Sept. 15. — Eight hundred electors enthusiastically cheered Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Friday night when at a meeting held in the interest of Hugh B. McKinnon, Liberal-Labor candidate in Kenora, he demanded that parliament be dissolved and an immediate appeal be made to the country.

"The Bennett government has lost the confidence of the people; it has lost confidence in itself, and it has lost the confidence of the nations of the world," the Liberal leader declared.

The elections this year in Saskatchewan and Ontario and the earlier appeals in British Columbia and Nova Scotia showed beyond doubt, Mr. King told his audience, that the Bennett government long ago had lost the people's confidence, and no longer had the moral right to govern, even though legally it might cling to office for another session.

Only a government fresh from the people could successfully solve the great social questions now facing the country, the Liberal leader stated. He asked Mr. Bennett to formulate his policy, he would do likewise, he said, and then let the people decide.

Mr. King stated that Hon. H. H. Stevens should have resigned from the cabinet after he had been disciplined by the prime minister over the publication of the famous pamphlet.

Mr. Stevens, the Liberal leader declared, apparently thought Mr. Bennett was "through" as a leader, and he suggested that Mr. Stevens was looking to take the prime minister's place as a champion of the common people.

The meeting was one of the best held here for several years. On the platform flanking the Liberal leader was about 30 stalwarts of the Liberal and Labor parties. Donald Campbell, president of the Federal Liberal association, was chairman.

The first speaker was Mrs. James Ronan, who asked the voters to turn out in overwhelming force Sept. 24 in support of the Liberal-Labor candidates. There were more than a million people on direct relief, she said. Unemployment was not decreasing to any extent, and since 1930, when the Bennett government went into power, more than 39 new millionaires had sprung up as the result of the Tory policies.

Hugh McKinnon, the Liberal standard-bearer, also spoke briefly. He pointed out that Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King had started the department of labor and was its first minister. Mr. King's sympathies had always been with the laboring man, he said, and one of the last things he had done before laying down the reins of government, was the passage of the old age pensions act, which had proved a boon to many worthy citizens in their later years.

Speaking of the railway situation, Mr. McKinnon said he was absolutely opposed to the amalgamation of the C.P.R. and the C.N.R.

Under the Liberal regime there had nearly always been good times in Canada, and he felt sure, he said, that only under Liberal policies could the country be brought back to more happier times.

The eyes of Canada, he declared, were on the Kenora-Rainy River constituency today, and there would be a nation-wide interest in the result of the voting on Sept. 24.

King's Address

The Liberal leader spoke next, at the outset expressing his pleasure at being present at such a magnificent gathering and to speak to his fellow countrymen on some of the more important matters now confronting the country. Times were serious, he said, and it was the duty of every citizen to give serious thought to matters affecting the welfare of Canada.

He paid tribute to Hon. Peter Heenan, former member, and said he was particularly pleased to see la-

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Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

bor and the Liiberal party linking up together.

The election of Hugh B. McKinnon was only a minor issue on Sept. 24. There was the larger issue to be decided and the larger question the elector would have to decide was whether the people were satisfied with the government of Canada since 1930. He expressed regret that any opposition to the election of the Liberal-Labor candidate had cropped up. He thought there should have been an acclamation. He instanced the action of the Liberal party in British Columbia when, after Hon. H. H. Stevens had been defeated, the Liberals had allowed the return of Mr. Stevens by acclamation. This was also true, Mr. King said, in the case of Hon. E. N. Rhodes, who was allowed to enter the Bennett cabinet without opposition.

It was unfair, he said, to oppose the Liberal candidate at this time. The seat was a Liberal seat, and it would only be courteous, he admitted, to allow Mr. McKinnon to fill out the last year of parliament without opposition.

Mr. King then switched to the Stevens pamphlet.

"Who are you supporting in this case," he asked, "Mr. Stevens or Mr. Bennett? One of them published the pamphlet; the other suppressed it.

"Are you going to support a ministry that is so widely divided on such a great public question? If Mr. Stevens finds himself out of tune with the views of the prime minister, he should resign." Mr. King declared. "That would be the right course to follow under British parliamentary practice," the Liberal leader declared.

Declaring that parliament under the British parliamentary system existed only for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the people, he asked the question, "Does the parliament of the past four years express the will of the people? If it does, then it deserves your support. If it does not, then it should retire."

Says Verdict Shown

The people, he said, had expressed their opinion of the present government in many by-elections, and had clearly showed that the Bennett government no longer possessed the confidence of the country.

The government, while it had a legal right to continue for the five-year period, yet morally had no right to govern, and he expressed the hope that the electors in the Kenora riding would plainly tell the government it should step out of office because it no longer governed by the will of the people.

Mr. Bennett, he said, had miserably failed to carry out his promises. He had neither cured unemployment, nor had he increased the trade of the country, although he made both the promises.

Mr. Bennett, he said, had been given power never before extended to a prime minister of Canada, and so had every opportunity to show what he was able to do. He has had five sessions of parliament, he has been given all the money he asked for, but he has failed to succeed because his policies are wrong.

New, far-reaching issues have come up since the last election, Mr. King declared, in urging that there should be an immediate general election. The empire trade agreement and the central bank as at present constituted ,were given as examples of matters on which the people should be consulted without further delay.

The Bennett government has lost the confidence of the country. It had lost the confidence of itself, or it would be willing to immediately appeal to the people and it had lost the confidence of the other countries of the world, Mr. King declared.

"How can Mr. Bennett expect to have the support of the provinces at the forthcoming conference when they knew that he long ago lost the confidence of the country."

Mr. King told of the local elections in British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan and Ontario, and said if Mr. Bennett hung on longer to the "spoils and fruits of office" his party would be swept not only from power, but it would be annihilated.

"Only a government fresh from the people can properly deal with the great social questions now awaiting solution," Mr. King declared.

Ready To State Policy

"Let Mr. Bennett state his policy on the great questions now confronting the people; I will state mine, and then let us go to the people, and let the people decide."

Mr. King here dealt briefly with a resolution passed by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce at Winnipeg, favoring reciprocal trade between Canada and the United States. "Why didn't the Chamber of Commerce pass this resolution four years ago?" he asked. "Simply because Mr. Bennett's policy then did not lie in that direction."

The great commercial organizations would not place orders, he said, because of the uncertainty of the Bennett policies.

"During the last four years we should have been acting as missionaries seeking trade in all parts of the world instead of building up that system of economic nationalism which has been the ruin of the country," the Liberal leader declared.

"I am willing to trade with any nation of the world that will deal fairly with Canada, but judging by recent reports in the press, there will be no attempt by the president of the United States to make a trade treaty with Canada, until there is a change of government in Canada."

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Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

No country would conduct trade negotiations with the present government, the Liberal leader declared. They had lost confidence in Mr. Bennett. The Liberal party's position was never in doubt. "We are prepared now and always have been to trade with any country which will trade fairly with Canada. That has always been our position, and we still maintain it. Retention of power by a government after it has lost the confidence of the people leads to all kinds of abuses, Mr. King said, and even worse—"it sometimes leads to 'intrigues.'" As an example of this latter evil he again referred to the Stevens pamphlet. Had Mr. Stevens spoken to Mr. Bennett or any of his colleagues about this pamphlet, he asked? Had he done it in an open way?

"I think the people of Canada will believe that Mr. Stevens thought Mr. Bennett was done as a leader, and saw as a leader, the man of the phmphlet, whom he regards as the champion and friend of the common people. Had I been in the place of Mr. Stevens and the prime minster suppressed a pamphlet to which I had put my name, I would have resigned, and gone through with my plans regardless of consequences," the Liberal leader declared. "I would not have given the people the opportunity to think I was insincere or a hypocrite."

Dealing with the conditions now facing the world, Mr. King declared that the time had come for some country to take the lead in spreading goodwill among the nations, only by goodwill and a friendly spirit, he said, could the world be saved from a general conflagration.

"The policy of economic nationalism is making for international hatreds which, if not speedily halted, will greatly increase our difficulties and bring fresh disasters to the entire globe."

He urged all classes to unite to bring about better conditions.

"All my life," he said, "I have interested myself in labor matters, and the cause of the masses has always been near to my heart."

"It was the Liberal party that established a department of labor in the federal government," he informed his audience. He stated further that he had personally been largely instrumental in drafting the combines act and the industrial disputes act, which had been of inestimable benefit to the workers and the people of Canada. As an example of his special interest in the cause of the railway men he told of his successful efforts after many years labor of seeing that the old Grand Trunk employees had their seniority rights and pensions restored.

The Liberal party, he declared, had always been the friend of the masses, and had always been foremost in instituting great social reforms.

"The Liberal party stands committed to a nation-wide unemployment insurance scheme," he said, and he also favored insurance that will cover sickness and accident.

"The great masses of the people," he declared, "must not longer be allowed to carry the burden of loss of unemployment, sickness and accidents. No longer should they have to worry and be oppressed by fears of what will happen to themselves or their families, if through no fault of their own, they are taken down with accident or disease."

"The state will have to step in and remove these risks and fears and bring about a lessening of these heavy burdens, that mean so much in the life of the average man."

The electors of Kenora-Rainy River on Monday, he said, would have an opportunity not only to elect a member, but could show by their votes that they still valued British freedom and British constitutional practices as opposed to dictatorship, and in that way give encouragement to Liberal-minded people all over the world, who are seeking a way out of the "slough of despond."

Hundreds of people accompanied the Liberal leader to the C.P.R. station after the meeting. He left for the east at 9.30 p.m.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20785 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Toronto Star

Date ..... September 18, 1934 ..... At Enterprise - Sept. 17th Frontenac-Addington By-election.

Subject .....

POLICIES STEVENS AIDS CAUSE EVILS HE SCORES LIBERAL CHIEF CHARGES

People Servants, Not Masters, of Present Government, Says King

SCORES NEW LAWS

Government May Ban All Foreign Trade Under Market Act, He Contends

Special to The Star

Enterprise, Sept. 18.—Coming by car and even by democrat from 80 miles around, 3,000 people, 2,500 of whom stood in the cold night air outside the village community hall in this traditional centre of Conservatism, listened to Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King last night warn that continuation of Bennett government policies threatened democracy and parliamentary institution in Canada. He was speaking in support of Colin Campbell, Liberal candidate in the Frontenac-Addington by-election.

Mr. King, who had to climb in a rear window—so large was his audience—charged that the Stevens' commission on price spreads and mass-buying was necessitated by the very policies supported by the minister of trade and commerce.

"With wages and prices lowered as a result of the Bennett government's actions, you have had these conditions of sweating," he declared before the audience, composed mainly of farmers with their wives and children, who packed the hall so tight it seemed to bulge, listening intently and cheering his earnest appeal for the principles of Liberalism."

"The Stevens' commission proved two things" stated Mr. King. "First that high tariffs don't mean high wages; and second that high tariffs don't mean high prices to farmers."

The former prime minister castigated Mr. Bennett for attempting to remain in power for the whole five-year term of office, pointing out it was contrary to traditional practice and said the present government had no right to remain in power if the five Ontario by-elections went Liberal. He added this was further manifestation of the Bennett government's dictatorial tendencies.

"I wish to say something about Dr. Manion's speech in this riding on September 15, when he used the expression that it would make no difference to the life of the present government if all these by-elections went Liberal," added Mr. King.

Since Dr. Manion was speaking as a minister of the crown the Liberal leader held the minister of railways was speaking for the government.

"You're the servants, not the masters of the government in office at the present time," he stated.

"That's what it means. They are saying in effect: 'We don't care what the will of the people is'."

A serious issue was raised by Dr. Manion's stand, insisted Mr. King.

Making his second appearance in this federal by-election campaign in Ontario, Mr. King showed he had lost none of his vigor by having to climb up a ten-foot ladder and crawl through a window three feet square, with the crowd outside cheering him on, to receive a tremendous ovation in the hall.

Not since the days of Oliver Mowat has Liberalism seen such an enthusiastic and demonstrative gathering in this Conservative stronghold, which has sent so many Conservatives to Ottawa, said observers.

Stand in Cold Till 12.30 A.M.

Loud speakers had been installed for the overflow listeners, who stood in the cold till half an hour after midnight to have their patience rewarded by Mr. King appearing at that hour, just after he had finished his address, to say a few words to them too.

His speech lasted for more than an hour and a half and was frequently punctuated with cheers, which re-echoed to the platform from the assemblage out in the dark.

On the platform were Premier J. G. Gardiner of Saskatchewan, Anson Aylesworth, chairman, brother of Sir Allen Aylesworth; Miss E. L. Mowat, niece of Sir Oliver; Joseph Haycock, 92-year-old former leader of the Patrons of Industry; William Fraser, M.P., Northumberland, and the candidate, Colin Campbell, all of whom were praised by Mr. King.

Mr. King looked to be in the best of health and is said to have lost 40 pounds in weight through dieting. He was very fresh after his speech.

He had a few carefully typewritten notes with him on the platform, but did not refer to them when speaking in his usual facile manner.

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Subject .....

He began slowly, but soon warmed to his subject and when he came to his peroration his appeal to Canadians to show the way brought him applause that lasted for several minutes despite the late hour.

Before he spoke he watched his audience and when reference was made by one of the speakers to his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, which brought forth cheers, he scanned his hearers with a careful look.

When another of the speakers said the only payment of public life was the worth-while friendships one made Mr. King nodded his head.

In his speech Mr. King said he wished to emphasize what the Bennett government had done with regard to labor, fiscal and monetary policies.

In this regard and in the light of the recent growth of dictatorships in Europe Mr. King referred to certain aspects of the Bennett marketing bill and the new central bank.

Can Stop All Foreign Trade

"Under that marketing bill the government may have the right to stop all imports and exports," he pointed out. "There's the law.

"Mr. Bennett and his cabinet have this power and the power to limit production; to require licenses before you go into your ordinary business."

Mr. King warned about the Bennett government's statement it wouldn't use this power, but he pointed out it used $60,000,000 of the money set aside to deal with unemployment.

"They took a step they had no right to whatever when they signed an agreement on the tariff and fixed it for five years," he charged.

"Take the Banking Act," he went on. "As Liberals we advocated government control in monetary affairs. "How much control have they left to the people?" he demanded.

More Powerful Than Nation

"It not only takes away all control but actually creates an institution that will be more powerful than the nation itself."

He pointed out that the Conservative government had given the central bank the gold reserves and the power to issue money when its administration remained in private hands.

"The stockholders will appoint the directors; the Canadian government doesn't appoint a single director.

"The government has appointed the president of the board for seven years, but he can't be changed by any other government except by the consent of Senate and parliament," Mr. King explained.

Mr. King said parliament was told the ownership of the bank was open to discussion, but found otherwise in committee.

"Mr. Bennett informed us then that monetary policy ought to be continuous and uniform, from the point of view of the great financial institutions."

Mr. King said he asked Mr. Bennett why the people of Canada should not have some control of social credit.

Could Frustrate Policies

"If the Liberals wanted to trade with the rest of the world the central bank could by manipulation of exchange make it impossible for our trade policies to function," he stated.

"I cannot recall any greater thrill than when I saw the huge overflow crowd about the hall on a night none too warm," said Mr. King, at the start of his address.

"It shows that in these difficult, strenuous times, the people have come to realize that government belongs to the people. I feel in my heart that the people of Canada at last have said: 'We are going to settle the questions of the country ourselves, and are determined under the right of self-government to assert ourselves and see that our demands are carried out.'

"That is the important point—whether the people have the right to govern themselves or whether they will remain under the will of a small group of people who are holding on to office for the fruits they can get from office, after having been elected by lavish promises, not one of which has been carried out.

Would Restore Prosperity

" feel a great sense of satisfaction with Liberal policies. Under Laurier we had 15 years of golden prosperity, and when I took a hand, nine of the 15 years I have been leader have been in power. In 1921 times were much as they are now, but when the Liberals were put into power, they lowered tariffs, increased trade, and the country once more became prosperous. If we had the opportunity now our policies would have the same effect and would bring in a new era of prosperity.

"I must express regret for the occasion for this by-election. The late member, Dr. Spankie, was well known and respected by me. He was on the other side, but he was broader than party politics.

"This by-election reminds us that these are exceptional times. At no period except during the Great War has the world been faced with a more serious situation.

"Europe is in unrest. The United States has problems that are unprecedented since the civil war and Canada, too, has been seriously affected. Be the cause what it may, the present is a critical time and therefore men and women should have the widest possible opportunity to express their wishes regarding the government in power.

"There are two ways of doing this. One is a general election and the other is a by-election. We have five by-elections now and I maintain that the vote cast will be fairly representative of the feeling of the whole of Canada, and no government can ignore the voices in this province on Monday next.

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People Have Shown Dissent

"Without knowing the results I say this: If five Conservatives are returned Mr. Bennett is entitled to stay in office as long as the constitution permits with a new mandate, but if the ridings go Liberal Mr. Bennett has not the right to remain the leader of the country for one hour beyond that time.

"This is not the only occasion on which the people have expressed themselves. After the Ottawa agreements were signed and tariffs raised the first by-election contested gave the Liberal candidate a majority of nearly 2,000 in Huron. A Liberal candidate in Quebec increased his majority by 80 per cent. and in New Brunswick a majority of nearly 6,000 was rolled up for the Liberals. In Oxford another small Liberal majority was turned into one of 1,600. That is the voice of the people of Canada.

"There were also the provincial elections and, while the issues were partly provincial, federal issues were largely to the fore and were fought on Bennett policies, because trade is necessary to keep the wheels of industry turning and to supply purchasing power and prosperity. The federal government's policy has been to strangle trade and that is why federal issues have been prominent in provincial elections."

"You are not being asked to decide whether you want a Liberal, Conservative or C.C.F. government in power for the next year. It is a question of whether you people are to be given the right to say what government and what policies you want, whether you can express yourselves anew.

Cites Provincial Elections

"What happened in Quebec?" asked Mr. King. "Mr. Taschereau's government came back stronger than before.

"What happened in Manitoba? Mr. Bennett had begun to interfere with the finances of that province, so that people began to discuss federal issues again, and Mr. Bracken came back stronger than before."

He said trade policies brought Liberal governments back in Nova Scotia and in British columbia. His mention of the fact that not a Conservative was returned in British Columbia brought cheers. He said the same result came about in Saskatchewan because its election, like the others, was fought on federal issues. Then he came to Ontario.

"Was it not true that the Henry government had hung on to office longer than they should have and had not their Tory associations carried the odium of the government in Ottawa with it?" he asked.

He said the people were sound in their judgment in electing Liberal governments, because the people of the provinces realized that trade policies affected them.

"Canada is the only country in the world that hasn't had a general election since 1930," pointed out the Liberal leader. "All the different parts of the British empire and the United States have had elections."

He said there has been no elections in China, Venezuela, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Russia. They hadn't had elections because of special policies.

"We are in that category, ladies and gentlemen," he declared.

Mr. King said in face of the Liberal trend in Canada if in those five by-elections the Conservatives lost, it was up to Mr. Bennett to give the people a chance to choose the government they wished.

Departs From Old Policies

"I can understand a Conservative saying that he will support a Conservative government if it were a little different, if it came into line with a little Canadian feeling. The Conservative might feel that the time had come where he should 'check up' on his party when it gets far from where it should be in national affairs. I would ask this Conservative to think of Macdonald, Borden and Meighen, and consider whether any of them ever thought of raising a tariff from 10 or 15 per cent. to 100, 300 or 400 per cent.—yet the present government has done that. There is no limit to what it has done to try to keep out trade.

"The old Conservatives did not believe in too-high tariffs, such as might create monopolies. You have a chance now to rebuke the government, and if they plan to sit for another session, it may make them modify their policies in the last year. I don't know what will happen if we have another year with this government.

"Frontenac-Addington riding, a Conservative stronghold, might bring the government to its senses if it voted Liberal.

"The will of the people alone controls the length of time a government is in power. The five-year limit is to prevent governments staying in power for longer than that time. If not, the Bennett government might stay in until they all went to the other side. The average life of governments has been four years. Previous prime ministers have dissolved parliament and given the people a chance to express their views. If Mr. Bennett is so sure of the people's confidence, why doesn't he go before them now and ask for their endorsation?"

"Mr. Bennett has held five special sessions of parliament, more than ever before."

The only previous government that remained in power the full length of time (except the war period), he said, was that in office when Sir John A. Macdonald passed away.

"Those were the days when knighthood was in flower and this government didn't see power again for 15 years," he added.

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Mr. King predicted if Mr. Bennett did not heed the temper of the people he and his associates would never see power again in their lifetime. (Cheers).

Failed in Promises

Mr. King pointed out Mr. Bennett had failed in his election promises.

"Were there not broadly two issues?" he recalled. "One related to the working men in the towns, in relation to which Mr. Bennett said:

'I'll see that you get work by raising tariffs.'

"The other appeal was to the farmer, to whom he said he would get them markets by 'blasting' a way into them," said Mr. King with a laugh.

"There were 116,000 unemployed when Mr. Bennett came into power, and now," he added, "500,000 are unemployed, with 1,000,000 on relief, according to Mr. Bennett's own figures.

"Has he found you markets in other parts of the world?" he asked, referring to Mr. Bennett's second promise.

Mr. King pointed out that Mr. Bennett had a free hand to deal with this situation, "even to the point of violating the spirit of the constitution to do it."

"Mr. Bennett asked for a blank cheque—asked for the right to take out of the public treasury all the money he needed. He spent over $11,000,000 on unemployment insurance, and other amounts which bring the total he has spent to date to $270,000,000.

"The truth is that Mr. Bennett has the wrong idea about the basis of trade and prosperity. He believes in a home market, and believes the way to get it is to put a wall around the country to keep other countries' goods out. He believes that with high tariffs, Canadians will have to buy at home, but where will they get the money?

"The spending of huge sums will never save the situation.

Money Must Flow In

"Let us apply this high tariff principle in this particular community," explained the former prime minister.

"Our friends in office regard the home market—Canada—as place or locality. That, in my conception, is strictly wrong. My idea of the home market is a quantity of purchasing power—an effective demand."

Mr. King said a market without exchange was merely a market-place, adding "this was the effect of Mr. Bennett's policy."

"If this happened here, how much money would circulate in this town of Enterprise?" he asked. "What is true of this community is equally true of the nation, and bound to injure a country of great national wealth.

"The only way we can hope to prosper is to have our national products sold in other markets," he declared. "When money flowed into the people's pockets, you had a real home market." (Cheers.)

"In explaining its high tariff policy the government claims that other governments are doing the same. It admits it is wrong, but says it has to do it.

"Have they tried to go to other countries to see whether Canada could exchange her products and commodities with those of the other countries to mutual advantage? Have they tried the effect of lower tariffs on trade with England, France and other countries?

Big Profits for Few

"Look at the Bennett government's record. At its first special session up went the tariffs against British goods. They told Britain that she would have to put up her tariffs too, if she wanted to trade with Canada. Later Mr. Baldwin came to Canada and in the course of discussion said he hoped that Canada would reduce tariffs, but the reply was that Canada was going to increase her tariffs. The result is that a few industrialists have been able to make mergers and large profits while the vast majority of the people have suffered."

When Mr. King threatened to stop his speech, looking at his watch, which showed five minutes to midnight, the crowd shouted as one voice: "Go on." "There is a great battle going on in the world between democracy and dictatorship," continued the Liberal leader. "The only way in which democracy can function is through the vote of the will of the people. That we have had until the last few years but opposed to this will of the people you have this other side—when a group of men, if they have gained power, will exercise it as long as they can."

This was evidenced by recent history in Europe, stated the speaker, where the oppressed have risen in revolt and overthrown oppresso·

"In Russia they have had a revolt and a new Soviet system has been established," he said. "It was run by men of a particular class who lay down rules as to how men and women should live and act. It is power of force and might."

The same was true of Italy, he added, where the leader got followers and held power to-day as an expression of his own will, not that of the people. It was a counter-revolution arising out of fear of the Russian revolution.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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"They looked to a strong leader and got a dictatorship," he summed up.

Similarly in Germany there was a counter-revolution.

"We saw its effects the other day when 60 men were shot down in cold blood," he commented.

With regard to religion — "which many of us regard as the most sacred thing in life," he said, it had been swept away with dictatorship.

Only Guard Against Dictator

The people holding to their parliamentary institutions provided the only bulwark against dictatorship, he thought.

Mr. King warned what the Bennett government would do in the direction of concentrating power in its hands if given one more year in office, "and that a desperate year."

"Show Mr. Bennett the real government of the country isn't Mr. Bennett, but the people of Canada, when you vote on Monday next," he exhorted his hearers, adding that Colin Campbell was a native of the country, a farmer and engineer, and one who would do great credit to the stock from which he came. "None the worse, for being of Scotch Presbyterian stock, like myself," he added. Mr. King said the candidate's youth was a great asset in times like these, which so much concerned the youth of the day.

He told his hearers a Liberal vote would protect against economic nationalism, with its attendant threat of war in this new land.

This would be a Liberal outlook in the true sense of the word "that looks beyond itself," he added.

A Liberal victory here would send up a great rejoicing throughout the world, showing that Canada was taking a lead for the salvation of humanity, he concluded.

Gardiner Scores Nationalism

"Whenever you have narrow nationalism in the world you have a desire to trade less and less with one another, and you have hard times," declared Premier Gardiner of Saskatchewan.

"And there goes hand in hand with narrow nationalism those governments that wish to live unto themselves."

Start Bennett on Way Out

Mr. Campbell in his speech contended that under the Bennett regime Canadian trade had fallen 25 per cent. below the loss of the world and tha $100,000,000 less in wages was paid to the railway employees last year because of the trade tie-up brought about by the Conservatives.

"You have the privilege of starting R. B. Bennett on his way out," he declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 207.90 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Toronto Star

Date September 19, 1934 At Markham - Sept. 18th North York By-election

Subject

MUST DECIDE ON GOV'T BY PEOPLE OR DICTATOR KING WARNS CANADIANS

Liberal Leader Flays Bennett for "Depriving People of Parliamentary Rights"

MULOCK PRAISED

Fears Premier Will Ask House to Approve Defence Measures Next Session

In the familiar setting of North York where 100 years ago his grandfather launched the crusade for political liberty for Canadians, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King last night warned that these liberties gained through the century are being filched by the Bennett government and asked the people to stand behind him in the battle for their return.

Coupling with this plea an ardent appeal for economic freedom the Liberal leader brought an audience of 2,000 at Markham to its feet repeatedly in enthusiastic endorsation of the program he enunciated and in support of his condemnation of Bennett policies.

It was a Mackenzie King new to Toronto and to North York who threw all the fire of a zealot into support of the constitutional rights of the masses and who by chapter and verse convicted the Bennett ministry of having alienated from parliament the right to deal with the trade policy of the country, with its banking policy, with agricultural and labor problems and with even railway and unemployment issues.

"I find little difference between legislative violence and physical violence used for the same purpose, used in depriving people of their political freedom," declared Mr. King as he vigorously attacked dictatorships of every variety and said: "In the last four years in Canada there have been many of the distinctive features of dictatorships substituted for the political freedom we previously enjoyed and I warn you and all my fellow-Canadians that when this political freedom is being withdrawn there can be no expansion of that economic freedom which is the vital necessity of our recovery and progress under orderly democratic processes."

Categorically Mr. King charged that the Bennett ministry has:

(1) By forcing through its Empire Conference agreements taken from parliament for a period of five years its fundamental right to control the trade policy of the Dominion.

(2) That in appointing Hon. C. P. Fullerton chairman of the board of trustees of Canadian National Railways for a period of ten years, removable only by joint action of Senate and Commons, control of that great national responsibility and utility has been wrested from parliament.

(3) That establishment of the Bank of Canada under private ownership and the seven-year dictatorship of Graham Ford Towers the Bennett ministry has taken away from representatives of the people the right to control fiscal policies of the Dominion with respect to inflation, deflation and stabilization of the country's currency and placed in Mr. Towers' hands the power to defeat the will of the people as expressed by parliament.

(4) That establishment of marketing boards under the legislation of last session makes it possible for small groups in a natural products industry to organize a board which will regiment every producer in that industry as completely as though he were a Russian peasant and which literally takes control of measures to help agriculture out of the hands of the elected representatives of the people.

(5) That the rights of parliament to deal with labor and unemployment problems was taken away by the demand of the Bennett government for a blank cheque under which in relief, in loans, and in advances to big interests, including a $60,000,000 guarantee to the C.P.R., now represented direct and indirect liabilities totalling $270,000,000.

These were major elements in the retreat from constitutional government and toward dictatorship in the past four years, Mr. King declared. There were many more that might be detailed and chief among these was the mentality of a prime minister, or of a government, who in times such as those existing would vote millions of dollars on barracks and police headquarters when the money was supposed to be spent to relieve agriculture and unemployment.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20791

The Leader of the Opposition

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Condemns Government 'Dictatorship'

We live in dangerous times, Mr. King said, but with intelligence real democracy will surmount them. For we who have enjoyed British political freedom there is no benefit to be found in Communism, nor in other forms of dictatorship, the inevitable fruits of which are the robbing of the masses of their liberties and their voice in government, and I have no hesitation in saying that one form of dictatorship that deserves strongest condemnation is expressed in a government, having lost the confidence of the people, insisting on exercising its lust for office by sole virtue of a parliamentaray majority. It is an attitude completely foreign to British parliamentary practice, Mr. King added as he recounted the sweeping defeats of Conservative ministries in four provinces in the past 13 months and the uniform successes of Liberal candidates in recent federal by-elections.

Markham provided a peculiarly apt setting for Mr. King's reassertion of the principles and practice of political freedom and for his enunciation of the broader principle of economic freedom, which he named as the new and essential expansion in democracy if it is to meet the challenge of the times. Among his audience, as he spoke on behalf of Col. W. P. Mulock, Liberal candidate in North York, were many elderly people, some of whom could recall the later years of his grandfather's insurgence in the cause of representative government, for it was in North York that William Lyon Mackenzie 97 years ago mustered his embattled farmers for their march to Toronto and it was largely in that constituency that representative government in Canada ' ined the converts that forced it into being.

Follows Grandfather's Footsteps

With sincerity that was obvious and a recital of events of the past four years that was convincing, Mr. King swept his audience with him from the moment that he opened with a tribute to Col. Mulock to his closing sentence when he said: "I am proud to speak on a platform where my grandfather spoke in the cause of justice and humanity and to forecast that by your votes next Monday we shall be speeded on from political liberty to that larger economic freedom we all seek."

The way to reform will not be easy, he warned. A Senate in which Conservatives outnumber Liberal members two to one is inevitable even now and if the Bennett ministry hangs on for another year the percentage will be higher. For from ten to fifteen years it will be necessary to gain the assent of a hostile majority in that chamber if social reform measures are to be enacted, but an emphatic expression of public opinion in support of the new deal for the masses will be the most forceful weapon that can be brought against entrenched interests.

The warmth of the welcome tendered Mr. King was only slightly greater than that accorded Col. Mulock, who in a vigorous address attacked the Bennett government for its broken promises on unemployment and agricultural relief. Morgan Baker, M.P.P., was introduced as a prospective minister in the Hepburn government.

"Glad to be Back"

"I just can't begin to express the delight I feel at again being back in North York," Mr. King began. "I feel as if I'm back again in the family of Liberalism.

"I'm going to talk chiefly about the question of government itself. I think we have to decide whether we are to have government by the people or by dictators.

"We have been reminded by so many celebrations that we have a real history of our own."

He referred to the Jacques Cartier and Toronto centennial celebrations.

"We are building up traditions. We have as the candidate here a young man whose name has been associated with this country and this constituency for all of 100 years, and I was thinking of his grandfather, who is so loved and respected in this county.

Have Given Great Service

Mr. King said that "there are three generations linked together all of whom have done great service for the county of York."

"There are no fewer than five generations of Mulocks whose lives have been closely identified with the county of York.

"In the traditions of public service Sir William has brought up his sons and grandsons and in this by-election we have as offering himself a grandson of Sir William Mulock than whose name none is more highly honored,' 'said Mr. King.

"We in Canada have been fortunate in having a percentage of men to whom it means a great sacrifice to give their lives to public service," stated Mr. King.

"May I take this opportunity to say to the young men, I hope that more of you will follow their example and offer yourselves ' when ' the general election comes.

"We are passing through times when we need men of noble heart and high purpose.

"We need the ablest men in Canada in parliament. Our laws cannot rise any higher than the level of the minds of the men who are making them," said Mr. King.

D20792

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Need Men of Strong Heart

"We need, in dealing with these great industrial and financial problems, the ablest men who are familiar with those problems. You can encourage those men, who might be a little hesitant otherwise, by electing Bill Mulock. I do hope, ... ving particularly the lifelong and dear association I have enjoyed with Sir William Mulock in my mind, that I may come t... have as close an association with his grandson.

"It is a source of great pride to me that not only did I have the honor to be prime minister a... a representative of North York, but that 100 years ago my grandfather served York. It is a great privilege to be able to speak to the descendants of those who surrounded one's paternal ancestor as they tried to do in more difficult times things that we are trying under different conditions to do to-day."

Mr. King said he considered the late Colonel Lennox a formidable opponent and a man possessing many high attainments and a wide circle of friends.

"I want to say here that I regret deeply his passing and express my sympathy to those who knew him as a friend and feel a deep loss in his passing," spoke the Liberal leader.

A great loss had been suffered, he continued, in the death of the late Lyman Jackson, editor of the Newmarket Era.

"In the associations I have made there have been none I have valued higher than those I had with Mr. Jackson as we tried to mould public opinion in this constituency," he said.

Will Go Far

Mr. King heartily congratulated Morgan Baker on his election to the legislature. "I was delighted when he was nominated," he said. "I told him that it would not be long before he would find his place in the legislative halls of the country. He is a member of whom any constituency may well feel proud."

Mr. King said he had chosen his theme through reading an article by B. K. Sandwell, "1836 Responsible for 1837." The theme was that in 1834 they had in Toronto and York a large number of men fighting for freedom in this part of the new world—men who saw that a change of the political system was necessary.

These reformers sought to introduce those principles of freedom, responsible government and free institutions that were doing so much to advance liberty in the old world. The had sought at first to bring about these reforms in a constitutional way.

In reading the history of the time one would be astounded—not that they had gone as far as they did, but that they had not gone farther. He doubted if they could see in anything done at that time any effort to separate Canada from the motherland. His whole purpose was to have a government similar to that in the motherland, claiming as a British citizen the rights accorded to other British citizens.

But privilege failed to see things as the other man saw them. "Men do not see as quickly as they should what is the common inheritance of mankind," said Mr. King.

Urge For Economic Liberty

"Mr. Sandwell points out that we have throughout the world a movement that is trying to bring all people together in greater liberty—economic liberty. You have had moves for other kinds of liberty, but this is for 'economic' liberty. Mr. Sandwell says it is well for people to recognize that the people should have that liberty because the people are going to go further if they do not get that liberty. Right here in Canada they are going to go further. They are no longer going to be in bondage to wealth, to industry, or to class. They are going to be free.

"We have to have not only greater liberty but we have to keep what we already have. We have to protect our political freedom because the road to greater economic liberty is only along the road of the political liberty we already have. We have to keep that. It must not be abrogated.

Swing Toward Dictatorship

"One glance at world affairs shows that the swing is toward dictatorship," said Mr. King. "The great struggle is between democracy and dictatorship. By democracy," continued Mr. King, "I mean the governing of people by themselves. That can be done only through parliamentary institutions. It can't be done through a dictator."

What had been witnessed in Europe was a revolution or a series of revolutions. They had not in these countries enjoyed the freedom of British stock. They had been trampled on and kept down. These were just the beginning of many struggles, he believed. In Russia they had the revolt against tyranny. It didn't bring freedom. It substituted one kind of tyranny for another.

"I would be the last to say that no good has come out of it. It may have done the masses of Russia great good but that does not say we would benefit by reversion to it. We are away beyond that. In Italy and Germany it was counter-revolution, caused by the fear of government like Russia's.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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"In their efforts to stamp out Communism they were unconsciously drawn into a dictatorship which controls by might. What are the characteristics of a dictatorship? You will find they have many imitators—some of them not outside Canada. They say a man must be assertive—I hardly know how to express it. It seems to be the excessive use of the personal pronoun—'I have deccided,' 'I will do this,' 'I see this,' 'I will do that.' "

There was loud laughter as Mr. King adopted a pompous manner in the foregoing remarks.

Says Dictators Are Nauseous

"And when you figure out what they have decided with themselves," he went on, "you find it is something any schoolboy could have figured out.

"These leaders have been men of such a type, and you go to Italy and Germany to see it, that are really nauseous. And how else do they assert themselves? Their strength is not the strength of individuals but the strength of armed might. They assert themselves by using the police to usurp power, to entrench themselves and end political and individual liberty.

"You see propaganda playing a part that it has never played before," said Mr. King. Freedom of the press was being wiped out and the press being told what to say. Then the assemblies were being closed up. In Italy and Germany they had been closed up and suppressed and in their place was heard the voice of a dictator.

"What about trial by jury?" he asked. "What about the 60 men who were shot in Germany a few days ago without even being told what they were charged with? Do you think that if a revolution rose in Britain men would be shot down like that?"

Canada Parliament Changed

"I ask you to weigh these things because they are the characteristics of dictatorship. There is little difference to-day between legislative violence and physical violence used for the same purpose. I think I can show you easily where in the last four years our parliament, which is supposed to deal by legislative assembly, has been changed for the characteristics of a dictatorship."

Dr. Manion, minister of railways, had said in Toronto that the outcome of the five by-elections would have no effect on the present government, Mr. King related.

Charges Promises Failed

"That is not much different to a statement by Mussolini or Hitler. They say 'We have the power and we're going to keep it'. But they forget that they made certain promises and the people elected them to do certain things. They have not done those things. They said they would end unemployment and secure trade. I ask you, has any government ever had a freer hand to carry out its policies?

"This government has had a perfectly free hand," he said. The opposition had not tried to embarrass the government, as he thought the people in these difficult times wanted co-operation.

"But you can't co-operate with people who cannot co-operate with you or you with those who strike against the very fundamentals of constitutional government," said Mr. King.

A parliament, he said, did not necessarily have to run for five years. There was no parallel here with the constitutional practice in the United States, where the executive had no intimate association with the legislative body. Here the executive was part and parcel of the legislature.

"The point is does the majority represent the majority of the people? There are times when it is difficult to tell, but that time has come in this country.

Points Out Recent Results

"Look what has happened in all the by-elections and provincial arenas," he asked. "All the victories have been Liberal. Federal questions have been discussed in the provincial arenas. Why have the Liberals been victors? Because the times call for a Liberal outlook, not a Tory outlook. Mr. Bennett says he doesn't hear any call for a general election. All I can say is his hearing is not as good as mine. Go into any train, any farm, any store, any factory and see if you hear anyone who is satisfied with this government. No. They are all saying: 'You have had your time. You have spent millions. You are through!"

All parliamentary authorities, Mr. King declared, agreed that it was the duty of a government, when it knew the people were not in accord with it, to go to the people, despite its majority or unexpired term of office.

"That," he declared, "is maintaining the spirit of the constitution. If you are a Tory I say preserve that constitution. If you lose that I fear for your liberty. If you are Liberal vote to save your liberty and pave the way for more liberty. I don't wonder that certain groups are formed in Canada. The people see that they cannot hope to get things done in parliament. It is not the fault of parliament, it is the fault of the men who have been in that parliament. Men who are betraying your trust.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication .....

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Institutions Not to Blame

"And I say to my Comumnist friends and to my Socialist friends, to all of these extremists, don't blame our parliamentary institutions as being responsible, but blame those men who are betraying the spirit of our parliamentary institutions and are betraying the trust put in their hands," he said.

Mr. King said it was a splendid thing to respect the will of the majority, but it was a finer thing to respect the opinion of the minority.

"Not only are the rights of the minority ignored, but the rights of the majority are being held in contempt by ministers of the crown," he declared.

"It is bringing not only the government of the day into contempt, but it is bringing our institutions into contempt.

"That is one of the real dangers that we are face to face with at the present time."

Some had deprecated the language used on the public platform, but once a government is held in contempt people begin to use contemptuous terms, he added.

Replies To Dr. Manion

Mr. King referred to a speech of Dr. Manion's in Toronto in which the minister was quoted as having explained that Sir Henry Thornton and another public man whom he believed the Liberals had claimed were "murdered" by the Conservative government, had died of certain specific ailments.

"When he thinks that the government is being accused of murder, and he a physician comes out and mentions the diseases of which they died, what respect can they command?" asked Mr. King.

In another instance, he said, Dr. Manion had silenced a questioner on a point regarding railways with the words: "I know more about railways than you do. I am the minister. Demagogues' like Mackenzie King thrive on your soil."

"Who do you think sounds like the demagogue? Does that answer to a man who asked a civil question sound worthy of a minister of the crown? Who made him minister, anyway?"

The present government, he continued, had already had five sessions.

"The constitution says the life of parliament is only five years but the average life of parliaments has been three years ever since confederation. Only one, that of Sir John A. Macdonald, has gone within a day of its full time."

He recalled that the only parliament that had lived out its term was in the days of Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir George Foster. "Those were the days when knighthood was in flower," observed Mr. King.

"Working for Titles?"

He wondered if some of them were not working for titles at the present time.

"How much respect was paid to the House of Commons? A resolution was passed by the House under Sir Robert Borden against the awarding of titles, but Mr. Bennett said that he was not bound by that resolution." Mr. Bennett had handed out a title or two, but that was to pave the way for gviing more later, the leader declared.

"I ask you, is this carrying out the wish and will of parliament?" he asked.

The business of government divides itself into three parts, legislative, executive and judiciary. These were all essential parts. Under the British system it was intended that parliament should make the laws, not that the executive should make the laws. "We are getting away from parliament making the laws," said the leader, declaring that laws were now being made by order-in-council, and as an excuse it was stated that they were passed in cases of emergency. "But all the dictatorships had arisen out of emergencies."

In connection with unemployment the premier first asked for $20,000,000 but later he came along and asked for power to spend all he wished, in other words he wanted a blank cheque, taking away from parliament all its power of voting money, Mr. King charged.

$270,000,000 for "Relief"

"The next session the same thing, the next session the same," he went on. "For four sessions he has had this blank cheque in the name of unemployment. In actual cash he has had $110,000,000. But he has made guarantees and loans which, with the amounts actually spent total $270,000,000. Surely that should show some result. That should reduce unemployment. But there are still half a million unemployed and 1,000,000 on relief.

"The farmers have asked them to reduce tariffs, but they have shoved them up and up. They have ceased to be protective; they have become prohibitive. They have strangled, choked, cut off trade. They will pass all kinds of bills for the farmers, but they won't do this one thing—reduce the tariffs."

In the transfer of legislative power to the council he saw "violation of the constitution."

Of unemployment relief funds spent in Alberta, Mr. King said, 88 per cent. was spent in Mr. Bennett's riding.

"In mine, Prince Albert," he added, "not one five-cent piece. We found $1,200,000 was being used to erect barracks in Calgary."

The ministerial association in Calgary had protested, and Mr. Bennett said that if they didn't like it he would build it somewhere else.

D 20795
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Subject .....

Sees Government in Bad Position

"When a government looks to force as a means of settling industrial disputes they are in a very dangerous position," he declared.

He would, if he had been in Mr. Bennett's position, have used $1,200,000 to build reservoirs so that the farmers might get water for their drought-stricken areas.

Mr. King said that they had not been able to get the government to discuss the labor question on the floor of the House. Instead of consulting the members, they took a blank cheque and went off and did what they liked with it.

"Little by little the freedom of the people is being taken away from them," he declared.

The Marketing Act, he said, if approved by certain people, would become law.

"Now," he continued, "what do the Soviets do? Little councils meet and decide certain things and then they become law. But the people don't have anything to say about it."

Mr. King told of having spoken to W. A. Fraser, M.P. for Northumberland, about a marketing agreement that had been drawn up by British Columbia fruit growers and enacted at Ottawa.

"Under this act all these fruit growers become numbers," said Mr. King. "Mr. Fraser is number 103. One grower writes to another as 'Dear comrade number so-and-so.' Is that the kind of thing we want in Canada?"

The government had taken the whole fruit question away from parliament. When the Liberals found he would not do without these little soviets they asked that the plan be at least approved by parliament.

Under the plan they could levy fines and penalties not fixed by parliament but by a self-created group. They had persuaded the members that the government should have the right to prohibit the importation or exportation of any of the products named in the act, taking away the right of parliament to regulate and control trade. They said that they would get the power from parliament, but that was not the spirit of the constitution.

In respect of the tariff, the government robbed parliament for five-year periods of the right to fix the fiscal policy of the country.

"Here we are to-day being tied up to measure after measure which cannot be altered without the consent of the senate," said Mr. King.

More Conservatives in Senate

"When the Liberals were in office we never had a majority in the Senate. If the present government stays in another year there will be more Conservatives in the Senate. What will happen to your social legislation? It will have to pass two Houses, one that will be predominantly Conservative for at least the next 15 years."

"What was the position of banking?" he asked. "Knowing the desire of the people for the control of credit, the Liberals advocated a central national bank.

What form had it taken? They had been told they would be permitted to control the constitution. When the bill came back it was a bill to provide for a bank controlled by private individuals without a government director.

Fought Private Bank Bill

"We fought that measure as hard as we could. We said it would be serving financial interests instead of the public at large. Mr. Bennett said it was that way so there would be a continuous financial policy. Because he wanted a continuous financial policy he placed it where the parliament would have no influence on it. Do you realize that all the gold and securities of this country have gone into this central bank? Do you realize that the currency of Canada will be issued not by the government but by this bank with private directors? We pleaded with them to have at least one government director but that's where it ended up.

Must Have Senate's Approval

"Any change now can be made only with the consent of the Conservative majority in the Senate," said Mr. King. "There's where we have been parting with our right to make our policies on finance."

He envisioned a Liberal government coming into power and trying to put into effect a different policy. The central bank could act counter to the people's representatives. That was the position in which Mr. Bennett had put Canada to-day. There had been an invasion of parliament's rights as to labor, trade, finance and railway policy.

'I suppose," said Mr. King, "at the next session we will see something opening up in regard to defence. Everyone of these things is aimed at working out a scheme of economic imperialism. It has until now been economic nationalism. They know that they cannot do anything without a dictatorship."

Mr. King declared that it could not be carried on under a parliamentary system. "You have to have a bureaucracy and you have to back it up by force.

"It strikes right at the heart and basis of liberty and so if it is wrong in one direction it is wrong in all directions."

"So, my friends, don't imagine for a minute that this by-election is so small as to decide who is to go to Ottawa for a year or even whether a government is to remain in power another year. We have to decide whether the trend is to become like the countries in southern Europe, following the model of Russia, Italy, or Germany or whether after all we are going to apply the strength and power and liberty of the English constitution to keep our country governed by free political institutions.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication.....

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"I am proud to be speaking here in this place where I know my grandfather spoke 100 years ago. May we advance from the economic liberty—that has been won to the larger economic liberty we seek."

Mulock Gets Welcome

Col. W. P. Mulock, Liberal candidate, received with great applause, followed by three cheers and a tiger, referred to the recent provincial election and said that R. B. Bennett had taken on his shoulders the responsibility of the late Ontario government.

"One of the most vital questions is that of unemployment," he said. "May I remind you of some of Mr. Bennett's statements on unemployment. He said, 'This is a new country and there is no excuse for unemployment if a government does its duty.'

"Mr. King promises to give consideration of unemployment. Mr. King promises to end unemployment.

Which government do you like the best?"

"Someone is responsible for unemployment—not individuals, but governments. Bennett said these things before he got into power. If it was not so serious for the people of Canada his performance would be laughable. Those promises were not restricted to unemployment. He went up and down the province almost with tears in his eyes, saying how sorry he was for the farmers that they only got 35 cents for their butter. He said if he were elected he would get rid of New Zealand butter. He said they would never see 35-cent butter again. That's one promise he kept. We've never seen 35-cent butter since."

Charge Trade Wiped Out

Colonel Mulock detailed Mr. Bennett's promise to drive Canadian products into reluctant markets. "What do we find?" he asked. "We find that our trade throughout the world is cut to pieces. The trade with New Zealand has been wiped out.

"The people of Oshawa know it didn't help them. We remember when carloads of automobiles were carried across the continent for the New Zealand market.

"The attack on New Zealand trading was nothing more than political eye-wash to fool the people to vote for R. B. Bennett in the last election.

"If Mr. Bennett is defeated in the five by-elections he should appeal to the country at the first opportunity. I believe we should have not five by-elections, but a general election."

"But now the by-elections are on we are asked to back Bennett's farm program. I'm wondering if that farm program is the one the farmers received at Ottawa when they didn't get decent consideration. If you think you are entitled to go to Ottawa and receive a decent hearing I ask you to vote for me.

"We've heard a lot about what imperial agreements have done for the farmers. If we compare the grain exports of 1932 with those of 1933 after the agreements were made, what do we find?"

In 1932, he said, Canada exported 146,200,000 bushels of wheat to the United Kingdom, as compared with 10,000,000 bushels less in 1933. Likewise oats exports had been cut in half, barley to one-third and rye to one-quarter the year after the imperial agreements.

"A great deal of that is due to the fact that Mr. Bennett has not treated fairly with the mother country. They have set up unfair duties—not against Russia or Germany — but against the mother country."

'Our imports from Britain valued at $9,000—and I would ask the ladies pay attention to these things because they do most of the buying—on printed cotton, woollen goods, suitings, wool blankets, axminster carpets," said Col. Mulock, 'landing charges amount to $4,332.50, and they wonder why we can't increase our trade with the mother country! We must increase our trade, not only in the interests of the farmer but the interests of the Dominion as a whole.

'The farmer must compete in the markets of the world and must get his implements as cheaply as possible," he said.

Mr. Bennett's tariff, he declared, had taken away from the farmer 15 per cent. of his purchasing power and that should be returned to him. If Mr. Bennett had increased the prices of farm products then he asked his hearers to vote for the government, but if they felt that he had not done so, to vote against the kind of government they had had for the last four years.

"Friend of The People"

Harry Naughton, chairman, said at the outset they were gathered to do honor to one who was "dear to the hearts of everyone, the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King." He was glad to have this meeting as one of a series of meetings which would send to Ottawa Col. Bill Mulock to assist Mr. King in carrying on the next government.

"Our Conservative opponent has asked for an acclamation," he said. "No acclamation will be given to a Conservative in North York. We are prepared to carry on the fight and send Bill Mulock to Ottawa."

The issue was the Bennett administration for the past four years. "If you believe there is one man who can bring together the different races, classes and creeds, and that man is Mr. Mackenzie King, then, I say to you to cast your ballots for Mr. Mulock," he appealed.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

"On the one hand we have Bennett and bondage, and on the other hand, King and liberty," declared the chairman amid applause.

Morgan Baker, M.P.P., who carried North York by a 3,500 majority in the last provincial election, regarded the enthusiasm of last night's meeting as sufficient evidence of Col. Mulock's assured success at Monday's poll.

"In Mackenzie King," he said, "we have a man who, like his grandfather, sacrificed everything for the interests of the people of Canada. Just as Sir Wilfrid Laurier made Canada a happy and prosperous country from 1898 to 1911, so Mackenzie King will make Canada prosperous and happy again."

During the election, Mr. Baker said, promises were made by Mr. Hepburn and many of them had been fulfilled.

"Talking to me the other day," he continued, "my leader said, 'Morgan, every promise made to the people of Ontario will be fulfilled.' And one of the greatest things he has done is restore the confidence of the people in the government."

He described the years of 1921-29, the regime of the King government, as Canada's banner years.

"Compare the promises of Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Bennett," he asked. "Mr. Bennett has regard for no one but the interests he serves. The people have been sacrificed. The farmers got nothing from him when he went to Ottawa. Others he met with soldiers."

"I say if you are satisfied with this government, if you want this thing to continue, put your stamp of approval on it next Monday," said Mr. Baker. "If you want a government that will stand by the people vote for Mr. Mulock," he said.

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RT. HON. W. L. M. KING WARNS OF DICTATORIAL RULE . . . .

Predictions of a Liberal victory in the historic riding of York North were in evidence last night on all roads which led to Markham, where Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion Liberal leader, addressed an enthusiastic gathering in the interests of Colonel William Pate Mulock, standard-bearer in the by-election. Seldom had Markham witnessed such scenes of political enthusiasm as made the village a hive of activity. (1) Col. Mulock's secretary, Miss Campbell, is shown with Mrs. Mulock. (2) A portion of the vast crowd which packed the arena. (3) Mr. King delivering his address. (4) Some of the Liberal notables on the platform.

D20799 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication ..... The Toronto Star .....

Date ..... September 20, 1934 ..... At St. Thomas - Sept. 19th Elgin West By-election.

Subject .....

NEW AND WIDER PROBE PROMISED BY LIBERAL CHIEF

Will Appoint Committee After General Election and Invite Stevens to Sit

LEADERS PRAISED

Special to The Star

St. Thomas, Sept. 20.—A new investigation into Canadian business conditions that will not be restricted to a few handpicked industries was pledged here last night by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

"I will say, on my authority as leader of the Liberal party," said Mr. King, amid applause, "if we are elected, as soon as the debate on the speech from the throne is over I will reappoint a committee. But I will see that it does not have handpicked industries to investigate. I will see that it does not shy away from any protected industries. It will not shy away from the textile industries.

"Its investigations will not be confined to wages. It will take care to find out what protection there is and what the profits are of those in protected industries.

"And if Mr. Stevens is re-elected to parliament I will invite him to be a member of the committee.

"I will leave it to any group of producers and consumers who can present a prima facie case in any matter of price spread or underpayment of wages and see that the committee is instructed to investigate these matters. If any larger scope is needed I want to know of it."

Mr. King's declaration climaxed trenchant criticism of Mr. Stevens for unethical conduct in his comments on an incompleted judicial inquiry he is conducting, and for his failure to suggest what remedies the Bennett government proposed for the conditions Mr. Stevens has condemned. His announcement of a new and broader inquiry roused an audience of 4,000 in St. Thomas to high enthusiasm as the Liberal leader asked support for Wilson H. Mills, Liberal candidate in next Monday's by-election in West Elgin.

Mr. King resented credit being given to either Mr. Stevens or Mr. Bennett for the present restricted probe.

A year before Premier Bennett announced his price spread inquiry Liberals had urged upon the government the necessity for such action and a Liberal resolution asking it had been stifled by the ministry.

In February of the current year and before the Bennett resolution was produced the Liberal party had further insisted that the financial setup of concerns dealing in the processing and distribution of natural products be examined.

These declarations were made by Mr. King as a prelude to a biting attack on Mr. Stevens, whom he found guilty of unethical conduct on three counts in his position as a member and chairman of the committee and as a cabinet minister.

Won't Censure Stevens

"I will not censure him," said Mr. King, "for any evidence of unethical practices disclosed before the committee. The Liberal party has always been to the fore in condemning and uprooting practices inimical to the public good. And it has been so in this instance. Long before Mr. Stevens put his shoulder to the wheel we had been urging a fair inquiry to reveal the truth and to suggest remedies where required and without regard to political or financial interests.

"Why then call this 'the Stevens inquiry?' It is no more a Stevens inquiry than it is a King inquiry or a Hepburn inquiry. Four Liberal members sit on that committee and have given every co-operation and much leadership in its labors. A Progressive is also on the committee and it might as justly be called the Kennedy committee as the Stevens committee. It was a committee of the House of Commons, asked for a year before it was granted and by a Liberal member."

Committees of the House, Mr. King said, when set up to make investigations had all the ethics of a court of law to observe and primary was the fact that no member had a right to express a verdict until the case was completed. He charged that Mr. Stevens had violated these ethics as a member of the committee and more seriously on a second count, because as chairman he should have shown scrupulous regard for ethical procedure. As a member of the government he believed Mr. Stevens was a third time guilty of unethical conduct, and all either for personal or political purposes.

Charges Booklet for Elections

The notorious "study club" booklet, printed at the order of Mr. Stevens and ordered destroyed by Premier Bennett, was revived by the Liberal leader. Holding a copy of it aloft, Mr. King declared it had been issued for the purpose of influencing by-elections. He challenged the right of Mr. Stevens to have the booklet printed in a government plant, even though he made belated announcement that he was going to pay for it.

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four thousand copies of it were issued, containing an elaborate statement of Mr. Stevens' belief in the guilt of parties before the committee over which he is presiding and of at least three interests who had never appeared before his committee and who not only had not submitted a defence, but who did not know they were being investigated. The pamphlet was translated into French in the government translation bureau. It was a diabolic procedure to influence the elections, Mr. King charged.

He was supported on the platform by Premier Hepburn, who shared with him a number of tremendous ovations, but who curtailed his address to leave the field clear for the federal chieftain of the party.

Mr. Hepburn hailed Mr. King as the greatest statesman Canada had produced, but Mr. King declined the honor, recalling his own grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir John A. Macdonald and others who had rendered great service to their fellow-Canadians.

King Happy Now

In his appearance in Elgin county Mr. King said he felt he was fulfilling a double purpose—public and private—and in the latter case he was doing something that had been dear to his heart for three months—appearing on the same platform with Premier Hepburn.

"Often as I talk to Mr. Hepburn and read his speeches," said Mr. King, "I think of the days when I was called to positions of responsibility when still a young man. I mean by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and please let no one again mention in my presence the 'greatest statesman in Canada' without mentioning the name of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest statesman Canada ever produced. It is a great honor to have one's name enrolled with those men who have had their names illustriously engraved in the history of our country."

Recalling that 25 years ago he was called by Sir Wilfrid to the ministry of labor, Mr. King expressed his pleasure that he had been able to serve and that a department of labor had first been established in Ontario by a Liberal government.

Mr. King recalled a report he had made on alleged "sweatshop" conditions in 1898, at which time he remembered "I did not give publicity to my findings, but laid them before parliament."

"And as result," he declared, "there came about the first fair wage laws. The difference in those days was that the government followed up its investigation with action. There was not a great deal of talk at that time, just before a by-election, of what had been discovered. There was a resolution put through. That was 30 years ago.

"As I look back on those days and see a comparison with what Mr. Hepburn is faced with to-day—the people who want this and have that consideration and want this investigation and that thing done—I wonder how there is expected to be any time for him to get anything done. In England a man's home is supposed to be his castle. I wonder what kind of a castle Mr. Hepburn's home is? To those who think of going to his home I say: 'Go to Queen's Park. That's the place to go'."

Leader Lauds Hepburn

Premier Hepburn, said Mr. King, as a new member at Ottawa had not hesitated to come to his leader and express a difference of opinion. "Once I remember," he recalled, "he said he would turn independent if I did not do something for Elgin county that he wanted done."

As leader he had pointed out to the young member that every member of the government had interests of his own community that he wanted fulfilled, but all had to pull together for the general benefit of all the people, he said. "And Mr. Hepburn," he added, "walked out of my room saying 'All right, Mr. King, 'I'll be with the boys'."

Political parties were means to an end—simply instruments by which men united to accomplish a common purpose, reminded Mr. King, criticizing the lack of accomplishment by Independents.

If we have a Liberal government at Queen's Park, it is owing more to Mitchell Hepburn than to all other causes combined, Mr. King paid tribute. "It is owing more than anything else to his willingness to sacrifice self to accomplish his purpose, which is to better the lot of the common man." Thunderous cheers interrupted Mr. King's speech at this point as the crowded hall rose to roar their approval of Elgin's favorite son.

"Should Have Been Acclamation"

Considering the reason for Mr. Hepburn's retirement, his Liberal successor should have received an acclamation, Mr. King urged. This the Liberals had granted to "our friend, Mr. Stevens," who had been defeated in Vancouver Centre by Hon. Ian Mackenzie.

A British Columbia Conservative had resigned his seat for Mr. Stevens and the Liberals had entered no candidate.

"I took the position that in times like this we of the opposition should give the government every opportunity to fulfil its promises. Mr. Stevens came in by acclamation."

The Liberals had also allowed Hon. E. N. Rhodes, then premier of Nova Scotia, to come into federal affairs. "Mr. Bennett wanted him to strengthen his cabinet. It needs much more strengthening now."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication.....

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"Why should not the Conservatives of Elgin be equally generous?" demanded Mr. King. "The people of Elgin will vote for Mr. Mills, because they have a sense of chivalry so much needed in public life to-day," he predicted.

Men who sought entry to parliament to further their ends were no good in modern public life, Mr. King reminded.

If a time limit had not been fixed, the Bennett government would cling to office to the end of all time, said Mr. King.

"But that does not say they must remain in office right up to the end of their term. A government should mirror the feeling of the people. When it ceases to do that, then it ought to go to the people," he declared with emphasis." (Cheers.)

"Since these by-elections have been announced, we, as British citizens, have a great duty to decide whether we're going to have our government carried on in the spirit of free constitutional expression or in the spirit of some European governments—as dictatorships—where a group, not the people, declare opinions. The people deserve an opportunity to decide what kind of government they want—whether we are going to have real self-government or the kind of government—the dictatorships—that are in too many European countries to-day. I think you will express your opinion, all right."

Thinks Tariff May be Lowered

At the same time, said Mr. King, it was "just possible" Mr. Bennett might lower the tariff "if you give him a good knock next week."

More and more, he said, Mr. Bennett was stealing Liberal policies. He did not put them into operation, he said, but he pretended he was going to.

Outlining the position of the Liberals with regard to the mass buying and price spread inquiry, Mr. King said: "You would think, to hear Mr. Stevens, that he was the first to think of an investigation into price spreads. A resolution to delve into the spread between raw materials and finished products was introduced in the session, prior to 1930 by Robert McKenzie, Liberal M.P. for Assiniboia. Let's see what Mr. Stevens had to say about it then. The resolution was tabled after the Liberal party had discussed it in caucus," the Liberal leader revealed.

"Later on we could not even get the Conservative government to even debate it," he charged. "There it is, on the records of the House of Commons. Does not that take in the tobacco inquiry, the price of cattle, and the price paid by the packing houses? I myself, speaking on this motion of Mr. Stevens to hold the price spread inquiry, suggested that investigation should be made into the method of financing some of the country's industrial concerns. I said this in February, 1934," he said reading from Hansard.

Inquiry Urged By Liberals

Mr. King recalled that in August, 1933, he called attention to the price spread in the livestock industry.

"If there is a price spread inquiry," he declared, "it is because the Liberals have been demanding it.

"One would think it was Mr. Stevens' committee. True, the members nominated a government member as chairman, but it was not Mr. Stevens' committee. It is as much my committee or Mr. Hepburn's committee. All the members had a part in it.

"In parliament," he continued, "Mr. Stevens said he could not divulge information because it was because it was forbidden by his position as chairman of the committee. Then how does he have the power to talk about what came before the committee when parliament is not in sesssion? Can you imagine a judge in a royal commission coming out and talking about what comes up before the commission? After all, the form of the oath taken by the committee members is similar to that taken by a royal commission.

"What would have happened if Mr. Factor had come out and talked about what came before the committee? First of those to rise in protest would have been Mr. Stevens. Mr. Stevens has been talking of unethical practices in business. There are unethical practices in other places than in business."

Charges Unethical Practices

There were certain ethical practices which prevailed in public life, reminded Mr. King. One was that members of parliamentary committees were not to discuss and pass on subject matters under investigation until the report was ready.

"Mr. Stevens is himself violating the code of ethics in parliamentary procedure," flashed Mr. King. "We are not attacking his saying there are certain things wrong in industry. We are criticizing the fact that he has doubly violated his trust, for he is not only a member of the committee, but the chairman. He has taken on himself the roles of prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner. One would almost think that, in a sinister way, he is going to destroy the work of that body. I say he has put the whole committee in a very false position," the Liberal chieftain accused.

"Supposing ministers of the crown generally were to do the things Mr. Stevens is doing, how long would our parliamentary system last? It is not that we are seeking to impair the work of this committee. It is that we want to preserve the powers of parliamentary committees to investigate the things that may be found to be wrong in our system."

The Liberal government had long ago acknowledged that industries of the Dominion were "honey-combed by secret understandings and agreements," said Mr. King.

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"Mr. Stevens hasn't suggested any remedy—he hasn't said what the government is going to do about it. As a Liberal party which hopes to break up these secret agreements and combines we believe the solution is in lowering tariffs."

Refers to Pamphlets

Referring to Mr. Stevens' explanation of the pamphlets—that he had them printed for Conservative members of parliament, Mr. King said:

"That's a pretty underhanded piece of business, the printing of secret documents as ammunition for by-elections. That's an unethical practice. What right has Mr. Stevens to have this printed by the government printers? He says he had it printed at his own expense. What arrangement has he that he can get them printed by the government at his expense?"

But, Mr. King said, copies of the pamphlet had been given to the press, some members of which shied away from it, feeling it was libelous.

Mr. King said he had referred Tuesday night in North York to trends in public life, one being the attitude of "self-assertion ad nauseam."

"Stalin, Hitler an Mussolini have these characteristics and there are all the earmarks in this document.

"I don't ask anyone to go beyond Mr. Stevens' own words to condemn absolutely the government of which he has been a member," said Mr. King, quoting from the report in which Mr. Stevens found that "scandalous low prices to farmers' had been paid.

At the same time, Canada Packers had had prosperous years and piled up reserves not warranted by earnings, Mr. Stevens had said. "Is the Liberal party to be held responsible for that? Those are the years Mr. Stevens and Mr. Bennett have been in office. Why did they not do something to prevent it?" Mr. King asked warmly.

Mr. Stevens nad admitted that tobacco buyers had paid 33 cents a pound for blue-cured tobacco in 1930 and then gone on to say that in 1931 Imperial Tobacco imported a typical bulldozing U. S. buyer who cut the rate to 19 cents. "That was while Mr. Stevens and his party were in office," he emphasized. "Shame," yelled the crowd.

Mr. King went on to quote Mr. Stevens as saying that the Conservative party must sever connections with financial interests and reorientate its political philosophy along lines more sympathetic to the well-being of the common people. "Isn't that what every Liberal has been saying for the past four years?" asked Mr. King. "The Conservatives, however, haven't begun to serve the workers yet."

Mr. Stevens had blamed certain things on "King's Combines Act," said the Liberal leader. "If that's the case," he added, "and the conditions have occurred since 1930, why haven't they taken the Combines Act off the statutes?"

If the pamphlet was not for the public, said Mr. King, why had Mr. Stevens addressed "My Readers" in the booklet?

"But the question is not about Mr. Stevens. The question is whether the Bennett government is going to receive your support."

From the start of the Bennett government, Mr. King said, publicity had been issued by Mr. Stevens "to educate the public to protectionist policies.

"We found they had spent $100,000 of public money on this kind of thing," he said. "And then there was the creed issued by this ethical man at New Year's, 1931. It went all over the country. If you looked at it you found it was issued, not by the government, but by Hon. Harry H. Stevens, at your expense.

"Even in the issuance of the monthly statistical reports, he claimed, the minister adopted methods of preparing the figures with "something to catch the eyes of the newspapers." This, he maintained, could be likened to the methods of European dictators, who sought to confuse the public. Dr. R. J. Manion, minister of railways, he said, had prepared a pamphlet announcing a "See Canada First" program. "He's been at it, too," said Mr. King. "He's going to hand this out in a year or so."

The price spreads inquiry was a direct sequel to Premier Bennett's statement at Montreal that Canada must compete with Oriental countries in the markets of the world; that Canada, to retain its position as an exporting nation, "cannot experiment with shorter hours of work and higher pay," charged Mr. King.

That statement created such a painful experience throughout the Dominion that something had to be done to counteract its effect. That is the reason for having this Steven's price spreads committee, to have it appear that something was going to be done. Have it appear, I say. What has Mr. Stevens done to improve these conditions, I ask you?

Passed Act in 1909

Mr. King recalled that he personally had put on the statute books in 1909 the Combines Investigation Act. The Conservatives had repealed the legislation when they came into power and brought down the Fair Prices Act and the Board of Commerce Act, later ruled ultra vires. On his return to power, Mr. King had again passed his Act.

"In my book, 'Industry and Humanity,' I said that an industrial conditions investigation act would prove useful. When a Liberal party is returned to power again, I promise to bring down such legislation. But I want to remind the people of Canada that investigation is not enough, penalties are not enough. A great broad policy is needed to bring prosperity in the truest and fullest sense of the word.

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"We did not have then this sweating of wages and spread of prices these revelations have brought before you," declared Mr. King. Mr. King, then, raising a warning hand concluded: "Remember these are troublous times in the world. There are two roads to follow—one down the path of dictatorships and the narrow nationalism which will bring us inevitably into strife such as the world has never known. The other one is the path of true democracy, along which we will preserve not only our political freedom but will gain a greater measure of economic liberty."

The sun of Liberalism was rising, Mr. King predicted. It would restore the trade stagnated for the past four years. "May our efforts lead this world to breathe confidence instead of hate and strife," he pleaded in finality.

"Not Prepared to Go"

Handicapped in his speaking by a severe cold, Mr. Hepburn lauded Mackenzie King as "the greatest statesman Canada ever knew" to the accompaniment of a thundering volley of cheers.

Mr. Hepburn lamented the manner in which personalities had intruded into the present by-elections. "George Spotton, Conservative M.P., opened his speech the other night by announcing he was a great friend of mine, then went on to upbraid me for an hour. When he was through I suspect he had not one unuttered thought in his head," Premier Hepburn observed. The crowd roared its appreciation of Mr. Hepburn's thrust.

Mr. Hepburn challenged the sincerity of Mr. Stevens in his professed sympathy for the common people.

"I know Mr. Stevens is an ardent Conservative and he has given support to all the policies which have contributed to the plight, misery and suffering of our people," charged the premier. "He is a real Tory. When he attacks the chain store system, he is just like a signboard—he points the way but he is not prepared to go." (cheers and laughter).

"The economic problems go far beyond mass buying to-day," reminded Premier Hepburn. "We have come to the point where we must choose between a policy of trade expansion and low production costs and a government which stands for exploitation through high tariffs and special privilege.

"Premier Bennett cannot raise the price of wheat. The price of all major products are set outside Canada," he reminded the huge audience. "To-day farmers are paying higher for everything they use. Manufacturers have to pay more for the products they require. Port Stanley fishermen pay more for their nets and boats. The cost of everything we use is increased by the Bennett policy of narrow nationalism."

Premier Hepburn warmly attacked Premier Bennett's imposition of the tax on gold. "The gold tax is unconstitutional," he declared. "I don't think it is right for the federal government to invade the provincial field. Think of that, my friends, Mr. Bennett invaded our field of taxation, then cut in half the amount of federal relief to the province of Ontario.

Asks Farm Loan Extension

"I have asked Mr. Bennett to come in and extend farm loans," revealed the premier. "I don't think it is right for the Ontario government to grant more farm loans while we have a Conservative government at Ottawa which is strangling agriculture in the Dominion."

Premier Hepburn said he did not care "how far Mr. Bennett had departed from constitutional practice"—that if all five by-elections were won by Liberals, Premier Bennett would be forced to grant a general election within the next three months. A prolonged outburst of cheering and applause greeted Mr. Hepburn's prediction.

"The Bennett government has been tried and found wanting. They will not dare stay longer in office when all five ridings repudiate them," he said.

A further roar of applause followed his assertion that Colin Campbell, native son of Elgin and the Liberal candidate in Frontenac-Addington, would win in that historic Conservative riding which has never voted Liberal. The others would follow suit, he told the audience.

"I am handicapped by having Mr. Bennett at Ottawa," he said. "So are the Liberal governments of all the provinces. Canada can never improve its economic lot with a Conservative government in office."

"There will never be another," enthusiasts in the front row yelled.

Mr. Hepburn said that the issues in the federal by-elections are so important and so vitally involve provincial matters that he offered no apology for participating in them. Ontario, said the premier, has loaned $55,000,000 to farmers. How, he asked, is it physically possible for them to repay it while federal policies which now prevail are in effect? That is one reason Ontario is interested in the federal by-elections. In addition, Mr. Bennett has broken a promise regarding the cost of relief and has shifted most of it to the provincial treasury, he charged.

"Dr. Manion said that the trouble with Bennett was that he was not tooting his own horn enough. What in the world has he got to toot it about? Bennett promised to assume the whole cost of old age pensions. He hasn't. He said there would never be a dole as long as he was premier.

"That is what we have had in

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direct relief. He said he was going to blast a way into the world's markets. Well, the powder backfired and Canada's trade has slipped from $2,800,000,000 to less than $800,000,000. He said we would have a national highway and the nation would pay for it. Well, Ontario is getting bills for this highway. Most certainly he has nothing to toot about. But we have plenty to complain about," he said.

Mr. Hepburn reviewed the reversal of Australian economic policies in the last few years. Tariffs have been lowered and costs of production cut. To-day the Australian farmer is in a better position in world markets than is his Canadian competitor. All along the line costs to the Canadian farmer have increased, he pointed out.

Premier Hepburn said that the Liberals had been challenged to say that Premier Bennett had lost any market to Canada which existed in 1930. "The challenge is answered," he said, "by pointing out that Belgium, Italy and France closed their gates to the products of Canadian farms when the Tories abrogated trade agreements negotiated by the King government." One of the greatest tragedies in Canadian trade history, he said, was when the Russian offer to barter coal and gasoline for cattle was rejected because of an influence of gasoline and coal interests with the government.

"How can the railwaymen of this constituency endorse Bennett and his policy of trade restriction? It means less tonnage for the railways. It means more unemployment. The people aren't going to be fooled," he said. An end of the Northern Ontario land settlement scheme was announced when he said that there is no use attempting to end unemployment by settling men in the clay belt when everything they must buy is taxed by Bennett tariffs.

"Why, even in Elgin chattel mortgages have increased $280,000 in the past two years. There is no use trying to put men on the land while such conditions obtain," he said.

The provincial government is only on the fringe of the economies it hopes to accomplish, said the premier. Next year through the saving of money on other things it will be able to take over the entire cost of the construction and maintenance of provincial highways, thus relieving the municipalities of a considerable burden.

Opposes St. Lawrence Waterway

Mr. Hepburn declared that the dismissals from the provincial service were all justified either on the ground of economy or inefficiency. The provincial by-elections showed that the people endorse his policies.

"Our aim in Ontario is to put the province in a position of financial stability. But we can go only so far in Ontario. We need a new government at Ottawa. Ontario does not need the St. Lawrence waterway for the power it will provide, for the present at least," said the premier, announcing his opposition to any plan for the immediate construction of the seaway.

"Premier Henry said we had no hydro surplus. We found that the reserves of Hydro had been depleted. The Niagara plant last year lost more than four millions. We are now buying $7,000,000 worth of power a year. We buy it at $15 and in some cases sell it back to those from whom we purchase it at $5. In a few years we will be paying $10,000,000 a year for imported power. It is clear we don't need additional power. Here we are curtailing the production of wheat and other things and yet some would have us rush into a St. Lawrence power project. I am definitely opposed to the immediate construction of the St. Lawrence waterway. It is not feasible at the present time.

I, as head of the Ontario government, will not be a party to spending public funds on a scheme of that kind," he said.

The Conservative government has been stampeded into spending $13,000,000 on an extension of the T. and N. O. railway to James Bay, said the premier, and now it is to be closed because of the great losses.

His hope is to see President Roosevelt and Mr. King, as premier of Canada, get together and negotiate a reciprocal trade agreement, said Mr. Hepburn. The president has said that there will be no negotiations for such a treaty until after a general election in Canada.

Such an agreement would mean much to Northern Ontario, he said. The natural market for the wood pulp of the north is in the United States. Yet last year while these wood pulp camps were idle, 5,000,000 tons of wood pulp, shipped to the United States from Norway and Sweden, passed by on the lakes. "If we had that market it would mean the end of unemployment in some places in Northern Ontario," he said.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Toronto Star

Date September 21, 1934 At Toronto - September 20th. Toronto East By-election.

Subject

STATE AID FOR SICK AND WORKLESS PLEDGED BY LIBERAL CHIEFTAIN TO ENSURE 'SQUARE DEAL FOR ALL'

Would Wipe Out Fears of Labor, He Tells Monster Liberal Rally

SOUNDS WARNING

Sees Parliament Losing Control of All Money to New Bank

State employment and health insurance, together with joint control of industry by capital, labor, management and the community were expounded as developments of the new economic era by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King before an overflow audience at Massey Hall last night.

In visualizing what must be accepted as the Liberal economic policy, Mr. King said: "You can't have an industrial autocracy on one side and democracy on the other. If investors of capital are not wise enough to see that they will live to rue the day.

"Here, I think the work of Liberalism comes in. It is positive, not negative and certainly not synonymous of laissez faire. One step of freedom must necessarily precede another. First came constitutional liberty and next political liberty and these established personal liberty.

"Now must come economic freedom and justice and that is the aim and purpose of Liberalism throughout the world."

The Liberal leader was cheered to the echo by a capacity audience in Massey Hall and was cheered by an overflow crowd outside as he laid down what he called "not a new deal, but a square deal" for Canadians. Speaking for Major Snelgrove, Liberal candidate in Toronto East, Mr. King, fresh from platform triumphs in four constituencies, reduced his argument to one as to why labor should support his party.

He was unequivocating in his declaration that it was inevitable that labor and capital, management and the state, must soon direct industry if democracy is to survive, and Mr. King declared it will.

Reiterating his declaration at Markham Tuesday, he held that neither individuals nor groups could look for any economic progress through class or group movements and definitely aligned the C.C.F. movement with the Conservative party.

"Class or group movements that will not stand the light of day, and upon their own feet, do not belong to democracy," he said. "It is an attempt to establish special privilege, which the Liberal party has for 100 years fought against. Special privilege to one class is not different to privilege to another. Equity, justice and the common welfare are the goal of Liberalism," Mr. King said.

There is no economic freedom, Mr. King held, unless the facilities of education are national, and there is no economic freedom unless, when that education is attained there is a way and a purpose of employment.

He spent a considerable part of his address in dealing with the spectral fears of Canadians, due to no remission on their part and chief of which was unemployment. Other causes were fear of accidents, of sickness and invalidity, all of which, he said, it was possible the state might remove from the minds of citizens.

Tariffs employed by the Bennett government, he insisted, had thrown hundreds of thousands out of employment and added that the risks, fears and security of industries was the business of Liberalism to wipe out. No class or group could do it, Mr. King said.

The state is capable of moving further, Mr. King told his auditors. It may set forth the conditions under which industry may carry on. In industry, like sport, there are rules or should be, and if an industry fouls it should, Mr. King said, be penalized. "Let the state say," he remarked, "you are guilty of certain practices and you will be put out of business."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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He proposed that the present annuities and old age pension programs could be extended to remove the spectre of unemployment and sickness and to bring about in Canada a real co-operative commonwealth such as which Mr. Woodsworth had not dreamt of.

The Stevens pamphlet, which Mr. King dwelt upon in detail the previous night at St. Thomas, was once more the feature of a new assault.

Crowd Cheers King

Again, as earlier in the evening, the great audience rose, cheered, clapped, and cheered again, as Mr King was introduced by Sam Factor M.P. Under the leadership of "Bob" Allen, they started to sing, "For He's A Jolly Good Fellow."

They sat down and applauded further. Thanking everybody, Mr. King singled out Mrs. Johnston, as representing the younger element of the party, "now playing such a large part in affairs."

He came at once to the discussion of the problems facing these times and by what means a successful solution of them could be achieved.

He was very glad that three candidates were running in East Toronto, a Conservative, a Liberal, and a C.C.F., because all shades of political thought were represented. "It doesn't matter if the candidate doesn't support many of the policies of his leader," he said, as laughter broke out.

"It's not going to be Mr. Church's victory that Mr. Bennett is going to talk about if Mr. Church wins, was the Liberal leaders diagnosis, "but the victory of the Conservative party." What Mr. Church believed and how he differed from Mr. Bennett would make no difference if Mr. Church won, was the inference of Mr. King. The Conservative dictatorship would completely overwhelm single members who would have no more freedom under Mr. Bennett in the future than in the past.

Turning to the C.C.F. candidate, Graham Spry, Mr. King said he stood for a party that wanted a complete change of system.

"Personally I hope that in the course of years there will be such a change. But I do not believe that it will be brought about under a moment as they suggest. If I thought socialism was going to give the people far greater advantages than can be achieved under our system I would be with socialism. But when I study socialism in other lands, I think it is well for us to look about us and see if some other party can't bring about even better conditions."

If Liberalism is true to itself it can find a way out for the masses with greater rapidity and greater certainty than any other party, Mr. King was sure.

"Looking at the world to-day through the medium of the press we see a struggle going on between two forms of government. The question of government is the greatest question before us to-day. Government in the country and government in industry. That is the great question. Who is going to control industry? Is it to be controlled by capital or is it going to be governed by people who have a life interest in it?"

The audience expressed hearty approval at this statement.

It is essentially a question of government of the state in industry, he contended.

He did not think the workers could get the change they desired through any revolutionary measures, but by sending men with Liberal principles to parliament to bring them about.

Democracy or dictatorship he diagnosed as the alternatives facing the electorate in the present by-elections.

"Either we're going to solve things by giving democracy its real chance or try to solve them unsuccessfully by adopting untried dictatorship," he said.

He turned to Russia as an example of the first modern dictatorship. "The condition of the masses of Russia was vastly different there when the revolution came than here."

We inherit, as British citizens, on the other hand, liberty won through centuries of struggle.

"We have sympathy with the Russians, but we don't need to imitate them," was his verdict.

Mr. King spoke of the movement in Russia as developing into a Communist movement with an international complexion. Canada will do well that no "ism" is allowed to creep in, he warned. He referred, he said, to Fascism and Nazism as well as to Communism. Neither Germany nor Italy had been prepared to receive Communism, so they had turned to another form of dictatorship.

"Where you have the first great steps toward freedom, such as we British have, you have that which makes it unnecessary to revert to dictators," he said, adding the warning that, although a dictatorship, even though started with the best of intentions, was bound to take more and more unto itself to the ultimate detriment of the country in which it was found.

"Do we want anything in the nature of dictatorship?" he asked. "No, no," the audience responded.

D 20807 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Would Keep Foundation

Not that we shouldn't modify and change our political institutions, but, he contended, we should keep what we have as a firm foundation, was his further argument.

He began an explanation of why this apparently extreme radical party, represented by Graham Spry, sided with the Conservative party rather than the Liberals.

The strange thing in Canadian politics, Mr. King enunciated, was that the radical parties always have sided with Conservatives rather than Liberals.

The reason, he believed, was that both the Conservative and C.C.F. parties were dictatorial and believed in dictatorships.

"I believe the danger of dictatorship is greater than our people comprehend. I have tried to show how our parliamentary institutions are being changed. The very basis of our democracy is in parliamentary institutions. We must protect it."

He regretted the circumstances that had made this Toronto East by-election necessary. He had been an old friend of Hon. E. B. Ryckman, he said.

The thing he criticized was that a Conservative government which considered Toronto the heart and stronghold of Conservatism had allowed the vacant seat to remain vacant a whole session of parliament.

"If Mr. Bennett had really thought he had the support of Toronto, he would have permitted the constituency to be represented," declared Mr. King.

It was simply another example of how Mr. Bennett had got away from the great principles of self-representation.

He turned to Mr. Bennett's promise he would blast his way into the markets of the world for the laboring man in order to correct unemployment. "The Conservative party got in on its promises of greater world markets and a job for everyone, yet how much have we been permitted to discuss labor policies on the floor of the House?" he asked.

Mr. Bennett's policy had simply been, "let us have a blank cheque on the treasury," stated Mr. King.

"Knowing the control of parliament consists in control of the purse, we, as Liberals, wanted Mr. Bennett to come to parliament and tell us what was planned," added Mr. King.

Even in the time of war Sir Robert Borden had not done what Mr. Bennett had done. "But Mr. Bennett asks us to give him a blank cheque. And does he do it for just one year? No; one year, two years, three years, four years."

And, as a result, Mr. Bennett has become a dictator, to do as he pleases.

Not Done by Liberals

"You can't get a Liberal government to do that kind of thing," said Mr. King.

"By following the parliamentary method, you make it possible to discuss in parliament these problems."

Rights of the people are protected by British institutions, he said. But this Tory government ever since its election has been trying to take from parliament the right to legislate and give it to the executive.

"That is a condition that existed 100 years ago," he declared. "Under this government we have had legislation for peace, order and good government that has taken all power to itself.

"A government that has the majority Mr. Bennett has can do those things. He can take away from parliament its rights to make laws and give them to the executive."

In spite of tremendous expenditures by the Bennett administration, unemployment has increased and relief has grown, Mr. King asserted.

"At the same time they have committed the government to the extent of $276,000,000 by grants to provinces and guarantees to great financial institutions.

"What I am taking exception to is that if these things are necessary they should be done on the floor of the parliament of Canada and by an act of parliament.

"But this government waits until parliament prorogues to take these steps. Take the grant to the C.P.R. He knew when the House was in session that this loan was wanted. But did he take it up then? Did he mention it on the floor of the House? No, he waited until parliament prorogued and then advised us by orders-in-council of the step taken."

"Get it Away From House"

"There's your labor policy. There again it is, 'get it away from parliament'."

The Marketing Act, also, was criticized by Mr. King. He opposed groups of men meeting together, like fruit growers in British Columbia, and approving a scheme, and then the government making it law, without any sanction from parliament.

"There's another complete change in government!" exclaimed the Liberal federal leader. "What is the difference between that and the Soviets in Russia? The Soviets are simply groups who impose their will on the masses."

Mr. King had outlined how he had asked that such schemes should have the approval of the House of Commons. In England, such measures must be approved, not only by the Commons, but the House of Lords.

"No, Mr. Bennett wouldn't allow parliament to sanction the agreement even a year after it had been approved by order-in-council.

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"This isn't the law of the land," he insisted, turning to the struggle in England and the Magna Carta, against similar action.

"That's the method of dictatorship. Get away from parliament and you can do as you please.

"Conservatism is the protection of particular interests. The C.C.F. is government for a class. Liberalism," said Mr. King, "is for the great mass of the people as a whole.

"We Liberals believe in subjecting particular interests to the general interest," he affirmed. "If you're dealing with a particular interest, let the parliament see that it is in the general interest that it should be done."

Returning to the Marketing Act, he told how it gave to the present government the right to stop the importation and the exportation of any or all products it desired.

"Is it any wonder we have sweated labor in this country?" Mr. King demanded. "How long is it since the people gave up their control of trade; their control of institutions? It wasn't in the mind of any Conservative in this city when he elected Mr. Bennett that this government would take unto itself the right to prohibit and hinder trade."

The C.C.F. members supported the Conservatives in this step, he said, because it was a movement toward a dictatorship, which was the goal, he maintained, both of Mr. Bennett and the C.C.F.

Explains Objection to Bank

The reason for the Liberal opposition to Mr. Bennett's central bank was explained next by Mr. King.

"How far will the bank he has created bring the people to the control of monetary policy?" asked Mr. King.

The government refused to countenance anything that made for the control by the government of the bank. Even when the bill had reached the committee stage this was settled. All the shares are publicly owned. The government has not a director on the board. The head of the bank is appointed for seven years, and, even if the government is defeated, he cannot be ousted, because the Senate is now Conservative. Mr. King emphasized.

All the gold of Canada has even been handed over to this bank. The government won't even have the control of currency any more, was his warning.

"The government has parted with its control to this bank in which the government hasn't a share nor a director on the board.

"The continuity even in monetary affairs that Mr. Bennett spoke of is gone now completely from the elected representatives of the people.

"Remember, Mr. Church is an avowed supporter of that banking policy," stressed Mr. King, "and, remember, Mr. Spry's party in the House of Commons, on the third reading of that bill, supported a privately-owned and a privately-controlled bank.

"Mr. Graham Spry, C.C.F. candidate, used to be a promising Liberal," the speaker recalled. "I'm afraid his Liberalism wasn't as deep as it should have been. If it were how could he support Mr. Woodsworth, who on the third reading of the bill supported a privately-owned national bank?"

He warned that the trend was toward taking all the rights away from parliament.

"The Tory party want to take it away for a dictatorship of the financial interests. Mr. Spry wants them taken away for a dictatorship by a class. I say Liberalism does not want a dictatorship of any kind." Deafening applause greeted this statement.

Sees Capitalism Doomed

Mr. King traced the growth of the machine age over the last few centuries. He showed how the capitalistic systems had developed along with it. "Capital is still needed," he declared. "We can't get away from industrialization. Look at Russia. Has Russia gotten away from large industry? There each man does his work according to controlled regimentation.

"Unless a system of industry comes where the man with a life interest has an equal say in the operation of the industry, I say the capitalistic system is doomed," the speaker thundered.

"Any system of industry that will have to be controlled by the capital investors is doomed. You can't have capital dictatorship and public democracy," he insisted.

"If we'll follow out democracy that has been worked out in politics in our industrial system, we'll have the solution."

"Capitalist investors will rue the day," he prophesized, unless they accede to the inevitable change that must come, if not revolution.

"You can't have personal liberty until you have political liberty," he warned, "and you can't have economical freedom until you have personal freedom; until you have political freedom. But when you have a measure of this freedom don't let it be taken from you by any dictator."

It is economic freedom we need to-day, he said, and that is the great aim of Liberalism.

"A man can't be free economically in a negative way. 'Laissez faire' isn't enough; it isn't economic freedom. Has Liberalism stood by and said the little child shall be allowed to grow up in ignorance? Is a man economically free when he wants to work and can't find employment? Put yourselves in the place of the great mass of people to-day; is it not true that the thing that handicaps labor is fear, lack of security and not due to any fault of the worker himself?"

The first great fear of labor is that it won't get sufficient wages, Mr. King declared. That and the fear of sweatshop conditions.

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"The fear of unemployment; have you ever thought of it? Have you thought of the position of the man performing and knowing only one certain job when he looks at tariffs and sees them throw hundreds of thousands out of work, as they have been thrown these past few years under the Conservative regime? Have you thought of the agony of mind a man in this position must undergo?

"Liberals Stand For Freedom"

"Liberalism stands above all else for freedom," declared Mr. King, "but it is not a negative freedom. It has its positive side. We're told Liberalism is synonymous with the policy of laissez-faire. That is contrary to all facts. Liberalism, all down the line, has been giving the state more control of industry.

"You can't have constitutional freedom until you get national freedom," was his continued outline of the principles of Liberalism to-day.

"How is it to be done?" he went on. "Liberalism doesn't say, 'The state will see that we get all these things.' Don't follow those isms that say the state will do all this for you. Let them explore those fields, but don't follow them too long.

"You can depend on the greater body of people to go right in its course than upon any individual mind to lay down a great scheme for social reform," he urged. Liberalism will encourage voluntary effort, with the state helping along this voluntary effort.

"Any man would prefer to owe what little he has to his own efforts rather than to the state," he maintained. "The dole has shown how it degrades people. The great laboring class cry to-day is not for the dole. It is 'For heaven's sake give us work.' "

Says State Helps

The state has helped along with its labor acts, he said. These acts and compensation laws are there to help along toward a better country. "A great deal can be done by the state. As I see the function of the state in industry it is this:

"In sport rules are laid down naming certain acts as fouls. If you break those rules you have to get off the field. That's the role of a government to-day. To see that certain conditions are not violated. Mr. Stevens was surprised to find that these conditions existed. But he was the only one that was surprised."

He enumerated the various fears that afflict labor; for example, new inventions, accidents, disease, due to occupation.

"Look at that frightful disease phosphorous necrosis, incurred from making matches by processes that never should have been allowed," he cited.

The fear of the well-being of a workman for his family, the thought of the man who sees his little child come while he is without means, and his vitality waning without having stored up support for his widow and family; the fear of old age, were described by Mr. King.

"Look at the men and women who have been thrown out of industry this year simply because of their age," he interjected. As a result, heavier burdens are put on the young.

"I am here to-night, ladies and gentlemen, as Liberalism, to see that these fears are ended. I am not here as Mr. Bennett, to say I am here to promise to end them."

If everybody pulled together it could be done, he promised.

"But it will not be done by your 'isms', your C.C.F., your parties for the special interests, by that party and this party pulling in all directions. It will take a great party—like the Liberal party—to do it." he said, "a great party working for all the masses."

Mr. King recalled the introduction of the old age pension scheme by the Liberal government so it might be a means of ensuring elderly people a happier old age. Sir Richard Cartwright, a Liberal, introduced the Annuities Act, to help people prepare for old age.

"I can't see why people who avail themselves of these annuities cannot use them to meet any risks. Why can't we make them available for unemployment, for sickness, for accident? It may take time but it can be worked out.

"Now we have Bennett coming along with a suggestion that he will bring along an unemployment insurance scheme. How much faith can we place in that promise? Why has he gone through six sessions of parliament before he does this thing if it is so necessary? What was he doing in 1930? Why didn't he introduce it then?"

Mr. King told how some sessions ago he had advocated a great national commission to be made up from all walks of life to administer the unemployment problem.

Thinks Bennett "Pretty Crude"

"If such a commission had been given $276,000,000 might we not have had a great co-operative commonwealth in this country right now?" he demanded. "But all these years have gone by and all we have done is increase the unemployed and add to our debt. I think there is something very crude in the prime minister coming along at this time with a suggestion like this after his record.

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"It is almost as crude as Mr. Stevens himself who has taken a parliamentary commission and spent the country's money to uncover certain things that he has used to further his own interests."

"He says in that pamphlet of his I have here that he was so impressed that he got out of his bed and went down and wrote about conditions. I could tell him of many men who didn't go to bed for many nights thinking of them," was Mr. King's retort.

"Fine you or you'll go to jail," was his ultimatum for industry after this which would not obey the rules to be laid down.

"Send the men to Ottawa and what is to prevent them from passing such an act?" he asked, "or are you going to send a C.C.F. who is worrying about what is going to happen a century hence? (Laughter.)

"It becomes the function of the state to secure, by insurance in some form or another, the protection of the worker," he laid down as a fundamental principle of the new order that must come at once.

Sir William Mulock had started social legislation by stopping sweating of labor in factories supplying clothing for government employees, he recalled.

"I have referred to government in the state. I have also said that what is needed to-day is transformation of control of policy in our industrial life. We need a square deal more than we do a new deal.

"Before I leave Mr. Stevens, let me say that when Mr. Bennett spoke in Montreal last fall dealing with the United States and the codes for labor there he declared that we in Canada were not going to have any experiments in higher wages or shorter hours. In the light of this statement what is the use of all this talk by Mr. Stevens?"

To Help Personal Interests

He charged that Stevens was in collusion with Bennett in stating their policies.

"It is a humbug, brought out to further Mr. Bennett's political and Mr. Stevens' personal ends."

Returning to his definition of a square deal, he said it was needed in the transformation of raw material into commodities.

"Without labor you can't transform anything. Then there is capital. It is as necessary a service as labor in industry. You can have all the capital you like, all the labor you like, but if you haven't the men studying business conditions; and without the men with the brains to manage the industry, you won't get far.

"The community does the buying. It provides transportation, education and all those things. All these four enter into industry. But the trouble to-day is that one of these has had all the power. I say that the man who contributes his labor is entitled to as great a voice in the control of industry as anyone. The same is true of the organizing mind that is at the head of the industry; and the community. What we need to do to-day is place at the table where your labor investor, your capital investor, your manager's brains investor, and your community can meet. Let them all have an equal say in the operation of industry. That is the square deal I am speaking of."

"I wonder if Mr. Stevens begins to see himself as others see him?" he asked.

"If you are going to be guilty of fouls, you're going to score temporary advantage, but you're going to do far more injury to yourself and everybody else sooner or later.

"Nobody takes any exception to Mr. Stevens making remarks of conditions in the country and how they may be remedied, providing he sticks to the rules of parliament," said Mr. King, maintaining that Mr. Stevens, having taken the oath of a judge as head of the mass buying inquiry, should not reveal things coming before him till the proper time.

He called attention to the fact that Sam Factor, M.P., on the platform, was a member of the same committee, and that this committee was supported by the Liberal party as well as the C.C.F.

"Suppose Mr. Factor had done what Mr. Stevens has done; had come out and revealed things that had come before him, Mr. Stevens would have been the first to condemn him.

"Are you going to support that form of ethics?" asked Mr. King.

He read from the Stevens pamphlet. Mr. Stevens, he said, had claimed the pamphlet was a speech. Mr. King referred to the words, "my readers," in Mr. Stevens' pamphlet. There had also been 40,000 copies ordered. They were in French as well as English.

Mr. King referred to Mr. Stevens' accusation in the pamphlet and in all his public speeches that the Combines Investigation Act, passed by the King government, would not allow industrial interests in one line to meet together in associations to protect themselves, but, in reality, drove firms to form great mergers to protect themselves from cutthroat competition. He denied the charge, and read from the act as proof.

"Mr. Stevens is trying to make his campaign on the ground that this act encourages mergers. This act has no more to do with mergers than Mr. Bennett's relief act has to do with the grasshopper plague in the west or the fruit blight in the east," said Mr. King.

His charge was that Mr. Stevens was cunningly laying the ground for the repeal of this Combines Investigation Act.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20811 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

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"Act Would Have Been Remedy"

"He tries to blame it on this legislation, which, if he had tried to administer, would have brought out all that has been brought out by his committee and remedied it at the same time," was the strong statement of the former Liberal premier.

A system of insurance is also necessary, Mr. King went on.

It is absurd to say that laboring men can't turn out leaders. The present premier of Great Britain is a Labor man. He cited Tom Moore and others in Canada.

"The capitalists may not like it. They may try to hang on to the monopoly of control," was his analysis of the signs of the new order coming.

"You'll never cure monopoly by substituting one monopoly by another.

"The only way to cure monopoly, to get rid of monopoly, and you'll only kill it when you get conferences together of every part of industry," he insisted.

All through life, all industry is in the nature of social service, he continued.

"Let us retain what is best in our industrial life. Work from the point of social service and we'll soon solve our industrial and economic problems.

"Are we going to make of these a great battlefield or a great brotherhood?" was his summing up of international and national political and economic problems.

Referring to Major Snelgrove, he said he had served his country nobly overseas and now wishes to serve here in bringing about the great industrial brotherhood.

Given Great Welcome

"This is the eyepoint of the speaking campaign of Major Snelgrove in his Toronto East by-election; for tonight we have with us our great leader, Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King," began Mr. Allen at the opening of the meeting.

A mass ovation comparable to that which greeted Mitchell F. Hepburn before the memorable provincial sweep was given to Mr. King. The great audience rose and cheered him again and again.

Mr. Allen predicted that Toronto East would be a Liberal victory and all five by-elections would elect Liberal members.

"Over the top," shouted members of the audience.

Even after eleven election campaigns Mr. Allen announced he had not been discouraged, knowing that Toronto would become once again Liberal-minded.

"You remember we returned six candidates from Toronto in the recent provincial election, and we would have elected all eleven if it had not been for the entrance of a third party."

He owed his victory in Riverdale, said Mr. Allen, to that "magnetic and inspiring leader, Mitchell F. Hepburn," and all his tireless workers.

"I'm going to ask those 11,000 voters who voted for Bob Allen to turn around and give them now to Major Snelgrove, and there'll be no doubt of the result," interjected "Bob" Allen.

Introduced as a cousin of Col. William Mulock, North York condidate, Mrs. B. K. Johnston, young, blonde, dressed in a striking red blouse, had considerable difficulty making herself heard. Cries of "louder, louder" came from the audience as she began to speak.

"The loud speaker isn't working, so I'll shout," she smiled, raising her voice. The audience responded quickly and applauded her uproariously as she introduced Major Snelgrove.

People jumped to their feet and shouted as the candidate came to the front.

He opened by thanking his friends for the honor done him in nominating him as candidate in Toronto East.

"There is a responsibility on one but there is a greater one on you electors," he warned. "It is up to you to decide. Do you want Mackenzie King, or do you want Bennett and bad times?"

Loud cries of "No, no, not that," interrupted him.

Don't Want "Misery"

"Well out in East Toronto we are trying to beat Bennett and bad times," the major smiled. "The question is do you want four more years of misery?" again loud negative cries filled the auditorium.

"Then vote for me on the 24th. That will mean that Toryism is through in Canada.

"I want to say to the youth of Toronto East, you who will vote on the 24th for the first time, I say that in 1930 you came out of your high schools full of ambition and with Mr. Bennett promises ringing in your ears. Now what have you? Your spirits are broken, are you going to cast a vote for the party that has done this to you?" "No, no," cried a thousand voices.

Mr. Snelgrove outlined how Bennett time and again has refused to meet deputations of farmers, laboring men, unemployed who wanted to confer with him.

"It was different under Mr. King," he declared. "He gave us the greatest social legislation this country ever had. The Tory party of this country would have you believe we are prosperous again. I ask the Tory party to come with me in our riding. Let them see what I see. The Tory party is so far from you and me; so far from the masses that we do not exist in their eyes."

The speaker stated he was in the fight first as a Liberal; second as a returned soldier. "I say to Mr. Bennett let him touch anything he likes before he reduces the veterans' pensions."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20812 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

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Again he reiterated that on the 24th the five by-elections would inform Bennett that the country is through with him.

"You electors of East Toronto, it is you who will give him his 'billet doux.' Or you can tell him we want him four more years if you like."

He paused. A voice said: "No more Bennett" and immediately the crowd took it up: "No more Bennett. No more Bennett."

"Then my electors, go to the poll and vote for me. Work for me. If you do there is no doubt of the outcome."

He smiled and sat down amid thunderous applause.

"Although many times defeated, yet not humiliated, for we believe the principles on which Liberalism is founded," was the slogan sounded by Dr. Faulkner, minister of health for Ontario, who spoke next.

He predicted the return of Canada's trade when the King government is returned.

East Toronto people, he said, will do what they believe to be in the interests of the country and their homes, not just vote on party alignments.

Roebuck Acclaimed

Hoon. Arthur Roebuck, detained for some time, was acclaimed only second to Mr. King. Upon his arrival on the platform, Mr. King rose and shook hands heartily.

It was the hope of the Ontario Liberal government, he asserted, that after the next federal election "we will be working with Mr. King for the benefit of the worker."

"He is a brilliant man of action," was the simple introduction given Hon. Arthur Roebuck, following which bedlam reigned in the auditorium for several minutes. He tried to speak but was interrupted again and again by the enthusiasm.

The attorney-general spoke feelingly of the long years of friendship between himself and his leader, Mackenzie King. He recalled the Ottawa convention when Mr. King was made leader.

"He moved and I seconded the labor move we made then that took us into power in 1921," he recalled. "Mr. King at that time was minister of labor, and now I am, too, in the cabinet of talents.'

Here he was interrupted by voices calling for him to move closer to the loud speaker.

"It isn't working," he said.

"Like Bennett," someone cried—.

"There are 1,000,000 people on direct relief to-day. It is idle to talk personal politics. The real issue is the labor issue. What we want to-day is to get our men back to work. And on that point the Liberals and Conservatives are diametrically opposed."

The Conservative policy, he claimed, was one of suppression and restriction of trade.

"As Bennett's policies took effect more and more men went out into bread line. Restriction was followed by repression and suppression. Why in this very city he preached the doctrine of the iron heel. He actually said poverty was good for us. And he ought to know. He has created more poverty than any other man in the history of the country."

In support of this the speaker stated that the police force had grown and grown until it was an army. In Stratford because a few girls refused to pick chickens at six cents each they sent in the army to cow them. "But it has come to an end," he said. "Now, when you pass a bobby on the street he smiles."

The speaker attacked Stevens for blackguarding the employers from one end of the country to the other. "He describes their operations, but in the saddle at Ottawa they take no steps to stop it by taking advantage of the act against combines, that was passed by William Lyon Mackenzie King.

"It didn't need the expenditure of $250,000 by Mr. Stevens to tell you people here that wages and working conditions in Toronto were not right," he declared.

Here the chairman whispered to the speaker that his time was up, but the audience clamored, "Go on, go on."

"I must obey the chair," he declared. "But I wish I had time now to contrast for you the futility of the administration at Ottawa with the work of the administration of Mr. Hepburn here in Ontario; and we have only been in power 60 days. But already we have the promise of the lumber interests to put 10,000 men to work in the bush this winter. We have cut down interest rates so that there is hope of building boom again next spring."

The chairman again warned him time was up. Mr. Roebuck turned to sit down. Loud shouts came from the audience for him to continue, but shaking his head in smiling refusal, he sat down.

"The man who beat Tommy Church in 1930 and one of the big factors to-day in the Toronto East by-election," was Mr. Allen's introduction of Sam Factor, M.P.

"Give it to them!" shouted voices from the hall as Mr. Factor explained he had the honor to introduce Mr. King.

Mr. King, he said, had unstintedly and usefully given himself to the country during his term of office. His personal integrity, his intellectual capacity, his power to harmonize conflicting views were among Mr. King's qualities of leadership mentioned by Mr. Factor.

As a friend of labor, Mr. King did things for labor, not just promise to do them at the last minute before an election, insisted Mr. Factor, outlining Mr. King's long record in social reform.

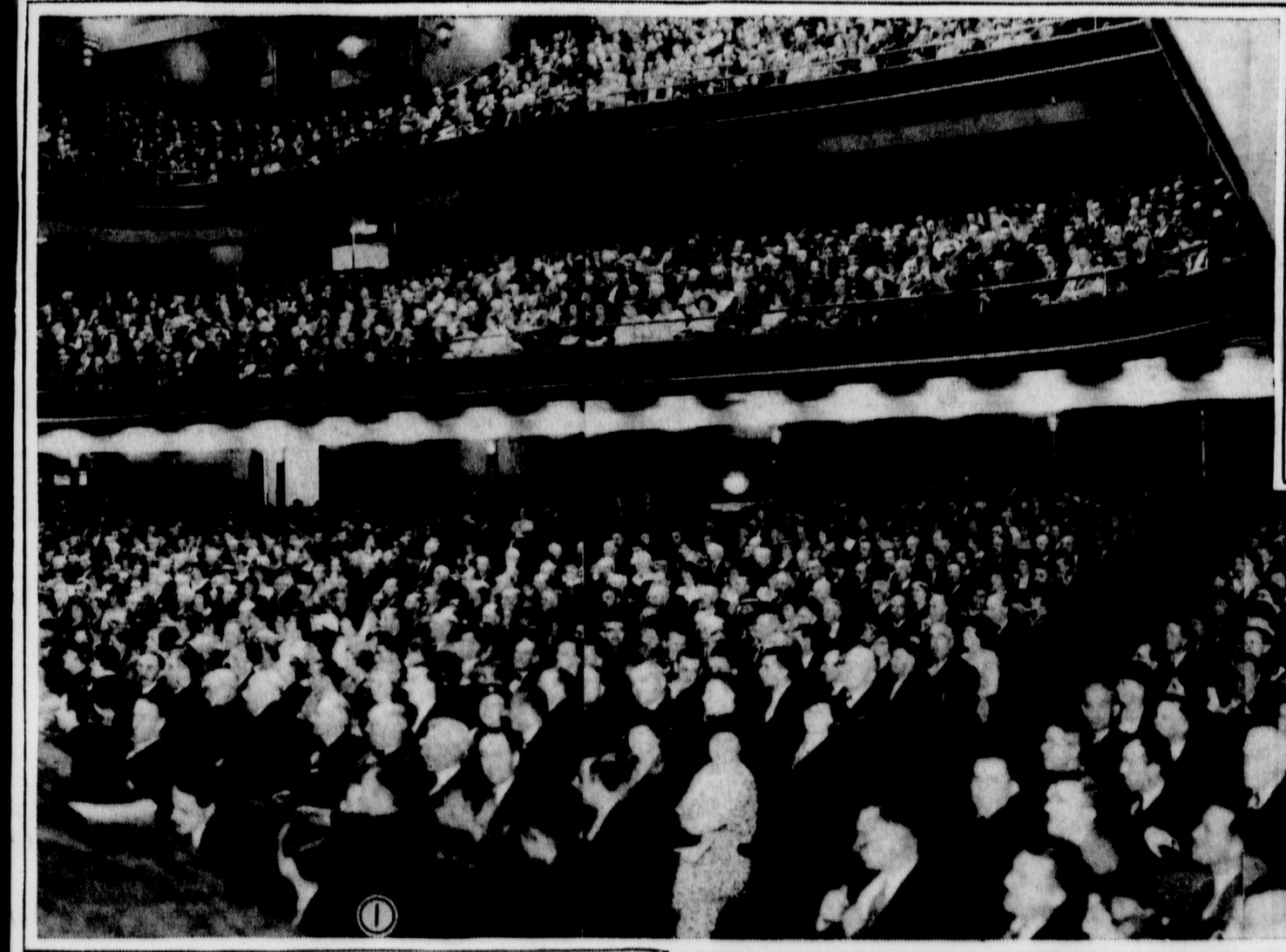
PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20813 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....



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THOUSANDS WELCOME LIBERAL LEADER

Toronto electors turned out in thousands last night to welcome Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, and to thunder their applause in Massey Hall, which was packed to the doors, for Major H. P. Snelgrove, Liberal standard-bearer in the Toronto East federal by-election. A panoramic view of the mammoth audience supporting the campaign to "Beat Bennett and Bad Times" is shown in (1) Mrs. Sam Factor, wife of the Liberal member for Toronto West (Centre) and Mrs. Snelgrove are seen in (2) talking about the campaign. In (4) is Mrs. B. K. Johnston. An idea of the crowd can be obtained from (3) showing the queue waiting outside the hall from 6.30 in the evening to get into the meeting.

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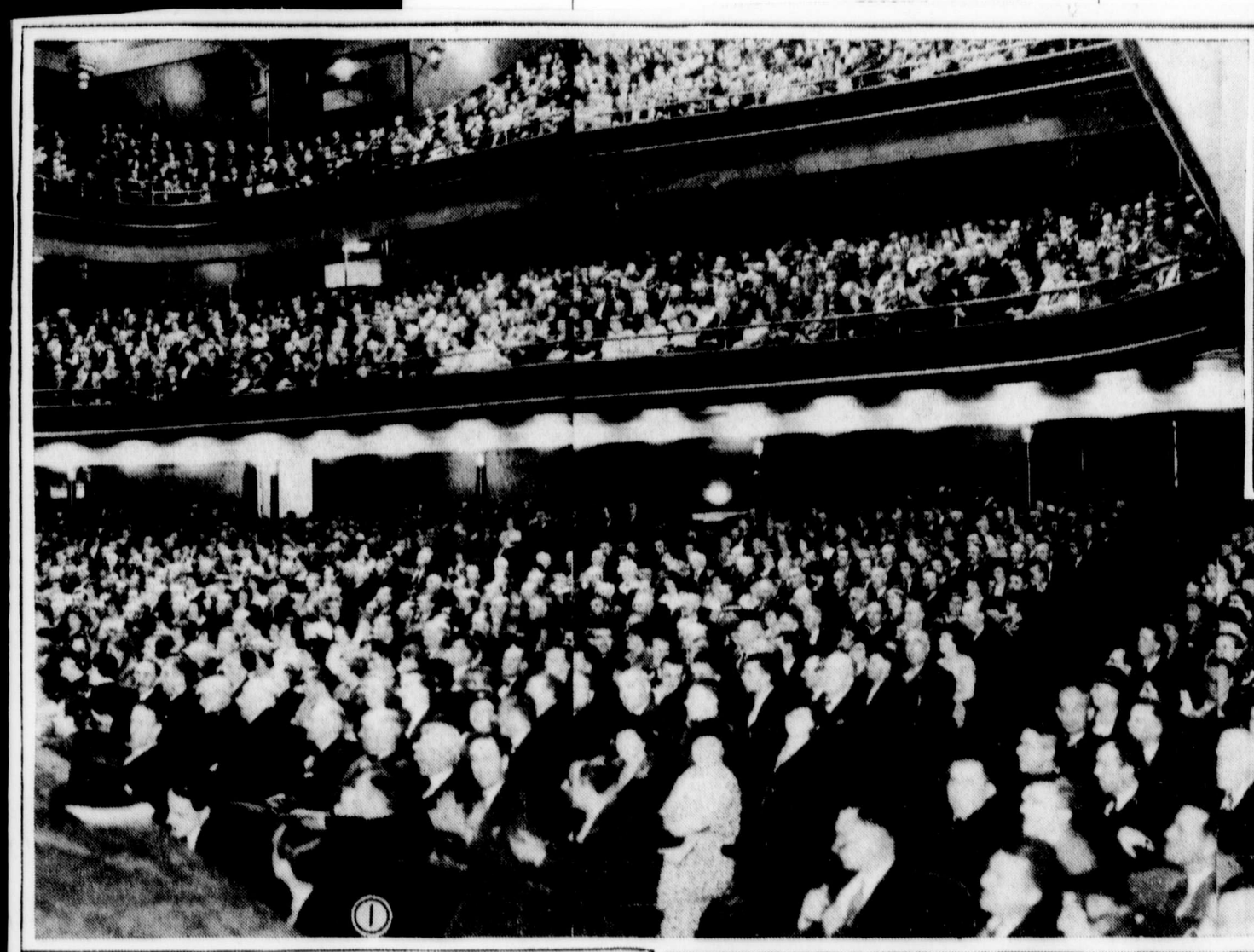

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 20814

Montreal Trip - Sept. 21, 1934

Afternoon - Meeting of Provincial Federation of Liberal Women of Quebec. 13.

Evening - Rally of Young Liberals of Montreal. 14.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20815 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Montreal Gazette

Date September 22, 1934 At Montreal - Sept. 21st. Provincial Federation of Liberal Women of Quebec.

Subject

LIBERAL TRIUMPH PREDICTED BY KING

Opposition Chief Confident of Ontario Elections Outcome

'SQUARE DEAL' PLEA

Extensive Scheme of Social Legislation Sketched to Provincial Women's Federation

Three certain, four probable and five possible Liberal victories in the five Ontario by-elections on Monday were predicted by the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in addressing a meeting of the Provincial Federation of Liberal Women of Quebec held yesterday in the Windsor Hotel. In any case, it will be "an overwhelming sweep to the Liberal party and away from the Conservative party," said the Liberal leader, amid applause.

Not a "New Deal" but a "Square Deal" for Canada, was advocated by the Liberal chief, who saw the need for co-operation of labor, capital, and genius for organization in the services which the community requires.

Economic co-operation must be substituted for strife, otherwise industrial relations might become a great battlefield, he warned.

Hon. Ernest Lapointe, former Minister of Justice, cited the slogan "Buy Canadian goods," adding "I thought what was important was to sell Canadian goods—and the buying of Canadian goods would then have taken care of itself." The Government, he said, has on its hands a voters' strike.

Hon. Fernand Rinfret also spoke briefly.

Mrs. Pierre F. Casgrain presided.

Mrs. M. Grant de Rouen presented a verbal report of the work of the past two years, stating that two clubs had been reorganized and five new ones formed.

The large percentage of women at the different pre-election gatherings in Ontario showed that women are thoroughly alive to the fact that the problems of today affect them just as much as they affect men, said Mr. King, and he observed that that feeling was becoming increasingly strong in this province also. He congratulated the federation in Quebec on the great progress it had made.

A word of "warning" from Mrs. M. Grant de Rouen, in giving her report as organizer, as to lack of co-operation and assistance of women in political work, with the hope that in the future the heads of movements, particularly federal movements, would appreciate the fact that the women have the vote, brought a reply from Mr. King. He pointed to the gradual development of the democratic system, and saw the complete political equality of women as the goal still to be proceeded to. It was not easy to get complete co-operation when the party was in opposition as when it was "on the crest of the wave," said Mr. King.

NO INTENTIONAL OVERSIGHT.

"I think you would be getting a wrong perspective altogether to believe there was any real intention on the part of those connected with the main organization of the party to ignore the part women play," he said.

Mr. King gave a lengthy dissertation on social problems and their close connection with political and economic questions. He felt that Liberalism should encourage "voluntary effort," and, failing that, should work out legislation that would enable people to receive sufficient remuneration, working at hours short enough and in favorable conditions, to ensure their happiness.

The programme of social legislation which he visualized provided protection against fear of unemployment, accident, sickness, sweated labor, and poverty in old age.

The Government had expended or guaranteed amounts totalling $270,000,000 in unemployment relief. Mr. King believed that a fund of valuable information on which to base a scheme of social insurance would have been obtained if a commission representative of a great many elements in the country had been formed to report on conditions as they observed them.

There was a party "made up of young people and others" who emphasized the need of service, regarding this as the function of industry, said the Liberal leader. This view, he pointed out, was embraced in Liberalism. Four groups were necessary to industry, but only one or two have had the shaping of industrial policy, he commented.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition
D 20816

Name of Publication ..... The Montreal Gazette .....

Date ..... September 22, 1934 .....

Subject ..... At Montreal - Sept. 21st
Rally of Young Liberals of Montreal.

KING ATTACKS BENNETT OVER DICTATORSHIP

Liberal Leader Speaks to 4,000 Stalwarts at Arena Rally

'REBELS' ARE DENOUNCED

Taschereau Defends Regime —Lapointe, Mercier Tackle Current Problems

Government of Canada is being carried on at the present time in a spirit far removed from that of the British constitution, departure from which means that it is headed in the direction of dictatorship, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, charged here last night. The former Prime Minister was the chief speaker at a rally of over 4,000 Liberals, organized by La Jeunesse Liberale de Montreal and held in the Mount Royal Arena.

Leaders of both federal and provincial Liberal parties spoke, Mr. King and Hon. Ernest Lapointe, former Minister of Justice, dealing with the Dominion sphere, and Premier L. A. Taschereau and Hon. Honore Mercier tackling provincial problems. Premier Taschereau stoutly defended his Government's activities, particularly in regard to social legislation, scored the attitude of young "rebels" who said they wanted to re-Liberalize the Liberal party, and quoted chapter and verse to prove that the claim his party was at the beck and call of big financial concerns was absolutely unfounded.

From a platform gaily decorated with flags and bunting, Edouard Rinfret and R. Miville-Deschenes, joint presidents, presented the speakers, who were welcomed by J. R. Fournier.

Mr. King came first; and he lost little time in launching into an at-

(Continued on Page 17 Col. 5)

tack upon the Government of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett on the grounds that it had deprived the people of the Dominion of many of the rights to which they were due under the British constitution, by giving the executive powers which should be Parliament's alone.

"What I want to emphasize," Mr. King said, "is that the main problem today, not only in our country but throughout the world, is the problem of government itself—both government within the State and government within industry, because the two are becoming more and more closely inter-related. Time and again you will have, in your work, to decide whether you are going to do what is best for democracy, or whether you are going to help to promote that freedom which has been wont to be taken away, and something of a dictatorship established."

DICTATORS AND IDEAS.

"I have no time to review the situation in Europe, but if you stop to think of the dictatorships there they have characteristics in common. A few men take it into their own hands to carry on government. They use that power to put into force certain ideas which are their own, and which they think are best study their fellow-men. But if you study the conditions of democracy you find that the object is not to have a few men obeyed, but to attain a representative institution expressing the ideas and ideals which make for the greatest freedom for the greatest number," he said.

"As I study conditions in the light of those contending forces I realize as I never have in the past that democracy depends for its existence on Parliamentary institutions, on those institutions which all of us in this country have become familiar with under the British constitution," the former Premier said. And, amid applause, he added that there had never been a man in the history of the country who had had a greater reverence for the British system of Parliamentary government than Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The primary idea of that constitution was that Parliament should represent and mirror the feelings of the great body of the people, and that it should at all times seek to carry out the will of the people.

"Have we got that spirit today in Canada?" Mr. King demanded. "Is government in Canada being carried on in accordance with the spirit of the British constitution? I think we are very far from it."

14.

D20817

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

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Subject .....

DANGEROUS TO TAMPER.

Twenty-three years ago to the very day, he stated, the Liberal party had gone out of office fighting for a great principle, the principle of greater freedom of trade. Despite the reciprocity question, Laurier might have carried on the Government for some time longer, but when such an issue arose he felt he owed it to the people to have them pass judgment upon it. The great English Liberal statesman had done the same thing many years before.

"We cannot begin to depart from that spirit," Mr. King continued, "because if we do we head in the direction of dictatorship."

In another critical period—that of the Great War—it had been suggested that the constitution be amended to increase the period during which Parliament might sit. Laurier had taken the position, however, that the constitution was the Ark of the Covenant as far as the rights of the people were concerned, and that it would be sacrilege to tamper with it. "And I think he was right," he added.

He turned to more topical matters. "Have you realized," he asked, "to what extent, year by year since the present Government came into office, we are losing the truly representative character of the spirit of the British constitution? What is the great means by which the people may maintain control over Parliament? It is with respect to public expenses. They must be subjected to the criticism of the peoples' representatives and every item should be voted in a regular way."

SURVEY OF FOUR YEARS.

"We have in office a Government that was returned for one specific purpose above all others—that of ending the unemployment problem and finding farmers the markets they needed. At the end of four years—which have seen five sessions of Parliament—neither of these objects has been attained. And how true has the administration remained to the spirit of constitution? In regard to the unemployment problem, which should have been discussed in Parliament, the Government simply asked Parliament to let the executive take out of the Treasury whatever sum of money they might wish to take for the purpose of dealing with the problem. So you have had, under the guise of an emergency, one right taken away from Parliament—the right to scrutinze expenditures and discuss the problem; and the same thing has happened every year. Is that the spirit of our constitution?"

"They have asked the House for the power to pass orders in council for peace, order and good government, under which heading the executive can make what are laws without the people's representatives having any voice in the matter whatever," he said. "Thus has another part of the British constitution and the duty of Parliament been abrogated." The same thing, Mr. King added, had been done in regard to labor policies and trade.

He had to object strenuously, also, to the fact that the trade agreements into which Canada had entered with Great Britain two years ago bound future parliaments. Tariffs were a form of taxation, he claimed, and taxation was something which the people ought to control. Similarly in regard to its agricultural policies and foreign affairs, Mr. King claimed that the Federal Cabinet had taken unto itself powers which rightly were those of Parliament alone.

CENTRAL BANK VIEW.

Reference to the recent banking legislation came next. Believing there was a demand among the people for revision of former monetary policies, he said, the Liberal party had put forward the policy of a central bank, which would be not necessarily owned by or under the control of the Government, but which the Government would have some direction of.

"What has been enacted in the law that has been passed?" Mr. King asked. "A bank has been established, the shares of which will all be privately held, the directors of which will be appointed by the shareholders, without the Government having a single share or the appointment of a single director, except the Deputy Minister of the Department of Finance, who has not the right to vote. Currency and gold securities are to be turned over to this bank, and in addition the issuing of currency, which is a duty of the Government itself, is being turned over to the same institution. Under that arrangement it might be possible for the bank to render the Government of the day negligible with respect to fiscal and financial matters."

"What I want to point out is this," he stressed. "All that kind of thing is leading away from Parliamentary control, from the system of argument on the floor of Parliament, free discussion, judgment and reason ,and is putting everything little by little in the hands of a particular executive. That means we are gradually changing from a democracy and a spirit of democracy into a regime which is similar in many respects to dictatorships in some lands."

D20818

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

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Subject .....

SQUARE DEAL WANTED.

As for dictatorship in industry, Mr. King claimed that what was wanted there was "not a new deal but a square deal" between the different parties in industry. "Industry," he pointed out, "is the transformation of the natural resources of the country by labor, aided by machines, into commodities and services available for human use."

Some said the change must lead to State ownership of industry, but he did not think that was the cure, for it merely meant substituting one type of dictatorship for another. "If our industrial problems are to be solved," he warned, "they will be solved by seeing that not only is the capital investor represented in control of industrial policy, but the labor investor is also represented."

The Quebec Government's policies were defended with unusual vigor by Premier Taschereau, who scored the attitude both of the Opposition and of the insurgents within his own party's ranks who stated they wanted to "re-Liberalize" the Liberal party. And he brought cheers by declaring that when his party went before the people again —"within two years"—it would repeat its victory of 1931.

The Government was perfectly willing to listen to young Liberals who had suggestions to make regarding possible improvement of the party's policies, the Premier pointed out, but there must be goodwill on their side as well as on that of the Government. "In your minds you have perhaps something that is lacking in our elder ones," he said. "You're welcome to tell us. But you will not 'Liberalize' the party by the methods you are at present employing, because there is only one Liberal party, at Quebec and at Ottawa." Here the Premier paid a tribute to the friendship which existed both in and out of politics between himself and Mr. Lapointe, and to the mutual confidence which Ottawa and Quebec Liberals had in each other.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

There were two great reproaches levelled at the Quebec Liberal party at the present time—that it was reactionary and Tory, the Premier said, and that it was at the beck and call of "trusts" and high finance.

To tackle the first objection, he reviewed social legislation passed in the province within recent years, such as the Workmen's Compensation Act, whereby $1,500,000 had been paid to injured workmen or to the survivors of those who had been killed in industrial accidents. Was that Tory legislation?

While the whole continent was "dry" the Government took control of the sale of liquor. Was that Tory?

"Perhaps it was considered a Tory measure because all the other provinces are following the example," he laughed.

Other items the Premier cited: Payment to the Hochelaga Bank of $15,000,000 in Government bonds, which had saved the Banque Canadienne Nationale when on the brink of financial disaster; expenditure of $125,000,000 on roads; establishment of La Co-operative Federee, which rendered "enormous service" to farmers in letting them get their products on the market at the best possible conditions; creation of free employment bureaus; expenditure of $6,000,000, last year alone, in public charities, for the protection of the aged, the indigent, widows and orphans.

"Moreover," the Premier added, "we have never allowed anything to pass that threatened the rights of the province. Never have we agreed to abandon one iota of our provincial rights. How and why can we be called Tories? What crime have we committed to deserve being called that?"

WANT NO EXPLOITATION

The other great argument of their opponents was that the Liberal party was a friend of the "trusts." But what was a "trust?" the Premier asked. If it meant an employer who risked capital and everything else in giving employment to Quebec workers, very well, the Government did favor the trusts. If capital disappeared the province would reach the state of Russia, where one had to obtain a chit from the Government to obtain a loaf of bread. If by trusts legitimate capital were meant, well, the Government did favor it.

"But we are absolutely against any trust that tries to exploit the people for its own benefit," he added. As an example of the province's "friendliness" in this connection he cited the recent coal combine case, stressing the fact that it was not the Federal Government that took action against the offending companies, but the province alone, the result being that fines totalling $30,000 were imposed on those concerned.

Laws such as the recent act providing for the juridical extension of collective labor contracts proved conclusively that the Government was the friend of the working-man, the Premier claimed.

D20819

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The claim most often voiced, however, was that the province was tied to the chariot-wheels of the electricity trust. Yet a commission had been appointed to review rates, and the Public Service Commission had been given power, not only to fix rates, but to break contracts where existing rates were considered too low.

"Be certain," he added, "we are not connected with any lighting or power company in the province. We are absolutely independent of any such company, and I think the best proof is that we have created this commission."

WILLING FOR SESSION.

The Premier closed with a brief reference to Montreal's problems, saying he was still ready to have a special session held, and to receive suggestions from the civic administration, regardless of its political affiliations.

Mr. Lapointe attacked the Conservative policy of high tariffs, saying that while Mr. Bennett in 1930 had said he would make tariffs fight for Canada, it had turned out that other countries had tariffs fight for them just as hard. "Mr. Bennett has inaugurated a dangerous fiscal policy which has threatened to crush the Canadian manufacturer and consumer," the former minister said. "The result today is that we have tens of thousands of Canadians tramping city streets or country roads looking for food, clothing, and shelter."

Canadians were obliged to work two and a half months every year to pay taxes, he pointed out, and a generation would pass before results of the cataclysm of economic nationalism would disappear. Yet his hearers must lose neither their faith nor their courage.

"At present," he warned, "we are in a fight which is going to become still more bitter. On one side there is Liberalism fighting for liberty, and on the other the partisans of force, despotism and absolutism—whether they are called Tories, Communists, Socialists or Fascists. They are enemies of liberty, and that is why we are fighting them. It is up to the lovers of liberty to have the competence and the courage to rectify the errors that have been made, and prevent them from being continued."

RUTHLESSNESS FOUND.

Enemies did not have to be persecuted "with the iron heel of the ruthlessness of Bennett," Mr. Lapointe said, "but their mistakes must be erased."

Hon. Honore Mercier, Minister of Lands and Forests of Quebec, stated that the problem of youth was one to which it was easily evident the province of Quebec gave close attention. He referred particularly to the back-to-the-land and colonization plans at present under way, stating that obviously they were not intended for the benefit of the old, but to promote a new generation which would carry on the traditions of the Quebec farmer which had made agriculture the base of the prosperity of the province—as it still was.

He believed that 1935 would be an epochal year in the province, with development of such plans, and impending greater improvement in every branch of industry, particularly in those which concerned the development of the province's incalculable natural resources. Revenues had been kept up, the province's credit was as good as ever, and there was plenty of room for confidence among the young men of today, the Minister said.

D20820

Third Annual Meeting

National Liberal Federation of Canada

December 12, 13, 1934

D 20821 15

3rd Annual Meeting of National Liberal Federation
December 12, 1934

Purpose of Trip Abroad.

When, at the end of September, I decided to visit Great Britain and Europe, I did not do so for pleasure, nor yet in quest of health and vigour. Had that been necessary, I should have chosen a less strenuous kind of vacation. I confess, to having felt, for a long time, the need of a change, and something which would afford opportunities of relaxation, having enjoyed little or nothing of the kind since I became the Leader of the Party over fifteen years ago. I went abroad because of the conviction, as stated to the press at the time, that the problems of today are essentially world problems, and that, as Leader of one of the political parties in Canada, I ~~should~~ might place myself in a position where I would be able to speak and act with first-hand knowledge, and with more in the way of authority.

I had not had an opportunity of visiting the British Isles, nor any of the European countries, since 1928, at which time I had the honour of signing the Briand-Kellogg Pact on behalf of Canada, and of being one of the representatives of our country at the Assembly of the League of Nations. I had long felt that conditions in the Old World, as in the United States, have an all-important bearing upon Canadian conditions, and that an understanding of the one is increasingly essential to the understanding of the other. I believed, too, that a visit to

London and to one or two of the capitals of Europe at this time would give opportunity of gaining knowledge of conditions from the points of vantage which world centres invariably afford, and of acquiring a knowledge, not of existing situations only, but, as well, of future possibilities.

Believing that no better opportunity for an extended visit was likely to present itself for some time to come, as soon as the results of the Ontario by-elections were known, I communicated with Mr. Lapointe and asked him if he, too, could not arrange to go abroad for a short time, so that together we might have an opportunity of gathering information, gaining impressions, and exchanging views with respect to what we might hear and learn.

Mr. Lapointe was unable to spend as much time abroad as I had hoped it might be possible for us to share. His stay in London and Paris, with the opportunities afforded in the time, was of sufficient length, however, to leave no doubt in his mind, as no doubt has been left in my own, as to many features and phases of the situation in Great Britain and Europe. Equally, if not more important, is the insight we both gained of the extent to which conditions in Canada and abroad are likely to be improved, or adversely affected, ~~by~~ accordingly policies which may be in force here.

A Policy of Peace.

Were I asked what, of all impressions - perhaps convictions would be a better word - became uppermost in the course of my sojourn abroad, I should say it is the need today in all quarters of the globe of a policy of peace. There must be a world peace, or, sooner or later, there will be no peace at all. All the nations of the world have an interest in maintaining peace, and must, therefore, do what lies in their power to promote and preserve peace. No one can visit any part of Europe today without sharing the concern, which is everywhere felt, that at any moment a situation may arise which might serve to bring the nations of Europe again in conflict with each other. Opinions differ as to when and where the incident may occur which will serve to let loose passions which it is the effort of so many at the present time to restrain. How real the danger is, and how immediate at any moment it may become, must be apparent to every reader of the press, even on this side of the Atlantic.

Let me make perfectly clear what is in my mind. I do not wish to be numbered among those who believe that war in Europe is inevitable, that it is bound to come. Nor do I wish it to be thought that I believe the peoples, or for that matter, responsible rulers and statesmen in Europe, want war

and are determined, come what may, to have it. On the contrary, I believe that on the part of those in authority in most of the countries of Europe, there is a sincere and determined striving for the preservation of peace. War, if it comes, will be the result of ill-will and hatreds which have become too strong and too general to be controlled. These hatreds are racial in part; in part they are class hatreds. The question is whether the agencies and forces seeking to restore and foster good-will will be strong enough, and able to act sufficiently in concert, to continue to hold the other forces in check.

It is generally recognized that some act of violence, of which there have been far too many of late, might precipitate the most serious of crises, the disastrous and wide-spread effects of which, the powers, through lack of effort sufficiently co-ordinated, might be unable to control. The danger is the greater in that in some countries the decision with respect to action rests so exclusively with individuals, whose direction of affairs is becoming increasingly influenced by the forces behind them. By training and propaganda the mentality of these forces is, moreover, becoming more and more a war mentality. With discontent seething among the masses in parts of Europe, and war propaganda and other agencies of discontent at work in all, there is the possibility, at any moment, of reason being overborne by impulse and passion, and a step, taken which is no longer retrievable.

What I believe is also generally recognized in Europe is the extreme difficulty there would be in confining a conflict to any one part of the continent and preventing its spread to others. I should like to emphasize, so far as Canada is concerned, that it is equally possible that war in Europe, should it ever break out again, may not be confined to Europe. The same may be said of conflict in the Orient. It may leap by violent and inevitable bounds over to the rest of the world. The whole of humanity is, therefore, interested in peace. A policy of peace should underlie all our other policies.

The manner in which the crime at Marseilles of two months ago has been handled by the Nations of Europe, in contrast with what occurred after the crime at Sarajevo twenty years ago, reveals the extent to which the forces that are working for peace in Europe have been able thus far to make their power felt and saner counsels prevail. It reveals, too, that nations, though armed and hostile, are not quite so ready to avail themselves of any pretext for war. Above all, what has taken place in the last few days reveals, not only the service to mankind which the League of Nations is capable of rendering, but the service the League is rendering at the present time. Whatever the successes or failures of the League may be, it is the one agency in the world today of constant and organized international consultation; the only agency which is everywhere, and at all times, being used for purposes of peace.

Concrete and Practical Measures

As a party which believes in peace, and in world peace, as the essential of freedom and a condition of progress, it is not sufficient that we, as Liberals, should express by words and resolutions our support of the League of Nations. We must become militant in our advocacy of those policies which may serve to strengthen the League in its work. I believe that this objective should increasingly become the key-note of all our policies.

Where the League is working for disarmament, we should not confine our efforts to framing and endorsing resolutions on the need for disarmament, but should state very definitely what, as Liberals, we intend Canada's attitude shall be toward those forces and nations which are known to be thwarting efforts at disarmament.

Where the League, as we know to be the case, is asserting the need for more in the way of international communication and co-operation, we should strive with greater determination than ever to put an end to the curse of economic nationalism, which, in matters of trade, and in much else, has caused the nations to view each other with enmity, distrust, and rapacity during the past few years. What is true of economic nationalism is even truer of economic imperialism, the ends of which economic nationalism in Canada is being made to serve. The ramparts of both must be destroyed.

Our country may be one of the smaller nations of the world, but, as a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, enjoying equality of status with the United Kingdom itself, its voice is not without influence in the councils of the Empire and in the councils of the world.

The position of all the British Dominions and that of Great Britain is similar, as I believe their outlook is similar. All have attained their maturity. All have proven themselves worthy and capable of following particular and general interests with a bearing on their own fate. They are eminently for peace. They have never shown a desire to act as superior or domineering races. They are, on the contrary, sympathetic communities, tolerant and whole-hearted, adhering to the principles of Christian civilization. Their word has been listened to upon memorable occasions. It will be listened to more and more in the future.

~~Even in the peace loving communities we are witnessing a fight between business and the spirit of peace.~~ Recent investigations by a United States Senate committee into the activities of the armament industry in America, have produced revelations of world wide co-operation between armament manufacturers, ~~including~~ leading British and ~~other foreign~~ firms. Evidence was given

Even in the peace loving communities we are beginning to witness a conflict between financial greed and the spirit of peace between those who are seeking fortunes through the manufacture and sale of instruments of death and those forces which are working for the preservation of life.

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that these firms had marketing agreements with ostensible rivals and that the same combines sold armaments to rival governments.

It is claimed in some quarters that so lucrative has the armaments business become that even governments themselves are powerless to probe its evils, and that in this field the business world dominates the political. We may not believe this to be true. We do not believe it. But there is only one way in which we can prove our faith, and at the same time expose what, if anything, may exist in the nature of an "arms racket", and that is to insist that throughout the British Empire there should be "a full and untrammelled" investigation into the operations of manufacturers and traffickers in armaments, such investigation to include the sale by this country and other parts of the British Empire of essential war materials, with a view to ultimate control of the supply and sale of munitions of war by the League of Nations or some other effective international agency. Action of the kind on the part of ~~members~~ Nations of the British Empire would soon be followed by similar action on the part of other nations. This would appear to be a first necessary step in the preservation of peace.

The next step would appear to be some agreement between the interested powers which, if not leading to complete disarmament, would have an important bearing upon it. Were a collective and solemn undertaking entered into by the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan, to the effect that they would provide neither arms, nor foodstuffs, nor credits to any nation guilty of disturbing the peace, on actual facts to be determined, we should soon witness the certain dawn of world peace. The same undertaking could, of course, be extended to powers of lesser importance.

A policy of the kind, to be wholly effective would require united action. Is there any reason, however, why the nations which believe in the necessity and efficacy of such a step should not begin by adopting it as a part of their own national policy? In this, as in all else, it is necessary that some country should take a lead.

May I ask my fellow Liberals if there is any reason why, in a matter of so great importance to the world, Canada should wait for any other nation to take the lead? ~~Should~~ This country ~~not~~ should definitely declare, not only that

it will give no succor to any nation which wantonly disturbs the world's peace, ~~on actual facts to be determined~~, but that it will provide neither arms nor foodstuffs nor credits to such a nation? I believe that a declaration of policy of the kind by the government of Canada would win for this country friends among all the peace-loving nations of the world and would serve to open the door to broad general negotiations which would harmonize and promote their mutual interests.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Pacts' Annulment Banned by King

Ottawa Treaties Stay in Effect Until After Negotiations

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Ottawa, Dec. 12.—The attitude of the Liberal Party toward the 1932 Empire trade agreements was the subject of reference by Liberal Leader Mackenzie King in the course of his address before the National Liberal Federation here today.

If a Liberal Government came into power, he said, the trade relations of Canada to the other parts of the Empire would be the subject of discussion and negotiation. From the Canadian point of view these negotiations would be conducted in the spirit of Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin at the 1932 conference in Ottawa.

The Liberal Leader made it clear that ruthless scrapping of Empire agreements was not planned. While negotiations were under way seeking what he regarded as better trade and tariff relations between Empire nations and also as between the Empire and the rest of the world, the trade agreements would remain in effect. Nothing would be done without discussion and negotiation between the interested parties.

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Sir George and Lady Perley

Rideau Club Dinner

Dec. 19, 1934

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Rideau Club - Dec. 19, 1934.

Mr. President, Prime Minister, Sir George and Lady Perley, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure to me to associate myself with the Prime Minister in the toast which he has just proposed to the guests of the evening, Sir George and Lady Perley, and I desire to thank my fellow-members of the Rideau Club for according me this honour. Perhaps you would permit me, Mr. President, to add that I feel it an additional ~~honour~~ pleasure to be thus intimately identified with this occasion, seeing that it comes in a year of your presidency. You and I are very old friends and I hope you have not forgotten that at the time of your marriage I was your best man. I am pleased to bring this pleasant remembrance to the attention of those who are assembled here this evening, as it may serve to emphasize a note which I should like to make uppermost in my few remarks this evening with special reference to our distinguished guests, namely, the gift which has been pre-eminently theirs of winning, all along the way of their journey together, the friendship, and I might add, the affection of men and women of all political parties.

Perhaps I might be permitted to put first among the many reasons why I am pleased to be here this evening the one which I have in common with yourself and indeed will all present, namely, the personal friendship which it is my privilege to enjoy with Sir George and Lady Perley. That friendship in the case of Sir George goes back many years. I am happy to say it was a friendship enjoyed by my father and mother before I had had the pleasure of even coming to know him. I am happy to recall that, out of that friendship enjoyed with my parents, Sir George's home was one of the first to extend to me a welcome when a little over 34 years ago I came to Ottawa to enter upon my duties in public service of our Dominion. From that day to this, it has been my pleasure to enjoy Sir George's friendship. I recall with great pleasure, too, that it was not so very long after I had come to Ottawa that I also came to enjoy the hospitality of Mrs. Thomas White, and to know her daughters, one of whom was May Queen at the time. I confess that in those more romantic years of my life, I felt not a little overawed at meeting one enjoying so magical and enviable a position. I was soon to discover, however, that the honour was one which could not have been better bestowed, for, at that time and ever since, the May Queen

of that day has been associated with good and gracious works.

I am glad to be able to say to the Prime Minister tonight that, while the late Mrs. Thomas White came to think of him politically as the best, and I imagine, the greatest of men, and of myself, politically speaking, as perhaps the worst, I could recognize no change in the warmth of the welcome she personally gave to me, when, in the rooms of the Speaker of the House of Commons, only a short time ago, a distinguished son, the oldest member of our House of Commons, took me himself personally where she was that I might have another talk with her.

As I think of the distinguished forebears of both Sir George and Lady Perley, and of the beautiful and beneficial way in which their memories have been perpetuated, not only in institutions known to us all, but in the lives of Sir George and Lady Perley themselves, I seem to see in it all another fulfilment of one of the noblest of the commandments of old:

> "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee".

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The Prime Minister has most fittingly and graciously reviewed the many causes and the many services with which, in their public life, Sir George and Lady Perley have been so intimately, I shall not say identified, but associated. I shall not repeat what Mr. Bennett has said in this particular, and which is so immediately present to the minds of all of us. I should like to say, however, that it constitutes a second reason why I am particularly happy to be able to be present this evening. As the leader of one of the old poltical parties in Canada, and having had an association with public affairs sufficiently long to know something of what they involve in the way of sacrifice, as well as of what they may bring in the way of reward, I am proud to pay a tribute, not personally merely, but on behalf of my party, to the great public service which Sir George has rendered our country in high offices of state and in positions of great honour, trust and responsibility. One cannot enumerate even a part of the positions he has held from time to time without realizing that his life has been one of large and unselfish public service.

Not the least unselfish part of it all has been the readiness with which, from time to time, he has been prepared to efface himself that others might be given a greater prominence. What it has meant to the leaders of his party to have at their right hand one whose knowledge of affairs and personal loyalty were such that all duties of an Acting Prime Minister might be left in his hands at any moment, only one who has known something of the responsibilities of that office can begin to imagine. It is one of the many fine traits of Sir George's character that he has never shirked a request of the kind, and has never failed to fulfill its duties in a manner which has added to his own good name and that of his party.

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There are several other reasons which I might mention why I am particularly pleased to have the honour of seconding the toast which the Prime Minister has proposed, but I must limit myself to a reference to but one more. It is one which to me is deserving of special mention on an occasion such as this.

The Prime Minister and I, because of our respective positions, necessarily view Sir George in the political world from different perspectives. Mr. Bennett sees, and speaks and thinks of him as a loyal supporter and a member of his own political party, and the most trustworthy of colleagues at the Council table. I necessarily see and speak and think of Sir George as one who is not of my own party, but a foremost political opponent, one who for many years was Whip of the Conservative party, and who at all times has been foremost in its councils. I see him almost every day when parliament is in session, not sitting at my right hand, as Mr. Bennett does, but immediately opposite, with all the majesty, and terror and defiance which that particular position carries with it to the Leader of an Opposition. It is to the chivalry of Sir George as a political opponent that I wish to make special reference. I have always felt that parliament is something more than a mere institution based on the constitution which it is sometimes very difficult to preserve, and the product of much in the way of electoral machinery, and held together by rules and regulations so numerous and venerable that they can

scarcely be numbered, and some of them in the nature of simple traditions. Parliament appeals to me as an assemblage of men charged with the highest of all responsibility, that of making the laws of the country. As such, the very existence of parliament and our government itself comes to be dependent upon the degree to which all can work together, believing in the integrity of motives, respecting differences of opinion, and observing in their political and personal relations those amenities which are so essential and fundamental a part of all social life.

There is in London a Club called "Grillions" which is open to members of both contending parties, and the main characteristic of which has been its generous and courteous comprehension of diversities of political views. It is founded to avoid the serious damage to London society that it was believed might result from the violence of political controversy. It has not been uncommon, even in the most important crisis of the political history of Great Britain for the most uncompromising opponents to meet round its table in perfect freedom of conversation, and even of banter, secure alike from affront and misapprehension. To some extent this Club has met a purpose of the kind. It is not, however, to the Club feature that I wish to refer. It is to the spirit which underlies it, a spirit without which I do not believe our parliament can begin to function as it ought.

It is one of the fine traditions of the legal profession that hot and hardly fought contentions in the forensic arena should never be allowed to interfere with the ties or even intimacies of friendship. & Those bonds which permit of conversations between members of the profession under the seal of confidence. That tradition is one which, I believe is as essential to the successful working of our parliamentary institutions in the making of our laws , as it is in all that pertains to their interpretation and application. In this particular, Sir George Perley has long held the honoured place by men of all political parties in the House of Commons. On many occasions he has been the trusted confidant of his colleagues, and equally trusted colleague of his political opponents. He has never permitted his loyalty to his party and his principles to cause him knowingly to wound or injure any one by whom he was politically opposed, nor in any way to impair the cultivation and enrichment of great friendships with political opponents as well as with political friends which the opportunities of public life alone can bring. The example he has set us all in this parti ular I should like to acknowledge to the full tonight. It belongs, not to the garden of friendships only, but is a highly important contribution to the public life ~~of this and other lands.~~

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With these few words, Mr. President, may I again second the toast which the Prime Minister has proposed to Sir George and Lady Perley, asking that when we drink to it we have especially in mind, not only what their lives have meant to each other, but what their joint service, and the traditions of their homes ~~and lives~~ has meant to our city, our country, and to many other parts of the world.

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37	139	Chronological Files	Sept.-Oct. 1935	D 21340 - D 21483	
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38	143	Chronological Files	Apr.-May 1937	D 21844 - D 22001	

D 20842

MR. KING

REPLIES TO

MR. BENNETT

September 17th, 1935

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

The Past, The Present, The Future

The Issue Defined

Radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on September 17th, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Within the past ten days, you have had the opportunity of listening to four radio addresses by the Prime Minister. The impression Mr. Bennett's addresses have left upon my mind, and, I feel sure, also upon yours, is that Mr. Bennett stands today, just where he stood five years ago. His basic policies remain those upon which he has acted right along.

Moreover, Mr. Bennett's appeal remains the same. He continues to believe that promises count for more than all else in a political campaign; that promises will do the trick, a second time; especially if they are on a grand scale, and made with sufficient emphasis.

I did not expect that Mr. Bennett would venture to announce yet another programme of so-called social reform. Yet that is what he has done. As with the one which preceded it, he hopes that this programme will serve to obliterate the record of the past five years. If the measures now being proposed are calculated to prove so effective, why were not one, or all of them, enacted in one or other of the six sessions of the late parliament?

One-Man Policies

Here again, however, Mr. Bennett is running true to form. The far-reaching measures, now put forward for

the first time, were not so much as hinted at while parliament was in session. In no sense can they be described as the policies of the Conservative party. Obviously, the party has not been consulted, or it has ceased to exist. Already, influential Conservatives, and a large section of the Conservative press, if they have not ridiculed, have been extremely critical of Mr. Bennett's latest proposals.

There is another circumstance which the electorate will do well to have in mind. Should Mr. Bennett be defeated in Calgary West, or drop out of the leadership of the Conservative party, once the elections are over, what guarantee is there that the Conservative party will feel itself bound to enact a single measure proposed by Mr. Bennett since the dissolution of Parliament? In view of Mr. Bennett's conversion to the idea that sixty years should be the limit of a man's working days, and having regard as well, for other passages in his addresses, which would indicate that Mr. Bennett may find it inadvisable, in any eventually, to continue longer in the leadership of his party, the possibility of change in the leadership of the Conservative party is something of which account must be taken at this time. Is it not fair to assume that, with a change of leadership, any measure not congenial to a majority of the members of the Conservative party will be dismissed as being just another of Mr. Bennett's promises made for the purpose of winning an election!

The same, indeed, may be said with respect to all that Mr. Stevens is pledging himself to carry out. If, by any chance, in the present elections, Mr. Stevens should meet with defeat in the constituency of East Kootenay, as he did in Vancouver Centre in 1930, or should, for any other reason, find it impossible to carry on, what, during the next five years, will become of the party Mr.

Stevens himself has brought into being, has named and baptized, and started upon its career under his sole paternity?

Above all, in times such as the present, with great international, as well as national problems to be faced, and with the possibility of war at our very doors, you will do well to consider how inadvisable it is that the fate of Canada should be in the hands of any one man. Surely, it must be apparent to all, that we cannot too quickly return to government by a ministry composed of many men, each bringing his experience and judgment to bear, not to appearances only, but in reality, upon the momentous issues of our day. ,

In the Book of Proverbs, we are told:

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

This is as true today as it was in the days of Solomon. It might be said, with equal truth, that from ancient days to our own, there never has been a time in the world's affairs, more than the present, when there was so much need for men and nations to keep this proverb in mind.

Liberal Policies Unanimously Approved

Let me again remind you of what I have already said of an all-important difference between the Liberal party, and the other parties which are seeking your support in the present elections. The programme of the Liberal party is the work of the party itself. It is not the declaration or manifesto of any one man. It has been endorsed by all who were Liberal members in the last parliament, and by the National Liberal Federation and its affiliated organizations from coast to coast. Not the leader only, but the Liberal party as a whole, is already

committed to, and bound by the policies to which it has given its approval.

So long as I remain the leader of the Liberal party, I intend, as respects its policies, to have this guarantee before asking the electors of Canada to give the party their support. I intend, as well, if the party is returned to power, to see that the policies thus endorsed are carried out. I need scarcely add that it is in this manner alone that, notwithstanding a change in its leadership, a political party can be held to its promises and policies. This method of carrying on government may necessitate less in the way of promises, but it will mean, I believe, very much more in the way of performance. Moreover, it will serve to hold Canada true to the ideal of Democracy, and to preserve our country from Dictatorship. Sooner or later, Dictatorship leads inevitably to the destruction of liberty. It is leading today to war.

If, for any reason, in this general election, I, myself, should suffer defeat in the constituency of Prince Albert, which has honoured me with its representation during the past ten years, and be precluded, subsequently, from re-entering parliament, I would be able to hand over the party leadership to another with the certain knowledge that it was something more than merely the leadership of a political party which was being transferred. I would feel that what I was handing over was a great trust which the Liberals had committed to my charge. If on October 14th, the Liberal party should again be returned to power, it would be even more than this. It would be much more than a trust which the Liberals of Canada had, for the time being, committed to my keeping. It would be a trust which the people of Canada had committed to the keeping of the Liberal party.

When the time comes for me to hand on to another the torch of Liberal leadership in Canada, I hope I shall be able to pass it on, not as a meaningless thing, or some mere symbol of authority, but, as I received it from the hand of Sir Wilfred Laurier—a light, undiminished, which, in no flickering or uncertain way, discloses the path along which the Liberal party is pledged to tread. I shall have, too, the satisfaction of knowing that the policies of the Liberal party are no meaningless or ephemeral things, since they carry with them the authority and pledge of young and old alike, of men and women of all creeds and classes, and of East as well as West.

Five Disastrous Years

I have said that Mr. Bennett stands today exactly where he stood five years ago. Canada has had five years of Bennett policies and promises. Can anyone say that, except to a few privileged interests, these policies have been of benefit to any part of Canada, or to any class in our country?

Five years of Bennett policies and promises have left Canada with a staggering unemployment problem; with ruination staring farmers in the face; with an unparralleled stagnation of transportation; with an enormous diminution in the volume of our foreign and domestic trade; with bitterness toward Canada in trade affairs in other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and enmity in many foreign countries; with industry and the people of every class being called upon to bear a merciless load of taxation; and with enormous debts and unbalanced budgets in Dominion, provincial and civic administrations.

The worst feature about all that Mr. Bennett has to

say is that he assumes that unemployment and depression are bound to continue indefinitely. What he has been insisting right along was only a temporary condition, has now become chronic. His attitude is one of defeat and despair. Instead of planning for plenty, he plans for scarcity. Instead of aiming at the expansion of trade, he aims at further restriction of trade. Instead of ending unemployment, he now proposes to end work. It is the logical development of the policy of economic nationalism, which he says he deplores, but from which, in his blindness, he can find no means of escape. In planning for scarcity, rather than for plenty, his first step was to restrict or to prohibit trade. That successfully accomplished, the next step was to limit the production and to restrict the sale of commodities. This being in process of accomplishment, he now proposes to restrict work itself, by prescribing the years within which a man shall be permitted to earn his daily bread.

Bennett's Colossal Failures

To cloak his own colossal failures, Mr. Bennett resorts to an old political, but not very creditable device, namely, that of attributing, to policies of his opponents, the evil consequences which flow from his own. Mr. Bennett states that the Liberal policy of freer trade would mean "the wreckage of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reductions in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our natural products." These are the very results which have been produced, not by the freeing of trade, but by the strangling of trade, through Mr. Bennett's policies of extreme protection.

Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of

the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example of Mr. Bennett's method of seeking to conceal his own shortcomings, by misrepresenting the attitude of his opponents, is the case of Canada's trade with Japan. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of the situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for.

As for a trade agreement with the United States, Mr. Bennett tells us that this is still a possibility. I shall content myself, therefore, with drawing attention to the fact that the long talked of negotiations have yielded thus far only a year old prospectus, an indication of the half-heartedness with which negotiations have thus far been pursued.

Obviously, it is not possible for me, in the half hour at my disposal, to take up, one after the other, the many subjects dealt with by Mr. Bennett in his radio addresses, which occupied in all, two hours and a half. I shall have to leave for the public meetings, which I am about to address, further consideration of such subjects as I have already dealt with in my previous broadcasts, and which include the all-important questions of unemployment; currency, credit and banking; the marketing of Canada's products; reciprocal agreements with the United States and other countries; as well as constitutional issues and international relations.

I wish, however, to say at once, that there is not the slightest ground for the contention that, if a Liberal government is returned to power, Canada's interests will in any way be prejudicially affected by its dealings with Japan, or, for that matter, with any other country.

What the Liberal Party Will Do

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of cusoms duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations, or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time, to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

Reduce Duties on Implements

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. If returned to office, a Liberal government will, along with other reductions, immediately and materially reduce duties on these articles which enter into the cost of production of our primary industries, more particularly on the implements and machinery of production.

Reduce Taxation on Necessaries of Life

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and that he has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. For one, in a family, who would

be classed as a producer, there are usually several who are consumers. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled families to pay infinitely more for the necessaries of life, and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed, today, the family might well be described as the forgotten unit in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect immediate substantial reductions in the duties on the necessaries of life, and to exempt from the sales tax many articles of domestic consumption, thereby affording a direct measure of relief to every home and to every individual.

If our primary industries are to be developed as they should be, capital as well as labour must be attracted to them. To this end, confidence in the stability of government policies, as well as in administration, is essential. Ever since the present government assumed office, business has suffered from incessant intervention, discriminatory taxation and from the uncertainty and instability of our customs and other fiscal laws. Unpredictable customs rulings, and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations, have impeded, and made impossible, the recovery and expansion of Canada's trade, almost as much as the extravagant and unparalleled increase in duties. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, as imposed and administered by the present government. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration, and continuity in government policy.

Secure Larger Markets

While the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements may prove an arduous task, the Liberal party believes

that in this way much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated, since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than twenty-one trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated twenty-six agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated seven, and the Argentine five. While Canada's negotiations have been proceeding with the United States, that country, within a little over a year, has negotiated agreements with Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Cuba and Haiti. All these nations have gained an entrance and established a foothold in markets at our very door.

Stevens Remains a Tory

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by now talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. The reduction of duties on agricultural implements and textiles was, time and again, urged upon the government by myself and other Liberal members, when Mr. Stevens was Minister of Trade & Commerce, and, as often, refused or ignored by Mr. Bennett and himself. It will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens to cause the electorate to overlook the fact

that for four years, as Minister of Trade & Commerce, he was Mr. Bennett's right-hand man in the carrying out of policies of trade restriction and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles was raised to unprecedented heights.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, and Mr. Bennett would have you believe that he and Mr. Stevens have parted company, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in Kootenay East by a candidate of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary West by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. This does not look like an irreconcilable quarrel, much less like war to the death. There is a growing conviction that, whatever may be the feelings between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, the followers of both are only temporarily in different camps; that, once the elections are over, their forces will speedily coalesce.

Mr. Bennett, in introducing his latest batch of promises, has harped once more upon the solitary string that the Liberal party has no policies or proposals. The Liberal party, on the contrary, has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike those of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, they have not been especially concocted since the prorogation of parliament. They have been set forth, time and again, over a period of years, and enjoy the unanimous support of a party united from coast to coast. They have, moreover, been drafted, not simply for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government and of leading Canada out of the depression.

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The Liberal Party Pledges Itself

The Liberal party is pledged to regard unemployment as Canada's most urgent problem; to deal with unemployment as a national problem, and through the agency of a representative national commission to cooperate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. It is pledged to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion into a general scheme of social insurance, including health insurance as well as old age pensions. It is pledged to policies which will liberate and expand our external trade upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation of internal trade, by ending artificial price control and price fixing, which restricts and hampers trade internally; to the development of primary industries, by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; to state assistance in the marketing of natural products; to the restoration of control by the state over currency and credit, through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; to the establishment of an investment control board; to the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and controlled utility; to the democratization of industry, through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; to the restoration of responsible government; to the re-assertion of personal liberty, and the right of free speech and free association; to measures of electoral reform; to effect, as quickly as may be possible, a balanced budget, retrenchment of public expen-

ditures, and reduction of the principal and interest on the public debt; to an inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs of government; to a furtherance of international peace and the work of the League of Nations; and to a more equitable distribution of wealth, which will have regard to human needs, to the furtherance of social justice, and the promotion of the common good.

In the course of his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has found it necessary to give you reasons, apart altogether from the issues of the campaign, and the policies of the respective parties, why you should withhold your support from me, and give your support to him.

Of me, Mr. Bennett says, that he must warn the country, what will be its fate, if it entrusts itself to the guidance of one so supremely oblivious to the actual problems, so utterly uninformed of the practical ways to deal with them.

Of himself. Mr. Bennett says: "I think that even my harshest critics will admit that I have been a good man of business." He then seeks to convey the impression that any success which may have attended the efforts of the present government has been due to himself, rather than to his colleagues. He tells you that he dislikes to talk about his illness, but that he must do so, because, "it had an influence upon the course of events." "It gravely interfered," he says, "with the development of our programme." "Had I had," he goes on to say, "an unbroken sweep between January and May, we would have been further ahead than we are now. Other vital elements in our programme would now have been enacted into law."

In his parting word, Mr. Bennett did not hesitate to say that no one could be found as capable of administer-

ing the affairs of Canada as himself. Referring to the possibility of anyone else becoming the leader of the government of Canada, he says: "I would be more than content, if I could believe that my successor might do better for you than I." However much this may appear to reflect upon myself, or other political leaders, it is certainly hard upon those who have been Mr. Bennett's colleagues during the years he has been in office, and upon all who belong to the Conservative party.

Here, I may, perhaps be allowed to say to Mr. Bennett that, whatever my qualities for leadership may be, I have never found it necessary, in order that my own personality might thereby be magnified, to deprive my colleagues of due credit for what has been accomplished by the administraton of which I have been the head. Moreover, I have not found it necessary to change the name of my party in the course of a political campaign.

Danger of One-Man Parties

It might be well for me to remind you of what I said a moment ago of the danger which threatens all political programmes that lie too completely in the hands of an individual man.

Does not what Mr. Bennett has said make perfectly clear how completely, the carrying out of the measures he now advocates depends, in Mr. Bennett's own mind, not only upon his remaining at the head of the Conservative party, but upon the condition of his own health. What guarantee is there, unfortunate as it would be, that Mr. Bennett might not again, as he says, "let his party down," and also "let you down". It is to guard against just such contingencies, in the administration of a nation's affairs, that government ought to be widely

distributed among members of a ministry, one and all sharing a collective responsibility for every act. This is the essence of the British system of government. Can we, in the government of our country, afford to risk any contingency against which it is possible to provide, as we face the appalling issues with which, at any moment, Canada may be confronted?

The Liberal Party's Record

Fortunately, I am not obliged to place my own estimate upon the record of the government of which I have been the head. As to business capacity, as well as to all else, the record speaks for itself. When the late Liberal administration took office in 1921, Canada was in the slough of a great depression. Thousands were unemployed, trade was languishing, the railroads were in a desperate condition, the burden of taxation was greater than it had ever been, and the public debt was mounting to unprecedented heights. The country, it might truly be said, was heading for bankruptcy.

What was the story when we left office in 1930? Those years of Liberal administration constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, Canada's total trade reached the highest point in our history—(over two and a half billion dollars.) In seven out of nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Our country had gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade. The total of these favourable balances reached the colossal figure of one and

a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on moderate incomes, and exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished. There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production in the basic industries, motor vehicles, and on many of the necessities of life. Production was vastly increased, and the cost of living was materially lessened.

The Conservative Record

Now, what is the record of Mr. Bennett's administration? In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from the fifth to the eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses, and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased, and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent., and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Notwithstanding that armies of men are being employed on public works, out of funds furnished from the treasuries of the Dominion, the provinces, and municipalities, unemployment has increased from around one hundred thousand

in 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the railways, have fallen by fifty per cent. With trade strangled and industry depressed, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissension and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

Perhaps, from this, it will be apparent that personal success in business is not always the surest guarantee of success in the administration of public affairs. Indeed, the mere suggestion that success in business is a guarantee of success in government, reveals a failure to appreciate the very qualities which count for most in the administration of public affairs. No one would think of suggesting that Sir John A. Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier owed their success in public life to their capacity to make money. Yet, their names will ever be remembered and honoured by their respective followings, and by the country.

The Art of Government

Ability and political capacity are one thing; the methods that make for success in business are only too often quite another and very different sort of thing. Methods that bring success in business too frequently bring disaster in government. Business is concerned with money. Government is concerned with men. Business is an occupation, an occupation which has for its objective the success of the individual. Government is an art. It is the art of effecting a maximum of co-operative effort in all that pertains to the state. It is the art of promoting unity and good-will in all human relations. Business is concerned primarily with present material gain. Government is concerned not less with

the future than with the present, and with human and spiritual values, much more than with material values. It cares nothing for the gain of special privilege; it cares everything for the common good.

Especially where social problems are concerned, there can be no greater mistake that to believe that the qualities and methods which make for success in business are necessarily the qualities and methods that make for success in government. A broad survey of the industrial field discloses only too plainly that many so-called business successes have been due to a ruthless disregard of humanitarian considerations. Indeed, the crux of the social problem lies in the relative importance we attach to human well-being as against material gain. Until we come to regard Industry as being in the nature of social service and see the necessity of dealing with its problems from the point of view of the sacredness of human life and personality, rather than from that of accumulation of wealth and material reward, there will be, and there should be, no cure for social and industrial unrest

The same, I believe, is true of international problems. Referring to myself, Mr. Bennett says: "Tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone, not blind and deaf to facts, that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been." This, no doubt, refers to the concluding words of my first broadcast, when I said: "Let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

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The Two-fold Aim of Liberalism

At last, the issue between Mr. Bennett and myself is clearly defined. To get more business by the hard trading way, the way that puts present material interests before all else, that, Mr. Bennett says, is the Conservative way. That may be Mr. Bennett's way; it may be, as Mr. Bennett says: "The Conservative way," but it is not my way; and, I am happy to say, it is not "the Liberal way."

Progress has been effected, not by individuals and nations working for themselves alone, and putting material interests before all else, but by a course the very opposite. Individuals and nations who have upheld the Liberal faith, have sought to gain for others, as well as for themselves, the ends desired, in the belief that no man liveth unto himself alone and, no nation liveth unto itself; that the good of all is, in the long run, the good of each; that we are all members one of another.

The individuals and the nations which discard Liberalism, pay by losing their liberty. When liberty goes, little else remains. Today the task of Liberalism is two-fold: it is to maintain what we have already gained of freedom in many spheres, and to gain for our fellowmen more in the way of economic freedom. That battle will not be won by individuals putting their own present and material interests before all else, or by Canada putting her present material interests before all else. In the realm of individual freedom, it will be won by each seeking to gain a larger liberty for others as well as for himself. In the international sphere it will be won by international co-operation and international good-will. To win this two-fold objective, is the aim of Liberalism in the present campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all "good-night."

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MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

Issued by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

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MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

A reprint of the series of Radio broadcasts delivered by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal party, to the people of Canada.

Printed exactly as delivered except that the titles and the headings between paragraphs have been added.

Issued by the National Liberal Publicity Committee. Room 1689, King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.

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Political Parties and Tendencies

Democracy versus Dictatorship

First radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on July 31, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings. There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost, on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say over the radio, to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom,

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as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896 for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921, there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario and in Alberta, and the Independent Labour party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C.C.F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction Party.

Third Parties Always Disappear

Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time, and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you, not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country.

Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may

be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties—the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views, or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail, have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

Just as the great rivers of our lands, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces, and deepen their channels, and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger and mightier tasks, as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of

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thought, and influence, and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

Conservative Years of Depression

It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part, rather than with the whole, of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression, due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which dis-

content has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry, or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

Liberal Period of Prosperity

The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government, under Mr. Meighen, long after the Union Government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war, and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government, and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought

the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depressio and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. My hope and expectation is that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations, than for the methods of big business, and of high finance, and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity; and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted. Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the mem-

bers of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

Need a Government with Confidence

There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or witholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason. Such, however, is not the situation in Canada today. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the goverment which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has laboured for so

long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms. I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures, which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada. Of this I am perfectly sure, that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people, will not have a ghost of a

chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

Must Avoid a Tory Dictatorship

If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons. I ask you to think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate, are to be made amenable to public opinion, and liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is "whither." Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain. It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself, as he has blazed

a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

Self-Government in the Balance

Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the "whispers of death" were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not, will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to see all that lies behind that one word, "whither."

I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustom-

ed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom, and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government. None of them succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and properous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; and Italy with its free Parliament; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Hitlerism, Fascism and Bennettism

Then came the war. War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the

peoples of Russia, surrender the ambition of remaining or of becoming democracies. It was not until someone began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and over-riding the constitution, that in Europe,parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

And what has come in the stead of Parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I intend to test all policies and all measures by the simple method of asking, whither they tend? If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

National Government for Plutocracy

That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favour

of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment, or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible. I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason, and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system. Traced to its source—the source that is financing the present movement—it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs, and taxation, in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests. Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service National Government would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbours in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such details, as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems. My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of

the Liberal party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these. What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government from the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighbourhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror. Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need.

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Principles and Policies
versus
Platforms and Promises

The Liberal Party's Position
on
Present Day Problems

Second radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 2, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Libera party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties,

each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past five years. Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any one of these things? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that, as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called "New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be whole-heartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as a whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organizations representative of all classes and in all parts of the country; they must have the cordial support of the party's members in the country, and of its representatives in Parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Bennett a One-Man Government

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his own hands to say what the party would do, what its program was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfred Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The Leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favorable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That

work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto suited specially to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines its policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett, and of the Reconstruction party under Mr. Stevens.

Tory Make-believe Platform

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in Parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the Cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the Cabinet or of Parliament. More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own Cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge either of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party,

and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once quetioned, not by the members of the Opposition alone, but by members of the Government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the Leader of the Senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

Stevens Gets His Policy with Scissors

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies; not the leader

who creates both the party and the policies. For days, the country was kept in a state of suspense, as Mr. Stevens, with scissors and paste in hand, was kept busy going through all the political programs and platforms he could collect, and, piecing them together, with as many excerpts from the report of the Price Spreads Commission, and as many platitudes of his own, as could be included in a document that would not be too long for publication. This document, too, we are told, is being given very wide circulation. But what guarantee is there that, if everyone in Canada receives a copy, he is going to be any better off?

As I speak to you over the radio, I have before me a statement of the Liberal party's position on some immediate problems. This statement was issued by the National Liberal Federation of Canada two and a half years ago. It sets forth the policies of the Liberal party as I was authorized to present them to the House of Commons by every Liberal member in the House, and, indeed, by the unanimous approval, in party caucus, of the Liberal members of both Houses of Parliament. I made it clear, when presenting the statement to Parliament, that it was not intended by the party to be all-inclusive; that there were other matters, than those referred to, as, for example, the party's attitude toward war veterans, towards the aged, and the blind; matters pertaining to health and housing; and such subjects as the Civil Service and reform of penitentiary administration; the granting of titles; and many more, all of which would have to be mentioned, if every important question was to be taken into account. I added that, on most of the matters not referred to in the statement, the party's position had already been made clear, either at the time of the general elections of 1930, or since, upon resolutions, or by

speeches of leading members of the party in parliament. Allowing for all this, you will, I think, be surprised at how up-to-date, and inclusive of most matters of immediate concern, the statement is. Viewed as a whole, you will find, I believe, that the policies set forth constitute a sound basis for the reconstruction of the national life of our Dominion.

Conditions Steadily Worse under Bennett

As I read from the statement of the party's position which is before me, there are four important relevant features which I should like you to keep in mind. The first is, the time at which it was given publicity in Parliament; the second is, the circumstances which called it into being at that particular time; the third is, the authority which lies behind the statement; the fourth is the approval which the policies therein set forth have already received from the electors themselves.

A word as to the time. This statement of the party's position and policies, as I have already mentioned, was made in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1933. You will observe that it was just a little over two and a half years after the present government assumed office, and is a little less than two and a half years ago.

Now a word as to the circumstances which called the statement into being. No one will deny that, from the moment he assumed office, Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies, and those of the party, into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended an Imperial Conference in London a little later in the same

year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the session of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation. To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year.

Liberal Platform Unanimously Endorsed

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently

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advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout the country. The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort, and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal Organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published, the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings. In 1933, a Liberal Summer Conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study.

In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavour. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

Nine By-elections Go Liberal

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully presented and discussed in relation to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those of either the government or the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and, thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general

election. It is fortunate, after all, that we have a constitution with some provisions that cannot too readily be set aside. Otherwise, we would have no general election.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

Liberation of External Trade

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will abolish the extravagant INCREASES IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

Liberation of Internal Trade

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements re-

strict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed before the Mass Buying and Price Spreads Committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

Development of Primary Industries

The Liberal party. by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal pary is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor in Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representatives of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own

hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements. It is that the Act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

Control of Credit

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has been lost and to secure a properly constituted National Central Bank, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

Control of Investments

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

the supremacy of parliament. To this end repeal the legislation enacted by the present ration, which deprives parliament of its ver expenditures and taxation, and invests utive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, ample:

legislation permitting the executive to enact by order-in-council for peace, order and ernment, and

legislation providing the executive with a neque" for expenditure of any kind.

e government alleged to be emergency meas- the relief of the unemployed, have turned art of a deliberate policy, directed towards the public mind to the framework of the

We cannot too soon, once more. subject to the control of parliament, if we are longer nsible government in Canada.

e-Assertion of Personal Liberty

Liberal party believes that under the excuse esent crisis, the rights of the individual have ated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the rinciple of FREE SPEECH and FREE AS- ION, and to this end will repeal Section 98 riminal Code, and end the present practice ry deportations.

ral party will give no quarter to Commu- da. Those who advocate the overthrow, by existing institutions, are enemies of society, so regarded. This is no reason, however, enue of redress should not be open to those

who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

Electoral Reform

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A Balanced Budget

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT, by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION, and by INCREASED REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

International Relations

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOOD-WILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between

them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEEDS, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

To night, I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwarranted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There are none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

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Unemployment—Canada's Most Urgent National Problem

A Statement of Liberal Policy

Third radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 5, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Tonight I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

You do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago, when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to *end* unemployment": "I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles": "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages." Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times, if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a government does its duty."

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even

stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year, you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more, you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere, today, its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration.

Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish, as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

Tried to Conceal the Problem

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments, and municipalities, have, year by year, for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under

the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem, and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the Speeches from the Throne, with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, and that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift, and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

Unemployment Quadruples under Bennett

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed.

This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons, in January 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage-earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labour organizations, and labour leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada today is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May 1932 to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May 1932,

there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation, and want, by any yardstick, or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four, and, for some, five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair.

Rural Families Face a Problem

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focusing attention upon problems of relief and unemployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children, in rural and isolated communities, are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products, as the

wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment, there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress, has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office, until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the additional amount guaranteed in connection with the government's wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Dominion of Canada in any year since Confederation, up to the third year of the Great War.

Youths Are Sent to The Camps

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditures, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find, in addition, young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long." It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment." It was also in Regina that, for political purposes,

the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behaviour, and of inevitable sequences, when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with the nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated, and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

> The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.
>
> As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range

policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

It must be clear that expenditures for purposes of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavour to regain markets, which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; co-operation and good-will between the federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time, however, is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavoured to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

National Unemployment Commission

You will recall that, during the war, there was established, under Act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the Fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-oprated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of which was audited under the supervision of the Auditor General of Canada.

You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, expressly for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it urged that the existing emergency conditions of unemployment be dealt with through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved? Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe? Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adapted to the existing situation.

Liberals Would Get Provincial Co-operation

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the

expenditure of all monies. Similarly, in the endeavour to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the service of all departments of provincial governments will be equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

Perhaps this will make its appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform,

may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal, that in having all governments of the one mind?

Words No Substitute for Wages

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of any one else.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignore the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no substitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and

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only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of providing employment, let me say, at once, that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. For what it pays out, the state should receive an adequate return. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

Work and National Improvements

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: essential public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of air-way facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life. Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we

now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth.

I believe the country would welcome, above all else, a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists, and to afford to the people as a whole fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great natural beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites, residences and monuments, and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the country as distinct from its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

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Take Camps from Military Control

Especially would co-ordinated effort of the kind make its appeal to the single, homeless, unemployed, who, engaged thereon, at this time of distress and discouragement, would be made to feel that they were citizens, in every sense of the word, and engaged upon the country's work. While, necessarily, there must be a difference in the rate of payment to persons thus dependent on the state from that paid to persons employed by private enterprise, so that there will always be an inducement for men to enter private occupations, as opportunities arise, wages should be paid for this class of service. The commission would be especially requested to consider the early transfer of the relief camps from the control of the Department of National Defence, and to enlist the co-operation of every possible agency likely to be of service in the permanent establishment of unemployed men in the normal economic life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen: In my three radio broadcasts, I have tried to place before you, in language both simple and direct, the situation in Canada, as it is viewed by the party which I have the honour to lead, and which has accorded me its fullest confidence and loyalty during a period of leadership approaching sixteen years. Towards myself, however, in other relationships, its confidence and loyalty has extended over a much longer period of time. I was a comparatively young man when I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to enter his Cabinet as Minister of Labour of Canada. For eight years before that time, I had held the position of Deputy Minister of Labour, having been appointed to that office on the recommendation of the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Right Hon-

ourable Sir William Mulock. That appointment was made, because of my special interest in, and study of social and economic problems, for years previous. To trace the sources of that interest, I shoud have to speak of matters too personal, and to which I would not be justified in referring at this time.

In seeking, however, from my fellow-countrymen, an expression of confidence larger than any thus far accorded, I may perhaps be permitted to say that, to my interest in the problems of Labour, more than to any other single reason, is due, I believe, the confidence which, along life's way, I have been privileged to enjoy in increasing measure. To the working men and women of Canada, in town and country alike, I think I can say that, throughout my life, I have been true to the cause.

Problems Require United Effort of All

Unemployment is the hardest cross which a workingman, I might almost say any man, is called upon to bear. Mr. Bennett has tried to solve that problem, but he has tried too late, and he has tried to do it too much alone. I think, too, that his methods and policies have been at fault. The problems of Labour cannot be solved by any one man; they require, more than any other problem, united effort. Their solution, moreover, will not be found in endless experimentation, but only in the application of principles and policies which have stood the test of experience and time. Even in a period of great emergency, such as the present, it is too much to hope to secure the united effort of all, but the effort of a political party, united in its aims and policies from one end of the country to the other, can go a long way towards effecting even that result. Of this, at least, I am sure: the task which con-

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fronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart.

"To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke", is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that, as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country, at this hour of its great need, a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share, in larger measure, some of the burdens of their fellow-men, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "good-night".

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Speeches by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Opposition -

(Outside Parliament)

	Date	Place	Occasion	Subject
1.	March 1	Ottawa (Govt. House - Radio Address)	Inauguration of the King Geo. V. Silver Jubilee Cancer Fund for Canada.	
2.	March 20	Ottawa.	Liberal Banquet.	Appreciation and tribute; Liberal principles.
3.	March 21	Ottawa.	Meeting of Advisory Committee of The National Fed. of Lib. Women of Can.	Death of Mrs. Kennedy; Political situation in parlt.; Social Reform Legislation and B.N.A. Act.
4.	May 6	Ottawa.	King Geo. V. Silver Jubilee Ceremonies. Radio Broadcast.	Parliament Hill and its Associations; Tribute to the King and Queen.
5.	May 8	Ottawa.	First Meeting of Federal Woodlands Preservation League.	Need of Preserving natural beauty.
6.	May 30	Ottawa.	Luncheon by Mr. P.D.Ross to delegates Triennial Meeting of Canadian Women's Press Club.	Appreciation in meeting so many members of Club.
7.	May 31	Toronto.	David Dunlap Memorial Observatory dedication to Univ. of Toronto.	Tribute to Mrs. Dunlap and Prof. Chant.
8.	July 31, Aug. 2, Aug. 5.	Ottawa.	Radio Broadcasts.	1. Democracy v. Dictatorship; 2. Liberal Party's Position on Present Day Problems; 3. Unemployment - Canada's Most Urgent National Problem.
9.	Sept. 2	Ottawa	Movietone.	Labour Day and Election Campaign Tour.
10.	Sept. 17	Ottawa	Radio Broadcast.	Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett.

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Radio Address

Inauguration of the King George V. Silver Jubilee

Cancer Fund for Canada

March 1, 1935

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Radio Address - March 1, 1935

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I desire to express to His Excellency the Governor General my appreciation of his courtesy in having invited me, as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, to join with the Prime Minister in a few words at this moment of the inauguration of the King George V. Silver Jubilee Cancer Fund for Canada.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the King's accession to the Throne is an event in the history of the British Commonwealth of Nations which His Majesty's subjects in all quarters of the globe will be glad of an opportunity to commemorate. In the world's history, there has been nothing comparable to the past twenty-five years. They have been years in which, at times, old foundations have seemed to crumble, and strange depths have opened up before us; years in which cherished ideals have seemed to lose much of their sacredness, and ancient faiths to be shattered; years in which there has been unparalleled sacrifice of human life. How much, within that period of time, we owe to the personality and to the personal example of King George, to His Majesty's steadfastness, his understanding, his fidelity, and his sagacity, none of us shall ever know. We may well pause to ask ourselves what it has meant to each and every one of us as individuals and to the world at large to have had, in this momentous epoch, so wise and good a King.

In war and peace alike, King George has worked with his people, as well as for them. His Majesty has made their fortune his, and his theirs, through his broad sympathies and his never-failing sense of duty. No ruler has ever been so largely and so closely in personal touch with his people and their varied interests. There has never been a more democratic Sovereign or a better King.

It is eminently fitting that some expression of heartfelt thanksgiving should mark our commemoration of this anniversary. It is particularly desirable that the expression should be, as His Excellency has said, in the nature of "a lasting and beneficent record".

Six years ago, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, united in a resolution expressive of their thankfulness and rejoicing that, under the providence of God, there had been vouchsafed to His Majesty the promise of complete recovery from the severe and protracted illness which, at the time, he had borne with so great patience and fortitude. Today, throughout our land, there is added thereto thankfulness and rejoicing that the restoration of the King's health and strength has been such as to give hope for the continuance of His Majesty's reign over years to come.

Having regard to all considerations, it would be difficult to imagine an act of thanksgiving more suitable than that which His Excellency has just proposed. Disease is the common enemy of mankind, a respecter neither of persons, rank nor age. Today, as never before, men everywhere are striving to relieve human suffering and distress. Medical science has done much to bring many diseases under its control. Of the scourges still to be conquered, cancer stands as the most formidable. It is due to the thought of His Excellency that the tangible sign of our loyalty and affection is to be devoted to scientific research and to the alleviation of suffering in our own Dominion.

Contributions to a national fund for the furtherance of the campaign against cancer is an expression of thanksgiving which will carry with it gratitude and gladness. There will be gratitude that, at a time of profound anxiety, it was found that, under Divine Guidance and in answer to the prayers of his people, scientific knowledge and professional skill were such as to restore the King's health and to prolong His Majesty's reign. There will be gladness that, in combatting this most dreaded of all disease, there will, through possible discoveries, as a result of further scientific research, be more to hope for from the beneficent ministrations of physicians, surgeons and nurses, not less in the humblest home than in the palace of the King.

In joining with the Prime Minister in words of appreciation to His Excellency of the Fund which he has just inaugurated, I should like also to express to Her Excellency our appreciation of her association with the Governor General in commending this great cause to the people of Canada, in asking that contributions be sent to her at Government House, and in undertaking personally to acknowledge all contributions. In so doing, Her Excellency has reminded us of what, in all that pertains to his high office, the life partnership of Her Majesty the Queen has meant to the King, in sickness and in health.

In our thanksgiving offering, we welcome the opportunity, which this anniversary affords, to pay our tribute alike to the King and Queen, to their sincere love for the people, their self-sacrificing lives, their definite standards of right and wrong, their simplicity of heart, and their steadfast faith. At this time, we are deeply conscious of what all these have meant to us, to our country, to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to the world.

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Liberal Banquet

March 20, 1935.

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Liberal Banquet

March 20, 1935.

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Thanks - General:

(1) to those who conceived the idea of tendering a banquet to myself as leader of the party;

(2) to those who have given their time and thought to the incidental arrangements and features;

(3) to those who have honoured the banquet with their presence, and especially those who have come long distances to attend, and have sacrificed their time and other important duties, in order to be present;

(4) especially do I appreciate the splendidly representative character of the gathering - representative of:

all the provinces of Canada,

federal and provincial political arenas,

members of both Houses of Parliament,

the press,

all walks in life;

may I add, of the women of Canada, as well as the men, and of the younger generation entering public life, as well as of those who are able to look back upon many years of useful public service.

Individual Thanks.

Here, may I be permitted to single out for special mention one or two of those whose participation in the evening's proceedings, and whose presence at the head table, will be an especially welcome feature to all present, and deeply gratifying to myself.

The Rt. Hon. George P. Graham, P.C., LL.D.

I would refer, first of all, to the Chairman of the banquet, our good friend the Right Honourable George P. Graham. In the personnel of all political parties, as in the citizenry of communities and the State, there appears, from time to time, the one outstanding figure, who, because of his many years of public service and recognized attainments, as well as because of the place he has come to occupy in the affections of those with whom he has had constant association, comes to be known as the "grand old man" of the party.

In Mr. Graham today we have a member of His Majesty's Privy Council for the Dominion of Canada; who, if we take account of his candidature and membership in the provincial legislature, as well as in the federal parliament, has been actively and continuously in politics for a longer time than any member of the Privy Council for Canada, which means longer than any other living public man.

Perhaps I should pause to say that, in the record of years of active political service, Mr. Graham will have to share this honour with the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, who has been a member of the Canadian Parliament, either of the Senate or the House of Commons, continuously since 1896, and who became a member of the Privy Council in 1906.

Mr. Graham was later in coming into the House of Commons, and also into the Ministry, but before coming to Ottawa, he had served many years in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, where, for a time, he was a member of the provincial government, and also, at another time, leader of the opposition. Before being elected as a member, he was a candidate in several provincial elections.

Throughout his long career, Mr. Graham has enjoyed a degree of popularity which has been equalled by few public men in the history of Canada. His friends are everywhere; but nowhere is their regard and affection deeper than among those with whom he has been associated in the Halls of Parliament, and those in his own town, and in this capital city, who know him best.

I am particularly grateful to Mr. Graham for the honour he has done me in consenting to preside at this great gathering tonight and for the words which he has spoken on this occasion.

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The Hon. Sir Allen B. Aylesworth, P.C., K.C.

There are many others of whose presence this evening I should like to make special reference. Indeed, if I were to consult my own feelings, I should not be content until I had made reference to everyone. Unfortunately, time will not permit of that.

There are two other members of the Privy Council for Canada whom I see at this head table who are deeply valued personal, as well as political, friends, of whom I feel I must be permitted to say just a word. As you have all anticipated, one of the two is our dear, and venerable friend Sir Allen Aylesworth. Among many other distinctions, Sir Allen enjoys today that of being the one member of Parliament whose membership in the Privy Council for Canada out-dates that of all others. He is, so far as the existing membership in either House of Parliament is concerned, the oldest Privy Councillor for Canada.

It is deeply pleasing to me to recall that for many years there existed between Sir Allen and my father a very intimate personal friendship, begotten more immediately of the profession to which they both belong and to the university which was their common Alma Mater.

On this occasion, when through the kindness of members of the party this banquet has been tendered to me as its leader,

it is particularly pleasing to recall that it was Sir Allen Aylesworth who, at the convention of the party in the summer of 1919, ~~placed~~ presented my name for nomination as that of one of the candidates for the leadership of the party. I am glad that he has been spared to be present on this occasion, and I trust that our country may continue to enjoy for many years to come the benefits of his wide knowledge and experience in public affairs, and his exceptional attainments.

The Honourable Raoul Dandurand, P.C., K.C., LL.D.

While, of the men who are in public life today, Sir Allen Aylesworth is the oldest member of the Privy Council, he is not the oldest member of the Upper House in which he now sits. That distinction belongs to our friend, the Hon. Senator Dandurand. He was appointed to the Senate in January, 1898, and is now the oldest member of that body. I need not remind you that Senator Dandurand is not the oldest in years, or by any means the oldest in heart. I doubt if we have in our Parliament a member who has preserved more of his youthful enthusiasm and idealism than our friend Dandurand. He has had a great career: the most loyal and devoted of personal and party friends, a great Canadian, and a conspicuous world figure. I am sure it is not less a joy to you all, than it is to me, to have him with us this evening, with every promise of many more years before long of distinguished public service.

Messages from the Provinces.

I can think of nothing which better suggests what it means to the leader of a political party in this Dominion, than the representative character of this banquet this evening. Not only is the Dominion represented by those who have now positions of honour and distinction by years of long and faithful service, but the provinces are represented as well. And here I am reminded of the sources from which a party leader derives in largest measure his strength. Of the members who have brought expressions of confidence and good-will from the Liberals of the provinces to which they belong, I have been able to count four who have been former colleagues in the Dominion Cabinet. Ladies and Gentlemen, if in the years of my leadership of the Liberal party in Canada, I have been able to enjoy and retain the confidence of my fellow-Liberals in different parts of this country, it is due, above all else, to the loyalty and the ability of the men with whom, in office and in opposition, I have been surrounded, and whose combined wisdom and counsel have shaped the policies of the party, and guided its destinies. I have frequently said that I believe that no political leader has enjoyed a greater measure of loyalty on the part of his colleagues than it has been my privilege to enjoy, and I wish to make that acknowledgment again with gratitude tonight.

But it is not alone from colleagues and Liberals in the federal field that I have been privileged to enjoy loyalty and support. Co-operation has come, in almost equal measure, from those in positions of authority, trust, and prominence in the councils of the party in the several provinces. I feel particularly pleased that this occasion should be honoured this evening by the presence of so many Ministers of the Crown from the several provinces, and by the distinguished presence of the two provincial leaders, who, within the past year, have led the party to sweeping victories in their respective provinces, and today are at the head of strong and able Liberal Administrations. I hope Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Hepburn will permit me, not only to thank them for their presence here tonight, and for the presence of so many of their colleagues as well, but to congratulate them, as well, on behalf of all who are here assembled, on their notable achievements. The presence of Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Hepburn, and their recent victories in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Ontario remind us of the victories achieved in Nova Scotia and in British Columbia by Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Pattullo, and, equally, of the return to power of a Liberal government in Quebec, and a Progressive-Liberal government in Manitoba. It causes one to ~~regard it~~ as something more than a stroke of rare good fortune, ~~and to~~ believe that the day may not be far off when we shall witness Liberal governments in Alberta, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. I regard, that the vicissitudes of political

contests have given me association more intimate than ~~those~~ work-men have with provinces in different parts of Canada. Not only have I had the good fortune of representing, at different times, two different constituencies in Ontario, but I have also been privileged to represent in our parliament for a short time one of the constituencies in Prince Edward Island, and for over half the time that I have been the leader of the party, a constituency in Saskatchewan. This association has not only served to broaden my sympathies, but it has increased my knowledge and understanding of conditions as well. What delights me most in what I see thus expressed and have heard expressed this evening is the assurance that should I, as the result of a general election as ~~Leader of the Liberal~~ party, again be called upon to form a Liberal administration which will be charged with the administration of the affairs of the Dominion at this critical time in the history of our country, and of the world, I will be able to rely, not only upon the support of a party which is strong and united from coast to coast, but upon the kindred sympathies and hearty co-operation of the governments of practically all of the provinces of Canada in the solution of the great problems with which the provinces and the Dominion alike are confronted at the present time. - ~~I shall~~ I shall be grateful if Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Hepburn and the Ministers of other provinces who have spoken for their governments tonight will carry away, not only my personal thanks, which is given in fullest

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measure, but the thanks of this great gathering of Liberals representative of the Liberalism of all Canada for the encouragement which the assurances of their support has brought not on the score of party victory only, - that is but the means to the end - but even more as respects their co-operation with the Federal party in the solution of Dominion-Provincial problems which today have assumed a magnitude greater than at any time since Confederation.

I come now, ladies and gentlemen, to the place where I must attempt to acknowledge the address and the gift with which I have been presented this evening and the words which accompanied this presentation by my friends, the Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Honourable Senator Cairine Wilson.

You will realize I am sure wherein I have reason to know that whatever I may attempt to say will be wholly inadequate to begin to express either my appreciation of all that your

D 20900
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication The Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date March 21, 1935

Subject At Ottawa - March 20th
Liberal Banquet in honour
of Mr. King.

Friends From Coast To Coast Represented at Demonstration Marking Approach of Battle

Party Leader Eloquently Proclaims His Liberal Principles. Stresses Ideals of Service and Happiness Of The Greatest Number. Nearly 800 Attend Big Function at the Chateau When Embossed Address And Loving Cup Are Presented To Party Head.

Enthusiastically acclaimed as the worthy successor of the revered Sir Wilfrid Laurier through his outstanding leadership of the past 15 years and confidently hailed as "the Prime Minister of tomorrow", Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Liberal chieftain, was the guest of honor at a memorable banquet tendered him by Liberal Senators and members of Parliament at the Chateau last night.

Nearly 800 men and women, embracing representatives from the nine provinces, including Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn of Ontario and Premier James G. Gardiner of Saskatchewan, and Liberal ministers of the Crown from Quebec, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, cheered Mr. King to the echo. The evening marked the 101st anniversary of the day on which William Lyon Mackenzie, Mr. King's maternal grandfather, was elected first mayor of Toronto.

Presentations Made.

Presented by Hon. Ernest Lapointe, K.C., and Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson, on behalf of all present, with an embossed address and a silver loving cup, Mr. King, visibly touched, voiced his heartfelt appreciation of the many evidences of confidence, goodwill and affection displayed in him by such a large, distinguished and representative gathering of the party on the eve of a great political battle.

Ideals of Liberalism.

Proclaiming the ideals of Liberalism as those of service to others, service in the elimination of poverty, the extension of freedom and the granting of a larger measure of life and happiness to the greatest number of people, Mr. King, with eloquent fervor, declared that his chief interest, the interest which first brought him into politics, is that of social problems. Mr. King made a plea for moderation, conciliation and toleration in Canadian public life. Great conciliators, he said, have made the greatest contribution to the world's welfare.

"Collective Wisdom."

Strongly deprecating the growth of dictatorships in many countries, Mr. King pointed out that the great majority of the measures in Parliament were being introduced this session by the Prime Minister. Mr. King said he always favored "collective wisdom" and cabinet ministers who held to their principles, claiming their due share in shaping government policy, refusing to be subservient.

Mr. King pictured the great possibilities of a Liberal government at Ottawa being returned at the next federal election with so many of the provinces having Liberal governments, making possible the maximum of sympathetic co-operation in facing the country's problems, unemployment being the most serious. Unity and co-operation as between the federal and provincial governments is greatly to be desired in Canada, Mr. King declared.

Based on Peace.

All Canadian policies must be based on peace, Mr. King concluded, because the situation in Europe demands all thought and care in the management of world affairs. Return of the Liberal party to power at Ottawa, he said, would tend to correct the mistaken

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policy of economic nationalism and economic imperialism which has grown up to such an extent here and elsewhere.

"We should go forward to battle, not merely as a political party working for victory," Mr. King concluded, "but deeply conscious of the great obligation and responsibility resting upon us."

In the course of his one hour address, Mr. King paid particular tribute to such Liberal leaders as Rt. Hon. Senator George P. Graham, Senator Raoul Dandurand, Senator Rodolphe Lemieux and Senator Sir Allen Aylesworth.

One of Memorable Occasions of His Life

"In the years in which I have been actively associated with the politics of this country I have had many pleasant and memorable experiences and I am sure in my own life none will be more memorable than this evening," said Mr. King in opening his address after accepting from Senator Cairine Wilson a loving cup and flanking flagons. "Perhaps, too, I have never faced a more difficult task than faces me now because I have been the recipient of so much in the way of kindly expressions of confidence and goodwill that I feel completely overwhelmed.

"I want to say how grateful I am to those who conceived the idea of this function to enable us to meet here on the eve of a great political battle, to greet each other and to receive words of encouragement which you have been kind enough to give me. I am deeply touched also by the communications I have received during the course of the day from all parts of the country in addition to the messages read here tonight, and also by the fact that you have come in such numbers from points outside the Capital. I am particularly pleased to see representatives from Quebec who have spoken and sung in that beautiful language. I also am delighted to see such a fine, soul-stirring representation of the younger element of the party, together with those older workers of many years past.

"The Grand Old Man."

"I would like to mention one or two personal friends. I feel greatly honored that Senator Graham is the chairman this evening. There comes a time in the history of all parties when some individual, because of his long life of service becomes the 'grand old man' of the party. If Senator Graham does not object to that one word old, because it does not apply to his spirit or nature, I would say that he is today the grand old man of the Liberal party. (Applause.) I don't believe there is another man who entered public life as long ago as Senator Graham and who has been in the arena continuously ever since. He was in the Ontario legislature and had the honor on one occasion of being the leader of the Liberal opposition. Senator Graham is a great public servant who has served his country faithfully and well."

Among others there might be divided the honor of being "grand old men" of the Liberal party, Mr. King said. Their years entitled them to this title. Mentioned particularly by the Liberal leader was Senator Sir Allen Aylesworth. It was well to recall that Sir Allen is the oldest Privy Councillor in Canada and still a member of Parliament. "We hope his great attainments and abilities may long continue," said Mr. King.

"Senator the Hon. Raoul Dandurand is another grand old man. In Senator Dandurand the Liberals have the oldest member of the Senate, not in years or in heart, but in continuous service. He has been in the Senate since 1898.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux competes with Senator Graham for the honors of being longest in public life. Senator Lemieux went into the House of Commons in 1896 and has been continuously in Parliament since then. It is a great pleasure and satisfaction that Senator Lemieux and I have the closest and intimate associations.

"It is a greater joy to speak to you people assembled here of the party members to whom I owe more than I can ever repay. They have given me example and courage.

"If I have had any success as prime minister it is because I have had the most loyal, ablest and truest of colleagues. To them belongs the credit. There is one principle above all others that I have tried to follow in the affairs of government. It is that by collective wisdom alone you can wisely guide a country. I always took counsel in the cabinet and amongst the party."

Mr. King then expressed his personal thanks to Premier Gardiner "and my friend Hepburn," for their presence. "I need hardly to say to

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Subject .....

you after their speeches that they make a remarkably fine pair of political twins," Mr. King added. "They have done much to rouse political enthusiasm in their provinces. Their presence reminds us also of other surprising Liberal victories in the last two years, that of Angus Macdonald in Nova Scotia, of Mr. Pattullo in British Columbia, of the return of Mr. Taschereau in Quebec, and the return of the Liberal-Progressive government in Manitoba.

For Co-operation.

"In 1930 when the present federal government came into power the provincial governments were nearly all Conservative. If political kinship means anything, there was the opportunity for the greatest co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces. Yet federal and provincial co-operation is more difficult today than it ever was before. Should it happen that a Liberal administration comes in at Ottawa after the next election, I feel that nothing promises quite so much for the solution of all our problems, the most difficult of which is unemployment, as the fact that so many provincial Liberal governments would have a similar outlook and aims and objects to work together in harmony and goodwill. This gathering tonight is evidence of the extent of unity between the federal Liberal party and the Liberal governments in the provinces.

"I feel that it has been good for me that I have represented federal constituencies in Ontario, Prince Edward Island and now in Saskatchewan. That experience will prove of great value and advantage to me in my political life.

By Dear, Devoted Friend.

"I appreciate very much that this address and loving cup have been presented to me by my very dear and devoted friend, Ernest Lapointe. There is nothing in public life worth more than the friendship shared in an intimate way. There is no one in Canada whom I know better than Lapointe, no one for whom I have a deeper or more abiding affection. I know his qualities and I appreciate their value after years of intimate, close friendship in the council chamber and at the same desk in the House of Commons. We all know that the chivalry of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was well known, but even Sir Wilfrid's chivalry did not surpass that of Lapointe. I have known him for 30 years, though my more intimate association with him has been during the last 15 years. I never really disagreed with Lapointe. There was one little question about the League of Nations once as to whether we should trust Dandurand on the loose in Europe—(laughter)—but Lapointe knew his Frenchmen better than I did and he said it would be safe to trust Dandurand's judgment on that occasion.

Two Combined as One.

"It should bring the party a greater sense of security. We have really two countries combined as one, two great races, and religions, speaking generally, and when two people of these different races, such as Mr. Lapointe and myself, can share all the fundamentals for liberty, it is sound reasoning to believe that the two races can be similarly combined (applause). I hope Lapointe can feel that whatever honors may come to me, I will be sharing them all with him. I may say I never have had favorites nor shared confidence, with one more than another, but being a single man, I had to have some one man, he is the nearest and he is the man.

"As to Senator Wilson, I am sure that the acceptance of a loving cup from the hands of a lady will only enhance its value. I am sure you will agree with me that each year we feel an additional pride over her appointment which was made to the Senate (applause). This is an age of wonders. Would not the Fathers of Confederation have thought it strange for the old and young senators to be represented by a lady? It is an expression of Liberalism and the broader outlook for which it stands (applause). Senator Wilson's appointment has removed any doubts about women in public life because she has performed her social duties in the home and likewise made a worthwhile contribution to the state."

Mr. King at this juncture extended his thanks to Mrs. Hepburn for accompanying her husband to Ottawa. "I am sure you will agree with me that Mrs. Hepburn, in good part, is the reason for Mr. Hepburn's success," Mr. King added amidst applause.

Linked With Laurier.

"There is nothing so precious to me as to have my name linked with that of Laurier. It is true I have tried faithfully and sincerely to follow his traditions in the matters of government. It was not a difficult task because they were true Liberal traditions. Moderation, conciliation and toleration were watchwords of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and I think they should be the

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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watchwords of every Canadian public man. You can get nowhere by extreme methods or intolerance. We should seek to stress the things that are common amongst us, rather than those things which tend to divide us. Conciliation was never more needed than today.

"There is a new type of public man springing up throughout the world, a kind of arbitrary type who believes his strength lies in force and might. This type has never done any effective or enduring work for mankind; the work of the conciliator has done much more to make peoples and countries united and happy."

Unifying Party.

Mr. King referred to his known efforts in unifying the Liberal party in the very early years of his leadership after 1919 with the result that the Liberal party suceeded to office in 1921. "In Liberalism a certain amount of independence of view is to be allowed—it is the very essence of Liberalism," Mr. King remarked.

"There is another quality of Sir Wilfrid's that I have followed and that is that it does not do any man good to cherish public resentment. I say to all from my heart that I do not know a man living toward whom I have the slightest resentment. Of course, there are some whom I do not love as much as others. (Laughter). But I have kept my breast clear of resentment." (Applause.)

Mr. King stressed the need for unity in affairs of party, country and the British nation and then he proceeded to speak of how he entered public life and the influences of his father and mother. He said that his father had been on the point of accepting the Liberal nomination from the North Waterloo Reform Association but, after his mother had pointed out to his father that his first duty was to his young family and their education, he had declined to accept the nomination. Paying tribute to his father's sacrifice as having made possible his own entry into public life, Mr. King referred to the early difficulties of his mother's family during his grandfather's 10-year exile from the country. Mr. King gave a quotation from one of his grandfather's speeches with regard to the humble, simple life as having been the real inspiration throughout his career, taking up the study of social and economic problems, instead of pursuing law, and later, leaving a high post in the public service to enter upon the stormy and uncertain career of political life.

Essence of Liberalism.

To do something for those who had been struggling in adversity, something they haven't had done for them in the last five years, Mr. King professed to be his desire. "That is the essence of Liberalism, to want to give to others a fuller life, service in the elimination of poverty, the extension of freedom, and the granting of a larger measure of life and happiness to the majority of the people," Mr. King observed. These problems brought him into public life and continued to be his chief interest, he added.

Out of Depression.

Mr. King predicted that in 1935, as in 1896 and in 1921, the Liberal party would take the country out of a period of depression into a period of prosperity.

The Liberal leader recalled his plea for disarmament after his return from England late last year and pointed to the serious situation and war threats hanging over Europe today. "The situation demands all the thought and care in the management of world affairs," he said. "That is another reason I welcome the early return of the Liberal party to office to correct mistaken policies of economic nationalism and economic imperialism, following which some nations have lost their faith in democracy and have set up dictatorships.

"I have always felt it part of my trust to uphold the maintenance of responsible government in Canada as a cornerstone of the British parliamentary system, the only system under which, I believe, democracy can hope to achieve its own ends."

Peace and Goodwill

Mr. King then pointed to how the Prime Minister was doing it all in the way of introducing legislation and he spoke of the Prime Minister as one man laying down a general policy and the other cabinet ministers being subservient.

Rather, said Mr. King, a government should be composed of men who will stand up for their principles and will quit public life, if necessary, if not given their due share in shaping the policy of government. All policies should be based on peace and good-will, the only lasting policy.

Mr. King's closing words were to thank the gathering with all his heart for the assurances of confidence, good-will, and affection extended to him by the members of the party from coast to coast, and he indicated he would be glad to hand down to the Liberal party the loving cup given him to continue as a souvenir of the occasion to those who would come after him.

D 20904

Meeting of Advisory Committee
of the
National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada.

March 21, 1935.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20903 ...ce of
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D 20904

Meeting of Advisory Committee
of the
National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada.

March 21, 1935.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20905 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Ottawa Morning Citizen

Date March 22, 1935

Subject At Ottawa - March 21st Meeting of Advisory Committee of The National Federation of ~~Liberal Women of Canada.~~

Liberal Women Of Canada Elect New Officers For Year

Mrs. Chas. Stewart Chairman of Federation Advisory Committee. Mr. King Discusses Situation In Parliament.

Evidence that Liberal women at least are ready for the coming general election in Canada and are enthusiastically confident of sweeping victory was furnished at a largely-attended meeting yesterday of the advisory committee of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada.

Every province was represented, and assurances of support came from every member of the committee. Cheering messages were delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Senator Cairine Wilson.

Mr. King discussed the political situation in Parliament, declaring among other things that it was a bit anomalous for the government to become excited over the proposed eight-hour day legislation, when as a result of economic conditions under Conservative rule, there were thousands of would-be willing workers unable to obtain work for even two hours a day.

Senator Wilson delivered an inspirational address in which she expressed the hope that the members of the committee, on their return home, would assist in the organization of women's Liberal clubs to be prepared for the election whenever it comes.

Expresses Deep Regret.

At the outset of his address, Mr. King expressed his deep regret at the passing of the president of the National Federation of Liberal Women, Mrs. W. C. Kennedy, of Windsor. "Her sudden death has been felt in all parts of Canada, but nowhere more than in the Capital where she had so many close and intimate friends and was known for so many years," he said.

Referring to social legislation now being presented in the House of Commons, Mr. King declared he had not much faith in the manner in which the Conservative party will administer such legislation. Suppose, for example, that the present government were to say they were disgusted with the way the schools in the various provinces have different courses of study, different text books, and so on, and wanted to enforce legislation to bring about uniformity. Mr. King said he did not believe anyone present thought that if such legislation were passed, it would be effective in any reasonable length of time because, under the British North America Act, the question of education is reserved to the provinces, and it is the provinces which must enact these laws. If we want uniformity in the matter of education in schools, it must be brought in by the provinces, or the provinces must allow the House of Commons to amend the B.N.A. Act, he stated.

Provincial Matters.

Continuing, Mr. King said every member of Parliament on both sides has taken the view that questions of social legislation, hours of labor, sweated conditions, etc., are matters to be dealt with by provincial governments, because the federal Parliament had not the power to deal with them. Now, on the eve of a federal election, comes this make-believe legislation and the Liberal party is put in the position that to oppose the legislation is to appear to be opposed to all social legislation. No political party should bring in legislation it has not the power to put into effect. To have the present government doing just this, is confusing to the minds of those who do not understand questions of jurisdiction. "What I cannot forgive," stated Mr. King, "is that men who know better, that those whose duty it is to tell the people and explain to them these matters, are violating the whole constitutional method of procedure for the sake of a political issue."

Mr. King said it is important that women and the general public should know and understand the reason the Liberal party did not bring in social legislation advanced by the present administration was because it had respect for the rights of the provinces.

The meeting was presided over by Mrs. H. H. Horsey, in the absence of Mrs. Charles Stewart, the minutes of the last meeting were read by Miss Beatrice Belcourt, and reports of the activities of Liberal women in the various provinces

Liberals Book

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20905 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Morning Citizen .....

Date ..... March 22, 1935 .....

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(The telephone rings and saves [illegible])

A: *(Answering)* Hello. Yes. Oh, how Martha . . . Yes . . . Oh, how MA[illegible]

. . . Oh, I think it perfectly ADOR[illegible] unusual in its, well, it's psychology [illegible] know what I mean. . . . Yes, the [illegible] suit you WONderfully. . . . Yes, I've and I think I like it. . . . *(Long pau[illegible]* Oh, that's too bad, really. . . . Well, pose I could ask him. . . . No, he n[illegible] acted. . . . All right, dear; I'll ask h[illegible] you Thursday. *(Hangs up.)*

H: Now what?

A: Oh, Henry, what d'you suppose? Sanborn wants you to play a part in [illegible] play—

H: Hold on. What play and wh[illegible]

A: Oh don't be so hasty. You see I'm agin it. Martha's written a new pla[illegible] this. "Bared Souls," and—

H: Outlandish nothing! They're j[illegible] hey simply— really, your outlandi[illegible] non-sense, and you know it.

A: I know nothing of the kind and [illegible] o tell you that—

were presented by: Mrs. Charles B. Howard, Mrs. W. R. Motherwell, Mrs. W. E. Foster, Mrs. F. S. Greenwood, Mme. A. L. Beaubien, Mrs. A. E. Maclean, Mrs. C. G. Power, Mrs. C. H. Thorburn and Mrs. S. W. Jacobs.

Officers Elected.

Officers were elected for the ensuing year, as follows: Chairman, Mrs. Charles Stewart; vice-chairmen, Mrs. H. H. Horsey, Mrs. W. R. Motherwell, Mrs. C. W. Robinson, Mrs. E. Lapointe and Mrs. C. G. Power; recording secretaries, Mrs. P. F. Casgrain and Mrs. W. H. Moore; corresponding secretaries, Mrs. A. L. Beaubien and Mrs. W. Hanbury; treasurer, Mrs. William Duff.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 20906

King George V

Accession to the Throne

Silver Jubilee.

May 6, 1935

D 20907

Vos Excellences, Sir George, Hurley

Mesdames et messieurs,

Pour exprimer nos hommages à nos Gracieux Souverains, - à l'occasion du Jubilé, - je voudrais être plus à l'aise dans la langue par excellence de la civilité et de la courtoisie.

Mais un simple compliment, - même dans la langue qui s'y prête le mieux, - ne suffirait pas à traduire les sentiments de loyauté et d'affection des Canadiens de langue française à l'égard de la Couronne britannique. Leur langue, nous le savons, devient aussi une admirable expression de fidélité.

De sorte que c'est d'un élan commun que nous tournons nos pensées aujourd'hui, vers le Roi et la Reine glorieusement régnant. La personnalité du roi Georges, en dépit d'une réserve de bon aloi, domine le dernier quart de siècle. Si l'on songe aux événements formidables qui ont bouleversé le monde, au cours de cette époque, on peut affirmer que, de tous les rois, aucun ne fut plus grand. Et la Reine, sa compagne et son appui, fut à la hauteur de son rôle éclatant.

C'est donc une joie, ainsi que je l'ai dit ailleurs, de saisir l'occasion du Jubilé pour offrir notre tribut d'éloges à leurs Majestés, et pour rendre hommage à l'amour sincère qu'elles portent au peuple, à leur dévouement et à leur esprit de sacrifice, à leur dignité de vie, à leur simplicité de coeur et à leur foi ~~inébranlable~~ invincible. Nous éprouvons, en ce jour, le sentiment intime de tout ce que ces qualités signifient pour nous, pour notre pays, pour le Commonwealth des nations britanniques, et pour le monde entier.

mon-don-lea-á

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D 20909

King's Silver Jubilee

May 6, 1935

D 20910

Federal Woodlands Preservation League

First Public Meeting

May 8th, 1935

PRESS CLIPPINGS D20911 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Morning Citizen .....

Date ..... May 9, 1935 .....

Subject ..... At Ottawa - May 8th First Meeting of Federal Woodlands Preservation League.

Stresses Need Of Preserving Natural Beauty

Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King Addresses First Meeting Of Federal Woodlands Preservation League.

"It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of preserving for Ottawa the natural beauty of her surroundings," stated Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at a meeting of the Federal Woodlands Preservation League at the Chateau Laurier last night. "If the facts concerning the destruction of woodlands, as described tonight, were brought home to the public, I am certain the organization would have everywhere great support," Mr. King said.

This being the occasion of the first meeting of the league, Harry Baldwin, president, opened with an explanation of the aims of the organization. He pointed out the dangers of a wholesale removal of tree life in the Gatineau hills with its damage to property, loss as tourist attraction and general ugly and unhappy effect on landscape beauty.

Those trees nearest to the highways, and the most valuable in beauty and attraction to the Capital, he stated, were the first to be removed in the relief work in progress for the past two years.

Express Good Wishes.

A number of letters containing the good wishes of Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Bessborough, Sir Robert Borden and the Prime Minister's office were read to the meeting.

Joseph Laflamme, director of the Hull Tourist Bureau, also gave an address stressing the danger to the tourist trade in Ottawa and Hull by the destruction of woodlands, and expressed his eagerness to assist in every way in the work being done to preserve them.

A survey of the district in question, and facts concerning the cutting of the woods were given by R. Percy Sparks, vice-president. A system of controlled cutting in place of indiscriminate destruction was advocated. The league, it was stated, had the strong co-operation of the Department of Forestry.

Hon. Mackenzie King, in voicing his appreciation of the work being undertaken by the league, stated that he was sure the Prime Minister would ardently agree, as he did, in the projects advocated. "It is impossible to separate the Capital from her surroundings," he said, and called upon public opinion to express determination in saving the woodlands.

Duncan Campbell Scott, C.M.G., who expressed his warm appreciation of the league's aims, gave a reading from his poetry of the beauty of trees. Lantern slides depicting recent wide destruction of trees were shown by Paul Horsdal. A piano solo of Chopin selections was given by John Outram and Paul Lamoureux, accompanied by Miss Fernande Lamoureux, entertained the audience with three songs. Warm thanks to Mr. King and to members of the league for their work were expressed by Mr. Baldwin at the close.

D 20912

Triennial Meeting of

The Canadian Women's Press Club

Luncheon by Mr. P. D. Ross

May 30, 1935
1 p.m.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 20913 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication The Ottawa Journal

Date May 31, 1935

Subject At Ottawa - May 30th Luncheon by Mr. P. D. Ross for delegates to Triennial Meeting of Canadian Women's Press Club.

WOMEN'S PRESS CLUB DELEGATES

GUESTS AT DELIGHTFUL LUNCHEON

Mr. and Mrs. P. D. Ross Entertain At the Royal Ottawa Golf Club—Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King Extends Greetings—Visit Is Made to Archives.

One of the most pleasant functions of the triennial meeting of the Canadian Women's Press Club was the luncheon given yesterday at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club by Mr. and Mrs. P. D. Ross when they entertained 137 members.

The tables were gay with Summer flowers, and during the luncheon a song, in tribute to Mr. Ross, was sung by the members, led by Mrs. M. C. Ringland, of Toronto.

Mr. Ross, who presided, extended a warm welcome to the delegates, whom, in his capacity as a newspaper proprietor, he was particularly glad to entertain.

Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King voiced his appreciation in meeting so many members of the Press Club. In visiting Ottawa they would be privileged to see some of the finest features of the national life of Canada, and he congratulated the executive on the splendid program which would enable the members to become familiar with them.

The gathering of newspaper women, to Mr. King recalled the quotation: "O Canada, We Stand on Guard for Thee," which he believed was more appropriate to them than any other group in Canada. Speaking of the devastation of the Gatineau hillside, in the demolition of trees, Mr. King said that to women beauty was a part of themselves, and they should be interested in the preservation of all the beauty of the landscape.

Those at the table of honor with Mr. and Mrs. Ross were Mr. King, Mrs. Norman Smith, Mrs. Bailey Price, president of the club, Mrs. S. H. Gronland, representing Nova Scotia, Hon. Martin Burrell, Miss Esther Butting, representing Quebec, Mrs. Burrell, Miss Amy J. Roe, representing Manitoba, Miss Bessie G. Ferguson, Toronto, and Mrs. George Black, the Yukon.

Afternoon Session.

Following the luncheon, the afternoon meeting was devoted to "The Reviewer." Miss Isabel Armstrong, Ottawa, speaking on "Music Reviewing" stated that musical criticism was a much more difficult assignment than it was 15 or 20 years ago, before radio made the average citizen familiar with at least the popular classics.

Opportunities for development of musical talent were enjoyed by all classes of the community today, Miss Armstrong said. "In the good old days, the majority of people did not expect to get into close grips with that awe-inspiring thing, called a symphony, once in a lifetime," the speaker continued. "Today the tired business man can whistle the themes of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, and talk familiarly of the conducting of Toscanini. It behooves those who essay to write reviews to watch their steps."

No such thing as dramatic criticism existed in Canada today, Mr. E. W. Harrold, Ottawa, said in his address on "Drama." There was no longer dramatic criticism as a serious phase of literary expression, due largely to the lack of dramatic presentations offered in Canada. Ottawa, Mr. Harrold said, had been without a legitimate theatre for eight years, since the last one had been torn down to make way for tulip beds. The amateur theatre in Canada was doing a noble work in promoting love of the theatre, but its offerings were not seriously criticized, as that was left to the adjudicators.

Hon. Martin Burrell.

Hon. Martin Burrell, Parliamentary Librarian, in his address on "Books" urged the members to keep in touch with the new books that were published, and to read them with discrimination and their own preference, endeavoring to get the meat out of each one. In the past year, he said, the new books published in England, and the United States, numbered between 12,000 and 14,000.

The evening was devoted to an interesting visit to the Archives, where the guests were received by Hon. C. H. Cahan, Secretary of State, and Mrs. Cahan. Mrs. Cahan wore a lovely gown of sheer black lace.

Following this morning's meeting, the members will be guests of Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett at luncheon. This afternoon Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Southam will hold a garden party at their home "Casa Loma."

Morning Session.

Discussion of the work undertaken by the women's departments of Canadian newspapers occupied a large part of the morning session yesterday. This was followed by a

PRESS CLIPPI

Name of Publication ..... The Ottawa Journal .....

Date ..... May 31, 1935 .....

Subject .....

Office of
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WOMEN'S PRESS CLU

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brief address on "World News Gleaning and Distributing," by J. F. B. Livesay, manager of The Canadian Press.

The women's department of a daily newspaper will be exactly what the editors make it, was the belief expressed by Miss Elizabeth Long, Winnipeg, in opening the discussion of "Women's Departments."

Discussing the attitude of men towards the women's page, Miss Long said they read columns of discussions of human relations and some read articles on child psychology or the care of babies. Such articles should form important features of the women's page.

Speaking from experience of 17 years on the night shift as reporter for a daily newspaper, Miss Katie Broad, Saint John, N.B., stated her profound conviction that newspaper work was nothing but a series of emergencies, and that an interview was the most unexpected form of an emergency nine times out of 10.

Miss Margaret Steven, London, emphasized the need of women newspaper writers having knowledge of the make-up of a paper, and how to create interest in their pages.

Miss Emilie Boswell, Winnipeg, spoke on "Specializing Society," and the methods used to make such a column attractive. The remainder of the morning was spent in discussion of the constitution.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D20914

David Dunlap Memorial Observatory

Dedication to University of Toronto

May 31, 1935

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D20915 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication ..... Toronto Daily Star .....

Date ..... June 1, 1935 .....

Subject ..... At Toronto - May 31st
David Dunlap Memorial Observatory
dedication to University of Toronto

HUGE TELESCOPE DEDICATED MRS. DUNLAP GIVEN DEGREE

Scientists See Enlargement of Soul in Increase of Knowledge of Infinite

PRAISE FOR CHANT

With the sun smiling its greeting, the David Dunlap Memorial Observatory was formally dedicated to the University of Toronto yesterday afternoon by Mrs. Jessie Donalda Dunlap when she turned a gold key in the door of the administration building before 1,000 guests. The largest in the British Empire and second only to that in California, the huge reflecting telescope will enable scientists to reach realms of space hitherto unexplored by Canadian astronomers.

Mrs. Dunlap, dedicating the observatory, said: "I recall and express the deep interest of my husband in astronomy." She hoped it would help to advance the science as she turned the key to open the building.

"It will be a memorial to future generations. It is something well worth while," declared Dr. Bruce Macdonald, chairman of the board of governors, accepting the gift on behalf of the University of Toronto. "It points to the sky like David Dunlap, who was always looking up for more truth," he said. "He accomplished great things." E. W. Wallace, president of Victoria college, read the dedication prayer. Deeply moved, Mrs. Dunlap kept her eyes on her program.

Delayed when his car was caught among hundreds of automobiles, Lieutenant-Governor Bruce arrived as the crowd rose to sing the national anthem.

Broadcast from coast to coast in the afternoon, a recording of the ceremonies was made in Ottawa and broadcast in the evening over nation-wide networks in the United States.

Rev. H. J. Cody, president of the university, was chairman and read telegrams of congratulations from the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, Astronomical Union of North America, Sir James Jeans, one of the leading astronomers of the world and author of "This Mysterious Universe," Sir Arthur Eddington.

Bruce Gives Thanks

"This observatory will always be regarded not only as a gift to the University of Toronto but as one to Ontario and to Canada," declared Dr. Herbert Bruce. "We are deeply grateful to Mrs. Dunlap. "To bring the heavens nearer is second only to bringing heaven nearer. It makes easier attempts to wrest celestial secrets from the skies," he said, in paying tribute to Dr. Chant and his assistants. "It will help to launch our minds into infinity and will enable men to reap a richer harvest from the heavens of contemplation.

Declaring that the opening day was deliberately chosen to coincide with the 70th birthday of Dr. C. A. Chant, head of astronomy and astrophysical departments at the university, Dr. Cody called on him to speak. Stating that he had been dreaming of this day for 30 years, Dr. Chant said that it was nothing to the decades in which work will be done there "bringing honor and distinction to the land." Dr. Chant said the corner stone was laid in September, 1932, and praised David Dunlap, with whom he had discussed the idea nearly 10 years before. "Mrs. Dunlap shares fully her husband's tastes and friendship with the stars," he said. "To her all credit is due. This creation is acclaimed as beautiful and appropriate, a miracle of mechanism." He acclaimed his colleague Dr. R. K. Young.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of Harvard Observatory, said that the only other place where there was similar interest in astromony was in South Africa, and then only outsiders went there because of the suitability of the climate.

"You have us beaten by two inches," laughed W. E. Harper, acting director of the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory at Victoria, "but we are not envious. The starry heavens above and the moral law within make real the Supreme Being. There are no limitations."

Get Degrees

At a special convocation in Convocation hall last night, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Sir Frank Dyson, former astronomer royal of England, Mrs. Jessie Donalda Dunlap, and Dr. C. A. Chant. Degrees of Doctor of Science were proferred to Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard college observatory, Dr. V. M. Slipher, director of the Lowell observatory,

PRESS CLIPPINGS D20916 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date .....

Subject .....

and W. E. Harper, director of the Dominion astrophysical observatory.

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, recovered from his recent illness, announced that it had been his intention to attend the convocation "without being seen in Toronto or missed at Ottawa" to pay a special tribute to all those who contributed to the realization of the construction and completion of the observatory.

"This is not only a great day for the university and a great day for this country but also a day of remembrance for the whole scientific world," declared Mr. King. "I did not come here for relaxation or recreation, but for inspiration. The completion of this noble work is a great inspiration."

He warmly extolled Mrs. Dunlap for her contribution. The Richmond Hill astronomical centre, he said, was a combined monument, resembling a double star which seems to be as one, to the generosity of the sponsor and the memory of her husband. He also lauded the unflagging enthusiasm and determination of Professor Chant.

"Science, unlike virtue is its own reward," quoted Dr. Chant in his speech of thanks to Dr. H. J. Cody. "Thirty years ago I suggested to my colleagues that because astronomy was a neglected department in the university curriculum, a small section devoted to astrophysics should be established. But I never dared to dream that such an inconspicious beginning should be so fruitful. I predict with the greatest confidence that the present staff of the observatory will soon place it in the forefront of world astronomical bases."

Canadians Prominent

Sir Frank Dyson, speaking for himself and also on the behalf of Mrs. Dunlap, thanked the university and said the university was especially endeared to him for the part it played in keeping alive his sister as a result of the medical triumphs of Drs. Banting and McLeod. "It has been especially noticeable to me that prominent Canadian astronomers seem to come only from Toronto. The reason is obvious — Professor Chant," he said.

Stressing that although the observatory was finished, its problems had not begun, Dr. Shapley humorously condemned the universe for being so uncooperative with researchers. "I wish omnipotence would clean up the milky way of cosmic debris," he laughed. Four problems, he thought, should be tackled by the new unit. They were: the study of double star orbits, analysis of star spectrums, star clusters, examination, and the recording of the movements of the fragment universe.

Dr. Harper affirmed that the rudiments of astronomy should be a necessary part of the intellectual equipment of the ordinary man. "If only to free the public mind from the mediaeval belief in horoscopes and astrology and rid people from this widespread gullibility, it would be valuable," he said. Dr. Slipher expressed appreciation and wished the new venture success.

Professor E. F. Burton, head of the department of physics, presented Sir Frank Dyson for the LL.D.; Hon. N. W. Rowell presented Mrs. Dunlap, Prof. Lachlin Gilchrist, president of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, presented Dr. Chant, Dr. J. S. Synge presented Dr. Shapley, Professor R. K. Yonge, successor to the chair of astrophysics formerly occupied by Dr. Chant, presented Dr. Slipher, and Professor Samuel Beatty, head of the department of mathematics, presented Mr. Harper.

Among the officers and guests present were Dr. Bruce; Hon. Dr. J. A. Faulkner, minister of health; Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Mayor Simpson.

D20917

8.

Mr. King to the Canadian People

July 31, Aug. 2-5, 1935

(Radio Broadcasts)

D20918

Remarks on Departure of Train
for Maritime Provinces

Union Station, Ottawa.

Labour Day, September 2, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am sure you will agree that Labour Day is an appropriate day for a party leader to begin a political tour of our Dominion. I leave this afternoon for the Maritime provinces and Quebec. Later in the month, I hope to speak in the prairie provinces and British Columbia. If all goes well, as I trust it may, I will return to Ontario in October. I purpose to conclude the Liberal campaign with a meeting here, in our capital city, on October the twelfth.

I have but one wish with respect to the outcome of the present general elections. It is a wish which, I believe, will be also yours. It is that the elections may serve to hasten the day when there may be employment for all; when those who toil may be duly honoured, and duly rewarded; when a man's worth may be reckoned higher than the price of the things he fashions with hand or brain; when human personality may be deemed of more account than wealth, or property, or power, however great; and, when science may be made to serve, not destruction, war, or private gain; but, preservation, peace, and the common good.

D 20919

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D 20920

Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

10.

September 17th, 1935

(Radio Broadcast)

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
36	135	Chronological Files	Mar.-Sept. 1935	D 20842 - D 20920	
36	136	Chronological Files	Jan.-Sept. 1935	D 20921 - D 21063	
36	137	Chronological Files	July-Sept. 1935	D 21064 - D 21226	
37	138	Chronological Files	Aug.-Sept. 1935	D 21227 - D 21339	
37	139	Chronological Files	Sept.-Oct. 1935	D 21340 - D 21483	
37	140	Chronological Files	Nov.-May 1935-1936	D 21484 - D 21639	
38	141	Chronological Files	Sept.-May 1935-1937	D 21640 - D 21792	
38	142	Chronological Files	Sept.-Nov. 1936	D 21793 - D 21843	
38	143	Chronological Files	Apr.-May 1937	D 21844 - D 22001	

D 20921

Notes for Speeches

by

T o p i c s

1935

General Election Campaign

D 20922

D 20923

Dominion Provincial Relations

Constitutional Reform

A - Relations with Provinces

1. National Unity Paramount -

a. Canada a federal state -

9 provinces and Dominion;

pillars and arch - Hall of Confederation, Parliament Bldgs.

different aspects of same organism;

citizens of one = citizens of other;

taxpayer of one = taxpayer of other;

co-operation an essential to good government in Canada.

b. Racial and Religious elements -

problems of Federal state increased by minority problems;

Canada, thus one of most difficult nations to govern.

c. Geographical Problems -

four zones - Maritimes;

Central Canada;

Prairies;

West Coast.

more accessible to U.S. than each other;

each has different economic requirements -

often conflicting and opposed requirements;

problem = reconcile needs of all.

d. Unity and Harmony First Aim of Government -

state a means, not end in itself;

- end = well-being of citizens;

state = house in which to dwell;

= family -

not quarreling factions;

not opposing sections of races or creeds;

not corporation, or "big business."

spirit of government should be spirit of family -

new spirit needed in government today.

2. Liberal Record:

a. Situation 1921 -

dissension, discord from coast to coast;

sectional isolation - Quebec, Maritimes;

despair - "Whispers of Death";

problems inherited from Confederation -

Natural Resources;

Railway Lands;

Maritime Rights.

b. Liberal Methods -

i. Representative government -

every province in cabinet;

problem of Alberta.

ii. Representative policies -

reconcile views and needs of all parts and elements;

broad national policies -

trade,

taxation,

railways;

avoidance extremes;

same broad line of effort as characterized Sir Wilfrid's regime.

c. Solution of Problems -

i. Natural Resources -

Returned to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta;

fair and generous settlements.

ii. Maritime Rights -

Duncan Commission;

Recommendations implemented -

subsidies increased;

Maritime Freight Rates Act;

Department of Fisheries;

Aid to coking plants; etc. etc.

iii. B. C. Railway Lands and Peace River Block -

returned on generous basis.

iv. General -

new level of national unity and accord.

3. Bennett Record:-

a. Economic Nationalism -

i. Extreme policies framed to benefit industrial centres have penalized other parts of country;

ii. re-emergence of Maritime Rights;

B. C. Claims

talks of secession.

b. Unemployment -

i. Vast spending programmes begun by provinces and municipalities under federal exhortation in 1930, have crippled and bankrupted them;

ii. burden of relief thrown back on provinces after winning election by statement it was a national problem;

iii. failure of policies and lack of Commission results in trekkers, hunger marchers, disagreement with provinces as to responsibility for.

c. Interference with provinces -

i. Participation in provincial elections -

Quebec

Ontario

ii. Provincial Rights -

arbitrary assumption of jurisdiction; re Social legislation.

iii. Interference in preserving order -

Regina riots. – further matter Sec 98, Supreme + other judges to act on grievances under judgment of 1921 letter vers

iv. Intimidation -

Farmers Creditors Arrangement Act

repealed re B. C.

Arbitrary powers of purse and legislation held

over heads of provinces.

B - Constitutional Reform

1. The Constitution -

a. B.N.A. Act -

Canada's written constitution;

jurisdiction divided between Dominion and Provinces -

each sovereign in own realm.

b. The Courts -

divisions of government, three-fold -

legislative, executive, judicial;

function of court to determine disputes re jurisdiction -

not for Parliament;

not for Government;

attempt to override or defy courts =

revolution, dictatorship;

use of force;

c. Public Misunderstanding -

constitutional question not one of general interest or knowledge;

duty of statesmen, however, to be scrupulously honest re; not deceive people as to what possible;

indicate where jurisdiction does or does not exist;

indicate clearly what steps and how long necessary to effect change;

d. A Bulwark, not an Obstacle -

democratic constitution most powerful instrument by which freedom of a people secured;

constitution only reason we have a general election at all;

Bennett dictatorship result of undermining constitution - -Peace, order and good government; blank cheque.

Revision may be required, but not destruction;

Preservation of spirit as important as letter.

2. Revision -

a. Present day needs -

B.N.A. Act drafted to meet requirements of pioneer country, industrial development, social change of intervening years make necessary new definitions and redistribution of legislative powers.

must not go to extreme of centralization;-

bureaucracy;

inefficiency.

b. Social Services -

desirable enlarge federal powers particularly in this field.

National and international minima.

c. Methods -

jurisdiction can only be transferred by constitutional amendment;

At present, an act of Imperial Parliament necessary to amend B. N. A. Act;

Has been amended at least 7 times since 1867;

Alternatives -

i-Amendment in opposition to wishes of provinces -

doubtful if Imperial Parliament would pass;

= coercion of provinces;

ii - amendment on basis of co-operation with provinces - end to be desired as advancing Canadian unity.

3. Mr. Bennett's Attempts -

a. Revision by consultation with provinces -

(i) Dominion Provincial Conference -

issued invitations fall 1934;

provinces refused to attend.

(ii) House of Commons Committee, Session 1935 -

provinces refused to make representations.

b. Revision by arbitrary assumption of jurisdiction -

Social reform programme, 1935;

based on new interpretation of constitution

= treaty making power confers jurisdiction,

at variance with judicial decisions, views of

provincial and past federal governments and

previous views of Bennett and Guthrie.

refused to submit measures to Courts;

whole programme of doubtful validity -

unemployment insurance;

8 hour day;

day of weekly rest;

ignoring or defiance of constitution does not give

power, e.g. N.R.A.

validity should be tested and amendments secured.

Government placed party considerations over

interests of legislation or national unity;

4. Liberal Position -

a. Has advocated all along -

revision of subsidies and B.N.A. Act on Government's

schedule in 1930;

urged financial arrangements and powers of legislation be revised at Session 1931 and every session since; revision ought to have been attained by now - after 5 years of unprecedented aid from federal treasury, problem must be commended from beginning; Great opportunity missed by Bennett - interest in amendment only on eve of election.

b. Nature of Revision to be sought -

i. Provide definite procedure for the amendment of the constitution -

at present requires act of Imperial Parliament; Canada should have power to amend own constitution; regular procedure to be set forth in statute.

ii. Bring provisions up to date -

Remove obsolete and archaic provisions; transfer responsibility for certain social services from the provinces to the Dominion

iii. Revision of financial relations -

taxation powers must be reconsidered; subsidies involved in consideration of social services.

iv. Guarantee of all minority rights -

c. Methods by which Revision to be sought -

i. Preliminary Conversations -

direct conversations between Dominion and provincial governments;

ground to be thoroughly prepared.

ii. Dominion-Provincial Conference-

NO hastily summoned and arbitrarily conducted meeting;

to be held before Parliament meets -

so recommendations may be brought before Parliament and legislatures;

general principles to be determined.

iii. Subsidiary Conference -

details and technical work to be thrashed out by experts;

similar procedure as Imperial Conference 1926, and Subsidiary Conference 1929.

d. Co-operation with Provinces -

i. Will seek co-operation and good-will of provinces so that result may be increase of national unity;

ii. Assurance of Co-Operation -

8 Liberal provincial governments from coast to coast.

iii. Third parties lack this assurance -

Liberal party best equipped to put through far reaching measures of constitutional reform.

e. Senate -

i. Measures to amend constitution must pass Senate;

ii. Tory majority = one third total membership -

Bennett hung on to office to increase;

iii. Overwhelming Liberal majority House of Commons surest guarantee Senate will respect will of people. Only a Government which commands the confidence of the people can deal adequately with so great a problem.

D 20934

Currency, Credit and Banking

1. Liberal Party's Position:

a. Limitations of Monetary action:

Much may be accomplished by proper banking and credit policies;

Monetary reform not capable of solving all ills;

Trade an even more immediate consideration.

b. Currency and Credit of National and First Importance:

Currency and credit, a first responsibility of government;

Credit - Social service;

Community and social need -

like water, transportation, etc.

not given away, but supplied in manner best calculated

to serve public interest;

Public control vs. private monopoly;

Political power vs. money power;

National policies in trade vs. imperial policies in finance.

c. Statement of February 27, 1933:

Control of Credit

"The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted National Central Bank, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and

"industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange."

2. Central Bank:

a. Advocacy by Liberal Party:

i. Mr. King, South Huron, Sept. 1932;

ii. Mr. King and others, House of Commons, 1932 on;

iii. Mr. Massey and others outside House of Commons.

b. Adoption of Proposal by Mr. Bennett:

i. Appointment Commission after evident public favoured creation of bank;

ii. Mr. Bennett announced intention to create bank, before Report published.

c. Bank of Canada:

i. Private Corporation -

(a) Board of Directors appointed for five year term for rotating period by private shareholders;

first appointees -

1 for 2 years

2 for 3 years

2 for 4 years

2 for 5 years;

Governor and Deputy Governor appointed for seven year term by government - Governor has veto;

Deputy Minister of Finance also a director but has no vote - a liason officer only.

(b) No control by Parliament - Dictatorship.

Bank thus placed deliberately beyond effective control of Parliament;

a private profit-making corporation;

a Fascist institution;

Money power in control independent of Parliament;

surrender of sovereignty in matters affecting currency;

Tory Senate -

consent necessary for amendment of Act;

ultimate control in hands of Tory appointees and Tory Senate.

ii. Control of Currency and Credit:

(a) Currency -

Note issue in its hands;

National currency handed over by government - $69,000,000. in gold reserves actually transferred by Department of Finance to Bank.

Government created $63,000,000. new 3% securities which were transferred to the Bank as security for hitherto uncovered portion of Dominion note issue.

(b) Credit -

Control over volume of credit - i.e. rediscounting function - also transferred from Department of Finance.

iii. General Purposes of Bank:

According to Bank of Canada Act, Bank is to -

a. Regulate credit and currency;

b. Control and protect the external value of the national monetary unit;

c. Mitigate fluctuations in general level of production, trade, prices and employment;

d. Promote economic and financial welfare of the Dominion.

iv. Liberal Attitude:

a. When Bill before Parliament, took position Bank should be publicly controlled national institution.

b. Protests transfer of sweeping powers, assets and functions to private corporation.

c. Control over currency and credit should be restored to Parliament, to ensure furtherance of public, not private aims.

d. Social or community control required -

(i.) does not mean government must buy all shares;

D20939

(ii) directors, instead of being selected exclusively by private shareholders, should be appointed by government in such manner as to represent fairly the varied regional and industrial interests of the Dominion.

e. Statement by Mr. King, H. of C. on third reading Bank of Canada Act:-

"Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile."

f. Liberal Objectives:

Regain for nation what has been lost; secure properly constituted National Central Bank.

D 20940

D20941

Re Authority of Parliament alienated

~~Over~~:

(1) purse

(2) legislation

(3) currency and credit

(4) railways

(5) trade -
valuations
wheat agreement
marketing

(6) marketing

(7) titles

(8) its own membership = representation:
vacancies
delay election
by-elections
provincial elections.

(9) peace and war.

Sept 4/35

D20942

St John Telegraph-Journal

MANION DEFENDS BENNETT'S ACTIONS

"No More a Dictator Than Any Other Leader of a Government," He Says

SYDNEY, N. S., Sept. 3—(C. P.)—"Bennett is no more a dictator than any other leader of a government," Hon. R. J. Manion told a political gathering here tonight after Conservatives of Cape Breton had selected Finlay MacDonald, K.C., as their candidate in the October elections.

The minister of railways and canals was dealing with Liberal Leader King's comparison of the prime minister to Stalin of Russia, Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy.

"If King stood in any of those three countries and attacked the government like he did us, he wouldn't do it a second time. He wouldn't be permitted to do so, and would likely be sent into exile."

Attacking the Reconstruction party, Dr. Manion declared Mr. Stevens was promising anything and everything, "the possible and the impossible alike"

"Harry goes from station to station with his quilt patch and adds a new patch as he goes along."

D20943

Wingham, August 14, 1935

Candidate - Mr. Deachman:

Born in riding;

Journalist; economist;

Advocate of lower tariffs; interests of farmers;

National Liberal Federation.

Control - (see exhibit)

House of Commons ignored -

Taxation and expenditure -

Blank cheque.

Legislation -

Peace, order and good government.

Titles.

Trade -

Tariff by executive action -

Arbitrary valuations; dump duties.

Ottawa Agreements - tariffs pegged;

Wheat Agreement - policy of scarcity.

Railways -

Currency and Credit -

Marketing - (see exhibit)

Self-interested economic groups -

Fines and penalties - magna carta;

Monopolies.

Control of foreign trade.

D20945.

Government Control and Regulation

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

D 20946

Government Control and Regulation

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

Mr. Bennett mistakes means for the end;

Intervention not an end, but means to an end - like laissez-faire;

End= liberty and freedom;

Reform in hands of Tories is bound to be bungled;

Tory definition of reform = government control and regulation;

Liberal " " " " = Parliamentary control and regulation.

Struggle to subject government to Parliament -

began with control over taxes;

blank cheque;

Control of public purse first condition of political liberty -

neither writings nor words solemnly sworn will guarantee it;

people tax themselves, is not enough;

that they say how much, is not enough;

they must say what for.

D 20947

Five Years of Dictatorship Under Bennett

Measures & Actions	Features
1930 Special Session:	
(1) $20,000,000. vote for unemployment relief;	Lump sum - No specific appropriations.
(2) Amendment to Customs & Tariff Acts;	Gave executive power to alter tariff regulations and impose arbitrary valuations and dump duties by order-in-council.
(3) Tariff Revision:	To establish policies of Economic Nationalism - isolate Canada.
(a) against nations generally	
(b) against Great Britain	
	Tariff Board recommendations by-passed
1930 Imperial Conference:	Sought to establish policies of Economic Imperialism.
	Sought to isolate British Empire
	House of Commons not taken into confidence of Prime Minister at Special Session
	Policies enunciated by Mr. Bennett at London not authorized by people, Parliament or colleagues.

1931 Session:

(1) **Blank cheque:**

No specific vote; appropriations in unlimited amounts.

No control by Parliament over expenditures, and thus, over taxation.

No effective auditing.

(2) **Peace, Order & Good Government:**

Legislation by Executive, not by Parliament.

Does away with third branch of Government.

Uses to which legislation put:

(1) revaluation of insurance company securities.

(2) Prohibition export of gold.

(3) Guarantees - to banks for loans to corporations etc
Wheat - (details not known by colleagues)
C. P. R. - $60,000,000.
Newfoundland;
Steel companies.
(4) loans to provinces etc

(3) **Tariff Revision:**

Higher Tariffs; more Economic Nationalism.

D 20949

1932 Session:

Closure:

Blank cheque; peace, order and good government powers, to be used while Parliament in Session, wrested from Parliament under the most arbitrary device - closure.

1932 - 33 Session:

(1) **Ottawa Agreements:**

Economic Imperialism - isolate Empire; desire of Baldwin to lower tariffs. Exclude

Government compelled acceptance of Agreements before examination of items of Tariff. on their enactment

Margins of preference guaranteed -
tariffs "pegged";
Parliament deprived of right to lower tariffs below certain levels = taxation.

Intermediate tariff raised to height of general - in some particulars
no freedom to negotiate.

Parliament bound for five years -
Prime Minister stated at first no right to amend.

(2) **Railways:**

Control of Canadian National Railways placed in hands of Board of Trustees, removable not by Commons, but by vote of both Houses.

Labour not represented on Board of Trustees
Board of Directors held office at pleasure.
Trustees for Term of 2 years.
Chairman for term of 7 years.

1934 Session:

(1) Bank of Canada:

Control of Currency and Credit transferred from Department of Finance to Bank of Canada.

Gold and securities handed over to private corporation.

Directors of Bank appointed by private shareholders and Government's control limited to appointment of Governor and Deputy Minister of Finance, ~~the latter having~~ no vote.

(2) Marketing:

Under guise of helping agriculture, took away powers from Parliament.

Government by self-interested economic groups, not Parliament.

Power to establish monopolies, impose fines and penalties - without approval of Parliament.

Criminal law put in hands of groups; magna carta "law of the land" dispensed with.

Control of greater part of foreign trade given to executive.

(3) Wheat Agreement:

Agreement entered into without discussion in Parliament.
Agreement not even submitted to Parliament.
Policy of Scarcity -
Limit production
Planning for poverty.

(4) Titles: Restored in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

1935 Session:

(1) Social Reform Legislation: Announced without reference to colleagues or supporters.

Governor-General ignored.

Validity doubtful - attempt to occupy by force, provincial fields; unwilling to take opinion of Courts. Invasion of provincial rights - opinion of Counsel taken re Price Spreads Legislation legislation not introduced because of unfavourable decisions

Regimentation of labour, uniformity - the aim of dictatorship - Bismark.

c

(2) Price Spreads Legislation: Validity doubtful - opinion taken where it suited purpose of Government.

Ministerial responsibility (ignored) - Cahan, Guthrie.

Cabinet Solidarity (ignored) - Meighen.

Economic Council - to advise Prime Minister - part of paraphernalia of dictatorship.

(3) Representative Character of Institutions Destroyed:

7 Vacancies in House of Commons - 5 for period of entire session

7 Constituencies disfranchised;
"No taxation without representation"

17 Vacancies in Senate - parliament prorogued parliament dissolved

Tory Senate -- filled

(4) Defiance of People:

Trend against conservative party -
9 out of 10 by-elections since Conference;
all provincial conservative governments defeated.

Government has hung on to office for over five years, and for six sessions.

Constitution says Parliament not to extend more than five years; never meant Executive should exceed five years.

Parliament began August 15, 1930, - prorogued July 5th, 1935 dissolved August 4th.
date of election Oct 14, 1935

Mr. Bennett has absolute power even when Parliament ceases to exist.

(1) Usual cheque
(2) Peace order + good Govt.
(3) control of foreign trade.

D20953

General:

(1) Tory Bureaucracy: Almost all Liberal Deputy Ministers retired. (retiring) appointments

Partisan appointments.

Holding appointments to end, to subdue following.

(2) Police and Military Expenditures: Barracks, armouries; increase in forces. (all portfolios of —

(3) Overriding Provinces: Social Legislation;
Maintenance law and order - Regina;
Intimidate provinces - Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act.

(4) Cumulative Effect: Flood.

Scaling position of Prime Minister

(1) held portfolios, P.M. - External affairs, Pres. of Priv. Council during first 4th session Minister of Finance

Labour minister in Senate - first few years

" " portfolios held until Minister of Immigration

(2) announcing legislative program in advance spoke from throne.

(3) fathering most legislation - See Social Security Act in name of Prime Minister, even when not on record

D2095

The Question of Control

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

-A-

Mr. Bennett's Record re

Control Wrested from House of Commons

1. General Powers of Parliament:

a. Expenditure and Taxation -

i - Special Session 1930 -

$20,000,000 vote for unemployment in lump sum -

no specific appropriations; no control by Parlt.

No auditing of grants -

"insult to provinces";

Auditor General servant of Parliament - not used.

ii - "Blank Cheque" -

Executive took power, at session 1931, to spend

unnamed and unlimited amounts for relief purposes;

no control by Parliament; no auditing;

vast expenditures 1930-35 - $160,000,000;

control over expenditures necessary to control over

taxation.

iii - Loans -

Under relief legislation, executive took powerto to make loans without approval of Parliament;

March 31, 1935, loans to provinces outstanding - $82,000,000;

- vast liability in assumption of which Parliament had no voice or control.

iv - Guarantees -

also took power to guarantee loans;

March 31, 1935, guarantees outstanding - $66,000,000 - another vast liability with which Parliament had nothing to do;

guarantees made re -

Newfoundland;

Beauharnois;

Steel Companies;

C. P. R. - $60,000,000;

Wheat - estimated liability May 31, 1935, $7,000,000; not included in above total.

based on 80 of bushels held and deliveries in certificate at time of purchase & wheat agency and selling price

D20956

b. Legislation -

i - Peace, Order and Good Government -

At session 1931, and each year since, government took power to legislate by order-in-council on any subject under this heading.

In 1932 session, took this power for period even while Parliament in session.

ii - Action taken under -

Prohibition of export of gold;

Revaluation of securities of insurance companies & banks for balance sheet purposes;

These powers in possession of government even when Parliament dissolved; as well as prorogued.

No guarantee to what lengths government may not go.

2. Railways:

a. Board of Trustees -

Government took C.N.R. out of hands of Board of Directors appointed by government at pleasure;

Placed in hands of Board of Trustees appointed for fixed term;

- control not by H. of C., but by Tory appointees.

b. Removal of Trustees -

Can be removed only by vote of both Houses of Parliament;

Tory Senate -

ultimate control of railways in hands of Tory Senate.

3. Currency and Credit:

a. Transfer to Bank of Canada -

i - National currency handed over to Bank by Department of Finance - $69,000,000 in gold actually transferred;

ii - Rediscounting function (i.e. control over volume of credit) and securities on deposit for this purpose - also transferred.

b. Control of Bank of Canada -

i - Board -

7 directors appointed by private shareholders;

Governor, and Deputy Governor appointed by government for fixed term;

Deputy Minister of Finance - no vote;

ii - Control -

in hands of private corporation;

in part, in hands of Tory appointees;

change in constitution of Bank, requires consent of Tory Senate.

4. Trade.

(a) Tariffs by Executive Action -

Customs and Tariff amendments special session gave Executive power to change regulations; impose dump duties; exchange duties.

Instability and excess of these special arbitrary duties have strangled trade as much as high tariffs.

(b) Marketing Act -

(i) - Permits Executive to prohibit import of any regulated product;

(ii) - to prohibit export of any natural product.

i and ii = great part of foreign trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) - Margin of preference guaranteed; tariffs "pegged";

(ii) - Agreements run five years;

(iii) - Intermediate tariff raised to height of general - no negotiating;

(iv) - House of Commons cannot lower duties below these levels, without:

revision of agreements;

consent of Tory Senate.

4. Trade.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) - Not authorized, or ratified, or even presented to Parliament;

(ii) - Policy of scarcity inaugurated without consent of people's representatives.

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Gives Executive, not Parliament, power to approve of schemes for marketing natural products;

(b) Schemes enable local, self-interested, economic groups to:

(i) - limite sale;

(ii) - limit production - licences; (scarcity)

(iii) - create monopolies;

(iv) - create fines and penalties.

Negation of parliamentary system

" " British law.

(Magna Carta).

(c) will give rise to combines and monopolies in natural products in manufactured products

(d) increase cost of production, and cost of living.

6. Titles.

Restored

(a) by Executive action;

(b) in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

Liberal Attitude

Restore Control fo People's Representatives.

1. General Powers of Parliament -

(a) Expenditure and Taxation:

(i) - abolish blank cheque;

(after Parliament has opportunity to vote specific sums for relief purposes).

(ii) - restore practice of voting specific appropriations with fullest details;

(iii) - allow Auditor-General fullest scope;

(iv) - use Governor-General's warrants where extreme contingencies arise;

(v) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C.

(b) Legislation:

(i) - abolish "Peace, Order and Good Government" clause;

(ii) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C. -

Parliament, not Cabinet, legislative branch;

Liberalism = Trust of the people;

express of their will through representatives;

Parliament knows needs of people and remedies better than any other body.

2. Railways.

(a) Place trustees under control of H. of C.

(b) No amalgamation under private ownership or control.

3. Credit and Currency.

(a) Liberalism believes this to be a first responsibility of Govt.

(b) Social or Community control required -

(i) - Board of Bank of Canada to be subjected to measure of state control to ensure furtherance of public, not private, aims;

(ii) - Does not necessarily mean Government to buy over all shares.

Govt should appoint majority of directors

4. Trade.

(a) End making of tariffs by Executive action -

(i) abolish extra, unwarranted special duties as imposed by Bennett Administration;

(ii) restore to Parliament full control over tariff and largest measure of control over regulations;

(iii) tariff stability necessary to trade recovery.

(b) Marketing Act -

abolish power to control foreign trade.

" authority to groups to impose fines + penalties by regulations to be approved by Parliament.

4. Trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) revision necessary -

believe as much desired in Britain as here;

(ii) preference by percentage reductions;

(iii) restore fiscal freedom of Parliament -

no pegging;

provision for amendment;

(iv) restore intermediate tariff as basis of negotiating reciprocal agreements with other countries.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) repudiation unnecessary -

still-born;

(ii) abandon policy of scarcity -

instead, policy of production and exchange.

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Restore control to Parliament by requiring approval of schemes by both Houses;

rescinding clause giving Governor in Council power to restrict import importation and exportation and during production & business.

(b) Revision necessary to -

(i) restore making of criminal law by Parliament;

(ii) protect interests of consumers;

(iii) guard against monopolies.

(c) State assistance for marketing -

(i) Party not opposed to;

(ii) Advocated as early as 1933.

6. Titles.

restrict executive in exercise

Will ask House of Commons to ~~abolish~~.

of Royal Prerogative.

D20964

Kingston Meeting
Wednesday, Aug. 7, 1935.

Democracy vs. Dictatorship

= Parliamentary Method vs. Government by Executive - still more by one man.

1930 - 1. Special Session:

clearly evident of intention to establish

policies of Economic Nationalism - isolate Canada.

High Tariffs - Executive powers re

Customs regulations, etc.

Furthered at Imperial Conference

= Economic Imperialism - Isolate British Empire.

Take power in own hands - Minister of Labour in Commons,

Minister of Finance - first two sessions;

reducing numbers in political discussion.

1931 - 2nd Session:

Development of both re tariffs (Make tariffs fight for you).

Gain extra power for the Executive -

Blank cheque -

no appropriations, etc. - control of parliament over expenditures;

no control over outlays or auditing - taxation.

Peace, order and good government -

legislation by Executive, not by parliament;

3 branches of government.

Adoption of Closure -

in name of emergency, also unemployed.

Note uses to which powers put -

Guarantees to Railways, - $30,000,000 C.P.R.

to Banks,

re Wheat.

Confidential - even colleagues.

D20966

Closure; on new order from Railways | secure from both Houses

1932 - 3rd Session:

More relief legislation - autocratic powers.

Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa -

one-man affair;

same true of all Dominion-Provincial Conferences and dealing with deputations.

Canada - U.K. Agreement

Agreement itself more in way of Economic Nationalism and Economic Imperialism;

compelled acceptance of agreement before discussion of items of tariff;

No tariff, without referendum

taking away control from parliament;

Full control of tariffs

making tariffs by executive action -

tariff ~~=~~ taxation;

beg Parliament's bring in changes in tariff first -

under separate Agreement made difficult negotiations with other countries.

Mr. Baldwin's statement - preference by lowering tariffs.

Liberal intention to revise agreements.

D20967

1933 - 4th Session:

Limiting Production policy -

policy of scarcity agreed upon in London.

No prior consultation with Parliament;

agreement never submitted to or discussed by Parliament.

After - wheat agreement a failure;

discussion on Reciprocity.

By-elections begin to go against government -

Huron;

Liberal candidates returned.

D20968

1934 - 5th Session: (contract material made)

Marketing Act - features of;

under guise of helping agriculture,

taking away powers from Parliament;

establish monopolies, fines and penalties -

Parliament does not approve;

control foreign trade of Canada -

"No taxation without representation" gone;

Magna Charta gone - "law of the land". (judged by Courts)

By-elections continue to go against government -

South Oxford.

By Elections Government carried on by consent of governed -

respond to popular will, should have had general election;

whole spirit of British institutions set at naught -

will of electorate known -

By-elections,

Provincial Elections - climax P.E.I.

D20969

1934 - 5th Session:

Banking Act -

Bank of Canada a private institution.

Control of credit regulated by government previously under Finance Act;

gold reserves and securities turned over to private corporation.

D 20970

1935 - 6th Session:

Social Reform Legislation - re Labour.

Note the method of dictatorship -

regimentation, etc., for labour.

Introduced without reference to Cabinet or supporters

in Parliament;

Governor General ignored;

no mandate;

ultra vires - ignore provinces;

unwilling to take opinion of Courts.

Re: Price Spreads -

Validity - opinion of leading counsel taken;

others - questioned by Minister of Justice,

Secretary of State;

changed by Senate -

Meighen's position.

What becomes of ministerial responsibility.

Note - Economic Council to advise Prime Minister -

part of paraphernalia of dictatorship.
Decision in U.S.A. re N.R.A.

D20971

1935 - 6th Session:

Re: Representative character of institution -

7 vacancies in House of Commons

= disfranchised;

17 vacancies in Senate;

Railway Commission;

Civil Service Commission;

Judgeships, etc.

Past 5 years - Government over 5 years in office

despite provincial elections and by-elections -

might, not right.

Constitution says life of Parliament not to extend 5 years -

never meant life of Executive should exceed 5 years.

At present, no longer parliament -

Mr. Bennett absolute power

under blank cheque,

peace, order and good government,

marketing legislation (trade).

Also to make appointments which cannot be questioned

by parliament -

Note bureaucracy built up -

all Liberal Deputy Ministers retired.

D 20972

Note, too, expenditures re Police:

on barracks,

on armouries,

officials increased.

Note - Overriding authority of provinces -

(1) social legislation,

(2) Maintenance law and order,

(3) Effort to intimidate provinces -

e.g. legislation re Farmers Creditors Arrangement Act;

same true re social legislation.

Note - Cumulative effect of all this -

The Flood -

Worst feature of all - power of incoming government

to effect reforms greatly restricted.

Methods of a dictator - cannot be done by parliamentary method

short and swift routes.

I want to say Parliament will be free to question any and all

appointments made since Government lost confidence of electorate,

and especially since parliament at an ed.

Keeping appointments = dictator -

silencing opposition.

Book

Dictatorship

D20973

Government's Delay in Bringing on Election

1. **Constitutional Aspects:**

a. **Constitution fixes no definite date** -

to permit election at any time;

" " Will of people to prevail;

spirit of constitution - essence of British system.

b. **Constitution fixes term of Parliament** -

5 years from day of return of writs - Aug. 18, 1935;

never intended term of executive to be greater than that of Parliament;

government in office 5 years on Aug. 7 - 2 anniversaries;

~~if~~ with election held ~~end of Sept.~~ Oct. 14, government ~~would~~ will be in office ~~at least~~ just five years, ~~3~~ 2 months.

c. **Generally 4 Sessions of Parliament** -

6 sessions in present Parlt.

d. **Defiance of Will of People** -

i - 9 out of 10 by-elections since I.E.C. have gone against government;

ii - every Tory provincial government swept out of office - fought on federal issues.

e. **Vacancies in House of Commons** -

7 vacancies when Parliament prorogued;

5 " for full period of last session;

"no taxation without representation";

government lost confidence in itself.

2. Practical Aspects:

a. Handicapp Incoming Administration -

~~October~~ November at earliest before new government in office;

several months after that before negotiations conducted and measures completed;

next spring before policies can begin to have effect;

general elections should have been held when by-elections held last fall.

b. Disturbing to Business -

other nations making agreements incommode us. Argentina & U.S.A.

business will not settle down until elections over;

confidence will come in business, only when government in office which enjoys confidence of people;

will return to office of Mr. Stevens, or Mr. Woodsworth inspire confidence?

c. Holding measures ~~of~~ for purposes of general election -

i - Social reform;

- Liberal attitude towards.

ii - Reciprocity.

D20975

d. Holding Appointments to last minute -

i - Tory Senate -

allow as many vacancies as possible to accumulate -

thwart future Liberal H. of C.

Tory majority will be 32 - two-thirds Senate will be Tory

when present vacancies filled.

ii - Tory Bureaucracy -

civil service appointments; - M.P.'s made Deputy Ministers - Marine; P.M. 3d.

Railway Commission -

Guthrie;

Fullerton appointed to Board of Truestees Dec. 23, 1933-

over 1½ years ago;

Radio Commission -

vice chairman appointed to succeed Cartier, makes resigned.

Tory organizer in Quebec, who has joined

Stevens.

iii - Dictatorship -

Mr. Bennett held appointments, allowed them to accumulate

to keep following in line;

consulted his own interests, not interests of service,

Senate, or country.

Aug. 12/35.

Delay in Elections D20976

Last Parl formed Aug 7 - 1930

Protest against delay in bringing on elections. Last week

Note constitution

Effect on business.

Difficulty for new Government -

into fall, before policies deal with Labour problems

at worst moment.

By-elections - after general election should have been held.

Note vacancies.

Attitude of Opposition re social reform to permit election in spring

= Attitude at close of session. Many thought for election

Three reasons for delay:

not will of people,

or needs of people,

but gain political advantage for Tory party;

also methods of dictator alienate authority of parliament.

(1) Re criticism of appointments made to positions.

(2) Establish a bureaucracy.

(3) Avoid criticism re appointments to Senate.

(4) Expend public money for election purposes - x Wheat, dairying

e.g. Marketing legislation,

Wheat, etc.

D 20977

Liberal Programme & Policies D20978

of. Ottawa.

HALIFAX MEETING

SEPTEMBER 4, 1935

INTRODUCTORY

Pleasure at being once more in Nova Scotia.

Reference to Liberal victory in province 1933

Angus Macdonald and colleagues -

(see notes re Halifax meeting)

Endorsement of candidates in Halifax - Finn & Ismor

(see notes re Halifax meeting)

Presence of other Liberal candidates -

Duff

Ilsley

Kinley

tc

Twentieth Century Clubs -

specially represented at meeting

participation in campaign and work of party generally

Liberalism welcomes participation of youth and women in public life of country.

Liberal Party's Position

General -

Not a new position taken on eve of election.

Principles and policies have been consistently advocated.

Statement made H. of C., February 27th, 1933, endorsed by -

(a) Unanimous caucus
(b) National Liberal Federation

Has been basis of Liberal appeal in by-elections.

Record of Liberal party in past and solidarity of party from coast to coast guarantee policies will be carried out -

Contrast other parties -

1. Bennett -

determines policies himself

2. Stevens -

prepares program in few days - no convention

3. C. C. F. -

party convention but no tradition or background

Danger of third parties -

need for stable government with large majority

Unemployment:

1. Emergent condition -

a representative national commission

2. Long-range policies -

(a) Unemployment insurance -

to deal with seasonal and technological unemployment;

Bennett measure of doubtful validity -

Will submit to courts and replace if necessary with valid measure.

(b) Policies to revive trade

External Trade -

1. Reduction of extravagant increases in tariff and abolition extra taxes.

2. Trade agreements -

will seek to regain markets with any country willing to trade with Canada on reciprocal basis.

3. Revision Ottawa Agreements -

(a) to restore fiscal freedom and ability to negotiate with other countries,

(b) to lower tariffs, not increase them -

re Stanley Baldwin

4. Reciprocity -

Delay in negotiation -

Roosevelt willing to proceed since 1933;

Duff resolutions withdrawn H. of C.;

Agreement being held by Bennett as last card;

Ottawa Agreements stand in way - margin of preference;

Liberal party has always advocated greater trade with U.S.-

Reciprocity Agreement 1911;

Mackenzie King administration in office when high tariff governments in power in U.S.;

Bennett and conservatives have always opposed freer trade with U.S.;

Bennett has neglected great opportunity -

since 1933 President in power anxious to negotiate;

Since 1933 President has had power to make agreements without approval of Senate.

Liberation of Internal Trade:

Statement February 1933 anticipated price spreads investigation;

Motion of McKenzie (Assiniboia) for price spreads investigation turned down in 1933;

Stevens opposed combines act - price spreads commission strongly supported;

Bennett legislation -

trade and industry commission has impaired combines legislation.

Development of Primary Industries:

Industry and trade depend upon primary industries;

Need for -

(a) lower cost of production-,

machinery implements, etc.;

(b) lower cost of living -

clothing and food, etc.;

Must attract capital -

capital as well as labour essential under any form of government;

great possibilities of development -

e.g. Mining industry;

Capital must be encouraged to come in - not frightened out of country.

Canada a young and as yet undeveloped country;

Marketing -

state assistance recommended in statement February 1933;

Liberal objections to marketing legislation.

Control of Credit:

Bennett government has turned over currency and credit to a private bank;

Liberal party has advocated properly constituted National Bank and will see that such is established;

Stevens now talks of nationalizing bank but voted for private bank.

Control of Investments:

Investment control board should be established;

Price spreads commission also recommended, but Tory senate under Meighen refused to pass bill.

Railways:

Control re taken from H. of C. by Bennett;

Canadian National sabotaged by Bennett & Manion;

Liberal party opposes amalgamation, and national government with this end in view;

Trade and Traffic - the only solution of railway problem.

Democratization of Industry:

Four Parties to Industry -

give labour share in control of industrial policies;

My life work and writings have had this end in view;

Social reform -

co-operation with Bennett, Session 1935;

measures advocated by Liberals all along;

will remove doubt as to validity of social reforms -

co-operation with provinces -

B. N. A. Act amendment;

Recovery must precede reform.

Restoration of Responsible Government:

Dictatorship under Bennett -

blank cheque

peace, order and good government

marketing

Central Bank

railways

titles

Present Situation -

possibility of war

No Parliament

No possibility of parliament until writs returned after election.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty:

Electoral Reform:

Balanced Budget:

Confidence in stability of government essential to recovery;

Reduction in cost of government essential to recovery.

Reduction in debt and interest -

Liberal record - reduced debt $276,000,000.

Conservative record - increased debt $600,000,000.

Stevens - will wipe out national debt in 25 years -

either insincere, ignorant of whole problem of government

or proposes to wipe out debt by inflation.

International Relations:

Every effort to preserve peace;

Full support of League of Nations;

Canada's delegation to Geneva 1935.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth:

E.P.3

D 20985

market-
ing

D20986

24-25 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 57.

An Act to improve the methods and practices of marketing of natural products in Canada and in export trade, and to make further provision in connection therewith.

[*Assented to 3rd July, 1934.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

SHORT TITLE.

1. This Act may be cited as *The Natural Products Marketing Act, 1934.* Short title.

INTERPRETATION.

2. In this Act and in any regulations made thereunder, unless the context otherwise requires,— Definitions.

(a) "Board" means the Dominion Marketing Board established under this Act; "Board."

(b) "local board" means a board authorized to administer a scheme approved under this Act; "Local board."

(c) "marketing" includes buying and selling, shipping for sale or storage and offering for sale; "Marketing."

(d) "Minister" means the Minister designated by the Governor in Council to administer this Act; "Minister."

(e) "natural product" includes animals, meats, eggs, wool, dairy products, grains, seeds, fruit and fruit products, vegetables and vegetable products, maple products, honey, tobacco, lumber, and such other natural products of agriculture and of the forest, sea, lake or river, and any article of food or drink wholly or partly manufactured or derived from any such product that may be designated by the Governor in Council, in accordance with the provisions of this Act; "Natural product."

(f) "province of production" means the province within which the regulated product is produced; "Province of production."

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"Regulated product."

(g) "regulated product" means a natural product to which a scheme approved under this Act relates, but does not include

(i) in case the said scheme relates only to the product of a part of Canada, such product in so far as it is produced outside that part of Canada;

(ii) in case the said scheme relates only to the product marketed outside the province of production, such product in so far as it is marketed within the province of production;

(iii) in case the said scheme relates only to the product exported, such product in so far as it is not exported.

DOMINION MARKETING BOARD.

Dominion Marketing Board.

3. (1) The Governor in Council may establish a board to be known as the Dominion Marketing Board to regulate the marketing of natural products as hereinafter provided.

Constitution of the Board.

(2) The Board shall consist of such number of persons as the Governor in Council may from time to time determine, and each member shall hold office during pleasure and shall receive such remuneration as the Governor in Council shall determine.

Chairman and quorum.

(3) One of the members of the Board shall be appointed by the Governor in Council as chairman, and such number of members as the Governor in Council shall determine shall constitute a quorum.

Members may act in respect of class of products.

(4) The Governor in Council may authorize certain members of the Board to exercise the functions of the Board in respect of any product or class of products.

Technical and other officers and employees.

(5) The Board may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, employ such technical, professional and other officers and employees as the Board may deem necessary or desirable, and such persons shall receive such salaries or remuneration as may be fixed by the Board with the approval of the Governor in Council.

Body corporate.

(6) The Board shall be a body corporate and shall have power for the purposes of this Act to acquire, hold and dispose of real and personal property.

Head office.

(7) The head office of the Board shall be in the city of Ottawa in the province of Ontario.

Duties of the Board.

(8) The Board shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, exercise the powers hereinafter conferred upon it, and shall advise the Minister from time to time on matters pertaining to the administration of this Act and regulations made thereunder.

Payments authorized.

(9) The Governor in Council may from time to time authorize payment to the Board out of moneys to be appropriated by Parliament of such sums of money as may be

necessary

necessary to assist in the organization of local boards, to defray the operating expenses of the Board incurred by it directly and any expenditure incurred or authorized by the Board under the authority of section nine hereof.

POWERS OF BOARD.

Powers of Board.

4. (1) The Board shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, have power

Time and place of marketing, distribution, quantity and quality.

(a) to regulate the time and place at which, and to designate the agency through which the regulated product shall be marketed, to determine the manner of distribution, the quantity and quality, grade or class of the regulated product that shall be marketed by any person at any time, and to prohibit the marketing of any of the regulated product of any grade, quality or class;

Exemptions.

(b) to exempt from any determination or order any person or class of persons engaged in the production or marketing of the regulated product or any class, variety or grade of such product;

Pooling.

Compensation for loss.

(c) to conduct a pool for the equalization of returns received from the sale of the regulated product; to compensate any person for loss sustained by withholding from the market or forwarding to a specified market any regulated product pursuant to an order of the Board; provided that no compensation shall be paid in respect of a regulated product that may be withheld from a particular market because the grade of such product is deemed by the Board to be unsuitable for such market, or because of restrictions imposed by the Government or other competent authority of any other country upon the importation of any regulated product into that country;

Compensation for depreciated currency.

(d) to compensate any person in respect of any shipment made pursuant to any determination or order of the Board to a country whose currency is depreciated, in relation to Canadian currency, for loss due to such depreciation;

Assistance by grant or loan.

(e) to assist by grant or loan the construction or operation of facilities for preserving, processing, storing, or conditioning the regulated product and to assist research work relating to the marketing of such product;

Registration or licence.

(f) to require any or all persons engaged in the production or marketing of the regulated product to register their names, addresses and occupations with the Board, or to obtain a licence from the Board, and such licence shall be subject to cancellation by the Board for violation of any provision of this Act or regulation made thereunder;

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Full information and periodic returns.

(g) to require full information relating to the production and marketing of the natural product from all persons engaged therein and to require periodic returns to be made by such persons, and to inspect the books and premises of such persons;

Expenses.

(h) to pay the operating and necessary expenses of the Board;

Co-operation.

(i) to co-operate with any board or agency established under the law of any province to regulate the marketing of any natural product of such province and to act conjointly with any such provincial board or agency;

Board may authorize local board to exercise powers.

(2) Whenever a scheme for regulation by a local board has been approved, the Board may authorize the local board to exercise such of the powers of the Board as are outlined in this section and as may be necessary for the proper enforcement of the scheme of regulation, and may at any time withdraw from the local board authority to exercise any of its powers.

Board may require full information.

(3) The Board may require the local board to furnish full information from time to time relating to the production and marketing of the regulated product, and shall advise the local board in all matters relating to the exercise of its powers.

Board may establish a separate fund and impose charges and tolls.

(4) The Board, whether exercising the powers conferred by this Act or by provincial legislation, may establish a separate fund in connection with any scheme of regulation and for the purposes of such scheme may impose charges and tolls in respect of the marketing of the whole or any part of the regulated product, which charges and tolls shall be payable by such persons engaged in the production or marketing of the regulated product as the Board decides.

Local board may collect.

(5) Whenever a local board has been authorized to exercise any of the powers of the Board, the Board may authorize such local board to act as its agent to collect and disburse the charges or tolls imposed.

Agency may collect charges and tolls.

(6) Whenever the Board or a local board co-operates or acts conjointly with any board or agency established under the law of any province to regulate the marketing of any natural product, the Board may similarly impose charges or tolls in respect of the marketing of the whole or any part of the product marketed under the direction of such board or agency, and may authorize such board or agency to act as the agent of the Board in collecting and disbursing such charges or tolls.

Application of proceeds.

(7) A fund created by charges or tolls imposed in connection with a scheme of regulation may be utilized by the Board or by the local board if so authorized by the Board, for the purposes of such scheme including the creating of reserves, and in the case of charges or tolls imposed in respect of the marketing of any product under

the direction of any board or agency established under the law of any province to regulate the marketing of any natural product, the Board may direct that the charges or tolls be utilized by and for the purposes of such board or agency.

Charge to be a debt due to the Board.

(8) Any charge or toll imposed by the Board pursuant to this section shall be a debt due to the Board, recoverable by legal action, and a certificate under the hand of a chief executive officer of the Board or of the local board, or board or agency established under the law of any province to regulate the marketing of any natural product, as the case may be, acting as agent of the Board as herein provided, shall be *prima facie* evidence that the amount stated therein is due.

MARKETING SCHEMES.

Petition to approve scheme.

5. (1) A representative number of persons engaged in the production and marketing or the production or marketing of a natural product may petition the Governor in Council to approve a scheme for the regulation of the marketing of such natural product by a local board under the supervision of the Board.

Reference to Board.

(2) The petition shall be filed with the Minister and if he considers that the persons engaged in the production or marketing of the natural product are sufficiently represented by the petitioners, the scheme shall be referred to the Board with a request for a report on the expediency thereof.

Minister may recommend approval.

(3) Upon receipt of a report from the Board recommending the approval of the scheme as submitted or as amended by the Board, the Minister may recommend the approval thereof, or may require that a poll be taken and state the necessary percentage of voters favouring the scheme to warrant its further consideration; upon the recommendation of approval by the Minister, the Governor in Council may approve the scheme and fix the date when the same shall become effective.

(4) Before any scheme is approved the Governor in Council shall be satisfied,

Conditions.

(a) that the principal market for the natural product is outside the province of production; or

(b) that some part of the product produced may be exported.

Particulars.

(5) Every scheme shall state,

(a) the natural product to be the subject of the scheme of regulation;

(b) the proposed scheme in sufficient detail, including arrangements for a poll, if one is proposed, and for organization and administration under the supervision of the Board to enable consideration of the expediency thereof;

(c) the powers hereinbefore mentioned which it is proposed shall be exercised by the local board under the Board;

(d) if the scheme is to relate only to the product of a part of Canada, the geographical limits of such territory;

(e) full information respecting the quantity of the said product produced and the markets therefor;

(f) whether the scheme is to relate to the whole of the regulated product or to such part as is marketable outside the province of production or to such part as is exported from Canada;

(g) the number of persons who shall comprise the local board and the basis of their selection;

(h) the name and number of the local board; the place and address of the head office; the chief executive officers; the quorum required to approve any order or resolution; and how vacancies are to be filled;

(i) any other information required by regulation or by the Minister.

Notice of approval of scheme.

6. (1) When a scheme has been approved by the Governor in Council, the Minister shall give public notice thereof in the *Canada Gazette*.

Scheme to have force of law.

(2) The provisions of the scheme as approved shall have the force of law, and the local board shall, from the date of the publication of the said notice of approval, be a body corporate.

Scheme to continue in force.

7. (1) Every scheme established hereunder shall continue in force until terminated by the Governor in Council.

Petition to revoke scheme.

(2) A representative number of the persons operating under a scheme approved under section five of this Act may petition the Minister to revoke the scheme.

Particulars of petition.

(3) The petition shall disclose to what extent the persons operating under the scheme are represented by those signing the petition and the Minister shall decide whether all those so engaged are sufficiently represented to justify him in considering the petition.

Poll to be taken before scheme is revoked.

(4) If a poll was taken in connection with the establishment of the scheme, a poll shall be taken before the scheme is revoked and the Minister shall state the necessary percentage of votes favouring revocation to warrant further consideration of the petition.

Revocation or approval.

(5) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, grant the petition or refuse to revoke the scheme, as may best serve the public interest.

Approval of proposals for extension, amalgamation, and new local boards.

8. Whenever the Governor in Council is satisfied, on the recommendation of the Minister, that a majority of the persons engaged in the production or marketing of a natural product so require, he may approve of a proposal for,—

(a) the extension of the geographical limits of any part of Canada to which an existing scheme relates;

(b) the extension of the powers of any local board;

(c) the amalgamation of two or more local boards;

(d) the creation of a new local board to regulate the marketing of a product already subject to regulation by one or more existing local boards, provided that the existing local board or boards approve and that the powers of the new local board can be exercised consistently with the exercise of the powers of any existing local board or boards.

Minister may propose a scheme.

9. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act the Minister may, if he is satisfied that the trade and commerce in a natural product is injuriously affected by marketing conditions through the lack of a local board, at any time propose a scheme for the marketing or the regulation of the marketing pursuant to section four of this Act of such product in interprovincial and/or export trade, and the Governor in Council may approve of such scheme and authorize the Board to administer such scheme directly or in co-operation with local boards, or through any agency which it may establish. Such scheme shall continue in force until terminated by the Governor in Council.

Provincial marketing board.

10. Whenever a scheme of regulation relates to an area of production which is confined within the limits of a province, the Governor in Council may authorize any marketing board or agency established under the law of the said province to be, and to exercise the functions of, a local board with reference to the said scheme.

Board may act under provincial legislation.

11. The Board may exercise any power conferred upon it by or pursuant to provincial legislation with reference to the marketing of a natural product and may authorize a local board to exercise any such power.

RESTRICTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

Power to regulate or restrict imports and exports.

12. The Governor in Council may by order or regulation, notice whereof shall be published forthwith in the *Canada Gazette*,—

(a) regulate or restrict the importation into Canada of any natural product which enters Canada in competition with a regulated product;

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(b) regulate or restrict the exportation from Canada of any natural product;

(c) provide for the licensing of persons by whom any such natural product may be imported or exported;

(d) prescribe the forms of such licences and the terms and conditions upon which the same may be issued, renewed, suspended or revoked by the Governor in Council.

REGULATIONS.

Regulations.

13. The Governor in Council may make such regulations as may be necessary for the efficient enforcement and operation of this Act and for carrying out the provisions thereof according to their true intent and meaning.

OFFENCES.

Failure to comply with orders or regulations.

14. Every person who fails to comply with any order of the Board or of a local board or any regulation of the Governor in Council shall be guilty of an offence and punishable on summary conviction with a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars and not more than five hundred dollars, or to imprisonment not exceeding three months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

REPORT.

Annual statement.

15. (1) At the end of each fiscal year, the Board shall transmit to the Minister a statement, signed by the chairman, of its affairs for the fiscal year in the form prescribed by the Governor in Council.

Laid before Parliament.

(2) A copy of such statement, if Parliament be then sitting, shall within fifteen days after receipt thereof by the Minister, be laid before Parliament, or if Parliament be not sitting, it shall be laid before Parliament within fifteen days after the commencement of the next ensuing session thereof.

PART II.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Definitions.

16. In this Part and in any regulation made hereunder, unless the context otherwise requires,—

"Committee."

(a) "committee" means a committee appointed hereunder by the Minister;

"Spread."

(b) "spread" means and includes—

(i) the charge made by any person by way of commission, flat charge or otherwise for selling any natural or regulated product;

(ii) the charge made by any person for the storage, conditioning, re-conditioning, packing, wrapping or otherwise preparing for market any natural or regulated product;

(iii) the difference or spread between the price at which any natural or regulated product is purchased and the price at which it is sold;

(iv) the difference between the price at which any natural or regulated product is purchased and the sale price of the product resulting from the adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of the aforesaid natural or regulated product.

Power to authorize investigations.

17. (1) The Minister may, at the request of the Board or upon his own initiative authorize an investigation into the cost of production, wages, prices, spread, trade practices, methods of financing, management policies, grading, transportation and other matters in relation to the production and marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of any natural or regulated product.

Information required may be submitted.

(2) The Minister may also require persons engaged in the production or marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of any natural or regulated product to submit at regular intervals or at any stated time, information demanded by the Minister in connection with the matters referred to in subsection one hereof.

Committee to deal with spread.

18. (1) Whenever as a result of any such investigation the Minister shall have reason to believe that such a situation exists as requires further inquiry he may at the request of the Board or on his own initiative appoint a committee to inquire into the spread in connection with the marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of a natural or regulated product.

Constitution of committee.

(2) Such committee shall be composed of such number of representatives of producers and persons engaged in mark-

eting, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion, and consumers, as the Minister shall decide, and there shall be a representative of the Minister who shall act as chairman.

Powers of committee.

19. (1) A committee shall have power to investigate all operations occurring in connection with or in the course of marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of the natural or regulated product for the purpose of ascertaining the spread received by any person in the course of such marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion.

Powers under *Inquiries Act*, R.S., c. 99.

(2) For the purposes of any such investigation or inquiry the Minister or such person as he may authorize to act on his behalf and the committee shall have the powers of a commissioner appointed under the *Inquiries Act*.

Determination by committee.

20. A committee may after investigation as hereinbefore provided report to the Minister in connection with any operation occurring in the course of marketing, adaptation for sale, processing or conversion of the natural or regulated product, whether, in its opinion, the spread received is detrimental to or against the interest of the public in that it is excessive or results in undue enhancement of prices or otherwise restrains or injures trade or commerce in the natural or regulated product.

Publication of report.

21. (1) Any report of a committee shall within thirty days after its receipt by the Minister be made public, unless the committee is of the opinion that the public interest would be better served by withholding publication and so states in the report itself, in which case the Minister may exercise his discretion as to the publicity to be given to the report in whole or in part.

Copies.

(2) The Minister may publish and supply copies of any report in such manner and upon such terms as to him seems most desirable.

Penalty for infraction of provisions respecting spreads.

22. Every person who, to the detriment or against the interest of the public, charges, receives or attempts to receive any spread which is excessive or results in undue enhancement of prices or otherwise restrains or injures trade or commerce in the natural or regulated product, shall be guilty of an indictable offence and liable to a penalty not exceeding five thousand dollars or to two years' imprisonment, or, if a corporation, to a penalty not exceeding ten thousand dollars.

Evidence to be transmitted to Attorney General of province.

23. (1) Whenever in the opinion of a committee an offence has been committed against this Part, the Minister shall remit to the Attorney-General of any province within

which such alleged offence shall have been committed, for such action as such Attorney-General may be pleased to institute, the evidence taken on any investigation by a committee and the report of the committee.

If no action taken.

(2) If within three months after remission aforesaid, or within such shorter period as the Governor in Council shall decide, no such action shall have been taken by or at the instance of the Attorney-General of the province as to the Governor in Council the case seems in the public interest to require, the Attorney-General of Canada may permit an information to be laid against such person or persons as in the opinion of the Attorney-General shall have been guilty of an offence against this Part.

Accused to have option.

24. When an indictment is found against any person for any offence against this Part the accused shall have the option to be tried before the judge presiding at the court at which the indictment is found, or the judge presiding at any subsequent sitting of such court, or at any court where the indictment comes on for trial, without the intervention of a jury; and in the event of such option being exercised the proceedings subsequent thereto shall be regulated in so far as may be applicable by Part XVIII of the *Criminal Code*, respecting speedy trials of indictable offences.

Annual report.

Laid before Parliament.

25. The Minister shall at the end of the fiscal year prepare a report of the proceedings taken under this Part and shall lay the same before Parliament forthwith, or if Parliament be not then sitting, within fifteen days after the commencement of the next ensuing session.

If part of Act be *ultra vires*.

26. If it be found that Parliament has exceeded its powers in the enactment of one or more of the provisions of this Act, none of the other or remaining provisions of the Act shall therefore be held to be inoperative or *ultra vires*, but the latter provisions shall stand as if they had been originally enacted as separate and independent enactments and as the only provisions of the Act; the intention of Parliament being to give independent effect to the extent of its powers to every enactment and provision in this Act contained.

OTTAWA: Printed by Joseph Oscar Patenaude, Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

20997

Natural Products Marketing Act 1934

1. Purpose:

a. Alleged purpose -

i. State assistance in orderly marketing of natural products;

ii. Measure of state control and regulation re.

b. Liberal attitude -

i. Not opposed to legitimate measures to attain these ends - advocated as early as Feb. 27, 1933;

(see Liberal Party's Position - "Development of Primary Industries")

ii. Opposed to, under guise of assisting agriculture -

(a) depriving Parliament of its control, and

(b) fostering policies of scarcity and economic nationalism, [illegible]

(c) furthering ends of dictatorship.

- object to obnoxious features only.

2. Regulation of Internal Trade:

a. Gives Executive, not Parliament, power to approve schemes;

b. Schemes enable local, self-interested, economic groups to make regulations having force of law, and among other things, to:

i. licence producers (limit production);

ii. determine all conditions of sale (limit or prohibit sale);

iii. create monopolies;

iv. create fines and penalties.

c. Powers extend not to natural products only, but to any article of food or drink wholly or partly derived therefrom = large field of manufacturing as well.

3. Executive Given Control Over Foreign Trade:

Real Purpose of Act:

a. Imports -
Power to
Regulate or restrict importation of any natural product which competes with a regulated product.

b. Exports -

Power to regulate or restrict exportation of any natural product.

c. Licences -

Power to licence importers and exporters of natural products;

4. Restrictive Legislation:

a. Restricts production -

Bicences;

Policy of Scarcity;

b. Restricts sale -

determines when, where, how much, if - goods may be sold;

controls foreign trade.

c. Enhances Prices -

Monopolies;

control machinery of marketing;
limit production.

d. Economic Nationalism -

further effort to isolate and make country self-supporting.

5. Fascist Legislation:

Dictatorship:

a. Control Wrested from Parliament, over -

i. Marketing Schemes;

ii. Foreign trade.

b. Class Legislation -

i. in interests of producers only -

may, however, re-act against their interests;

places them at mercy of government;

deprives them of protection of Parliament and laws of land;

ii. no safeguards in interests of consumers;

iii. no safeguards in interests of community;

iv. no safeguards in interests of other producers.

c. Negation of Parliamentary System -

i. Criminal law -

put in hands of groups;

Magna Carta ~~dispensed with~~ - "law of the land";

judgment of peers;

undermines basis of British liberty - security of person and property;

individual rights;

undermines British judicial system.

ii. Legislation -

Parliament, not executive, or delegated body, to govern; will of Parliament to be supreme;

Legislation by economic groups, not Parliament - Sovietism;

Laws to be made by persons duly elected as representatives of people as whole in accordance with provisions of Franchise and Elections Acts.

Compulsion of minorities by groups, not legislation by Parliament.

iii. Taxation -

duties on foreign trade, imposed by executive;

"no taxation without representation."

d. Bureaucracy -

Vast extension of state powers and officials;

Regimentation of producers.

5. Validity:

a. question as to jurisdiction;

b. doubt very much that delegation of compulsory powers to local boards is constitutional.

6. Liberal Attitude:

Revision Necessary -

a. Require approval of Parliament for all schemes;

control and regulation, ~~not~~ last by Parliament.

b. Return to Parliament making of criminal law;

c. Provide for protection of consumers;

d. Safeguard against monopolies.

undermines British judicial system.

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Re Marketing

D21003

(Article from "The Sun")

"Would Mr. King Hamstring the Marketing Act?"

"It is not safe for political leaders to express themselves too clearly or too definitely in their election manifesto, but producers would certainly like to know what Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, if returned to power, would do with the Natural Products Marketing Act. Objections have been taken to the compulsory features of this legislation, and in his second radio address Mr. King said: 'What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor-in-Council, apart from Parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports and to local groups, not representative of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of Parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties.'

"Mr. Mackenzie King is on safe ground, of course, when stressing the supremacy of Parliament, but what producers would like to know is whether under a local scheme the board would have power to regulate the marketing of a product or whether Mr. Mackenzie King would remove the compulsory features and make the local marketing organization a voluntary, innocuous, useless thing.

"It has been demonstrated over and over again that without some measure of compulsion, co-operative marketing in Canada offers little hope to producers. If Mr. Mackenzie King set out to rob the Marketing Act of its compulsory features he might as well destroy it forthwith and spare it a lingering death."

- must take Act as a whole.

- with approval by Parliament as in England.

- not when approved by Parliament.

- Compulsion, other than by Parliament, likely to be unconstitutional.

Applies also to manufacturers;

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Applies also to manufacturers;

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 21004

Bail-
ways.

D 21005

Railways

1. General:

a. Trade and Traffic Solution of Railway Problem:

i. Trade and railway revenue figures show close parallel;

ii. Railways require traffic -

imports as welcome to railway as exports;

iii. Economic Nationalism at root of problem.

b. Canadian Railways under Two Governments:

(1929 vs. 1934)

i. Total Railway Revenues, cut ½

ii. Total Railway Wages, cut ½

iii. Total Railway Workers, cut 1/3

2. Canadian National:

a. Tory Attitude:

i. Criticism and misrepresentation from outset - Bennett, Manion, etc.

ii. Thornton - attacks on; resignation forced.

iii. Interference -

Admission by Manion;

Contrast statement by Thornton re Mr. King keeping promises.

iv. Recapitalization - Bennett's refusal to permit scheme of. (Sylvia Ascher's for Hazen Argo re Thornton)

b. Control of:

i. Liberal Method -

President for term of years; contract.

D 21004

Pail-
waya.

D 21005

Railways

1. General:

   a. Trade and Traffic Solution of Railway Problem:

      i. Trade and railway revenue figures show close parallel;

      ii. Railways require traffic -

          imports as welcome to railway as exports;

      iii. Economic Nationalism at root of problem.

   b. Canadian Railways under Two Governments:

      (1929 vs. 1934)

      i. Total Railway Revenues, cut ½

      ii. Total Railway Wages, cut ½

      iii. Total Railway Workers, cut 1/3

2. Canadian National:

   a. Tory Attitude:

      i. Criticism and misrepresentation from outset - Bennett, Manion, etc.

      ii. Thornton - attacks on; resignation forced.

      iii. Interference -

          Admission by Manion;

          Contrast statement by Thornton re Mr. King keeping promises.

      iv. Recapitalization - Bennett's refusal to permit scheme of.
      (Explicit conditions for board based on Thornton)

   b. Control of:

      i. Liberal Method -

          President for term of years; contract.

Board of Directors appointed by government holding office ~~at pleasure~~ from annual meeting to annual meeting;

could be changed by government with different policies, or for cause.

Labour represented on Board.

ii. Conservative Method:

Canadian National - Canadian Pacific Act 1933 - (beginning of amalgamation)

Control placed in hands of Board of 3 Trustees;

Fixed terms of 7 years; rotating periods;

Chairman of Board has veto;

President = Chief Operating Official; no authority on policy.

First trustees appointed by government; succeeding appointments to be made by government from panel of 8 names nominated provided by President of Exchequer Court of Canada, Chief Commissioner of Railway Commission and remaining trustees. (provincial)

Labour not represented.

Trustees removeable only by vote of both Houses of Parliament;

Control thus placed beyond Parliament -

in hands of Tory appointees;

in hands of Tory Senate;

another evidence of Dictatorship.

Liberal party will seek to place trustees under control of House of Commons.

c. Amalgamation -

i. Liberal Statement, Feb. 27, 1933:

Safeguarding of National Railways

"The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and publicly controlled service."

ii. National Government:

aims at amalgamation;

will not countenance.

D21008

Social Reform

D21009

Social and Industrial Reconstruction

1. Attitude towards Bennett Reform Programme:

a. Co-operation in Session 1935 -

i. No opposition;

ii. Willingness to give priority over everything else.

b. Validity -

i. Expressed concern about proceeding without reference to Courts;

ii. Liberal party, if returned, will submit measures to Courts;

nothing to be gained by setting up expensive machinery to administer, if not valid.

c. Programme only partly implemented -

i. Radio Speeches - only partly carried out (see memo)

ii. Price Spreads - only partly carried out (see memo)

attack by Stevens re. "anemic legislation" - bloodless "

d. "Make Believe" -

i. Halloween -

false faces -

reform comes after five sessions of reaction;

to conceal previous legislation.

other people's clothes;

begging apples = votes.

ii. April Fool -

words not work;

1 day's rest in 7; would like 1 day's work in 7;

8 hour day - would like 1 hour a day;

unemployment insurance - wait a year; no good to those out of work.

iii. Wolves in Sheep's Clothing -

Social Reform often excuse for dictatorship;

Danger of Regimentation.

2. Liberal Record re Labour and Social Reform -

a. Department of Labour created 1900 -

Labour Gazette;

Conciliation and Labour Act.

b. Fair Wages Policy -

On public works.

c. Anti-Sweating Regulations -

On Government contracts.

d. Technical Education -

Appointment of Commission.

e. Inquiries -

Cotton Operatives;

Telephone Operatives;

Coal Operatives;

Immigration of Printers;

Causes of industrial disputes in B.C.

Causes of industrial disputes in N.S.

Employment of Aliens on Pere Marquette Rly Co.

Phosphorous Necrosis.

6. Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907 -

7. Combines Investigation Act, 1910; 1923.

8. Labour Represented in Government -

Murdock;

Heenan.

9. C. N. R.

Labour represented on Board - Tom Moore.

10. Old Age Pensions - 1927 -

Rejected by Tory Senate 1926.

11. Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act, 1930 -

3. Recovery vs Reform:

a. Difference in view -

i. Mr. Bennett - reform first; recovery will follow.

How is it, then only discovered in 1931?

ii. Liberal

recovery first; then reform;

house built from bottom up;

impossible erect social services on stationary

or diminishing national income.

b. Cost of Reform -

i. Machinery to administer means more taxation.

ii. Must all come from pockets of people -

effect on cost of living; on consumers;

"forgotten family" -

must buy food, clothing, shelter;

must pay taxes.

c. Position 1921 to 1930 -

i. Finance -

(a) Problem how to raise money necessary for social services without increasing debt or taxation.

(b) Overcame deficit $81,000,000. for fiscal year 1921-22 and reduced debt $276,000,000. by 1930;

(c) All expenditures paid for out of current revenue.

(d) Had to care as well for returned men -

Pensions 1921-1930 - $234,000,000.

Relief for veterans 1921-1930 - $4,000,000.

ii. Social Legislation -

(a) Recovery made reform possible;

(b) Old age pensions -

first rejected by Tory Senate;

Co-operation with provinces;

Only first step.

(c) Unemployment Insurance -

constitutional difficulty;

Efforts to solve continued right up to end of term.

advised amendment of B.N.A. Act.

(d) Revision of Subsidies -

Intention of Liberal government to revise provincial subsidies and go into whole question of responsibility for social services.

Throughout this Parliament urged this course upon government.

4. Social Reform Dependent on Constitutional Revision:

a. A "national minimum" is end desired -

but not centralization or regimentation.

b. Need for redistribution of powers of taxation and legislation - revision of subsidies.

c. Revision must be reached as result of co-operation agreement - not by coercion.

d. Conference with Provinces to be held early as possible to consider -

i. Procedure for amending B.N.A. Act;

ii. Transfer of social services to Dominion;

iii. Revision of financial arrangements with provinces.

e. Liberal governments in Provinces and at Ottawa -
best guarantee of success.

5. Social Insurance:

a. Unemployment Insurance -

i. Delay in introducing measure - eve of election.

ii. Relates to future -
another year before benefits can be paid.

iii. Doubtful validity -
not prepared with co-operation of provinces;
will submit to courts;
if rejected, will co-operate with provinces to get valid measure.

b. Social Insurance -

i. Present measure sets up scheme only of unemployment insurance.

ii. Liberal government will extend to embrace national health insurance and old age pensions.

6. Unemployment Commission:

a. Nature and Functions - (outlined in Radio Speech No. 3)

i. representative, co-operative, national body;

ii. will seek -

(a) to afford relief in systematic manner;

(b) to afford work on needed enterprises of social and permanent value.

b. Rural as well as Urban -

Activities will not be restricted to cities; drought, rust, loss of markets, etc. have rendered parts of rural population dependent on state; relief in country much more difficult to administer.

c. Procedure and Relations to Parliament -

i. Government will ask Commission to study various schemes and recommend proposals for consideration of Parliament;

ii. Parliament will approve measures and provide funds.

iii. In interval before Parliament meets, government will make available funds appropriated for relief purposes, or use Governor-General's Warrants.

d. Youth -

i. Past five years of discouragement and difficulty for youth.

ii. Commission, as well as government itself, will have special regard for problems of youth.

7. Third Parties:

a. Stevens -

i. Record -

20 years in House of Commons a Tory;

Minister of Trade & Commerce -

responsible for Bennett trade policies:

trade policies responsible for present ills.

ii. Reconstruction Party -

born of f[illegible]d;

born in secrecy;

policies enunciated by leader - dictatorship not a national party;

no prospect of co-operation from provinces, essential for social reform.

b. Woodsworth -

i. C.C.F. Programme -

Not social reform, but social revolution;

Socialization of instruments of production and Nationalization of agencies of communication, and Land exchange - currency

exchange = Socialist State = Dictatorship.

ii. Balance of Power aim of C.C.F. -

Hope to hold balance of power, not form government.

What chance would C.C.F. government have against Tory Senate?

c. Need for Overwhelming Liberal Majority -

i. need working majority in H. of C. - re 1921.

ii. Tory Senate -

Overwhelming mandate essential if measures are to pass Senate.

iii. Liberal governments in provinces ready to co-operate with the Liberal government at Ottawa.

iv. People really anxious for reform will not throw votes away on third parties.

McKenzie Motion Re Price Spreads Investigation

Sessions 1933-1934

Session 1933:

> *Mr. McKenzie (Assiniboia)*—On Monday, January 30th next—PROPOSED RESOLUTION—That, in the opinion of this House, an immediate inquiry should be made under the provisions of The Research Council Act, Chapter 177, R.S.C., 1927, or by other means, into the causes underlying the wide spread between the prices of raw products and the prices of goods manufactured from such products.

On February 6, 1933, the above motion was debated. Mr. Stevens concluded the discussion on that date by saying he had some observations which he would make on the resolution in a few days. He did not speak again and the resolution was not proceeded with.

Session 1934:

On February 19, 1934, the same motion was reintroduced by Mr. McKenzie and discussed. Mr. Stevens intimated that the resolution was more or less out of order, as Mr. Bennett's motion for the establishment of the price spreads committee had already, on February the 2nd, been passed by the House. Mr. McKenzie withdrew his motion.

D21019

D21020

Honourable H. H. Stevens - The Reconstruction Party

1. Relations with Conservative Party:

a. A Tory -

House of Commons 1911-1935. Guide lists as a Conservative;

Consistent supporter Tory principles for almost quarter century;

Has not foresworn allegiance to Tory principles - statement

House of Commons at end of session.

After elections will return to Tory fold.

b. Member of Government -

Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1930-34;

Co-author of Bennett policies -

cannot escape joint responsibility;

Even exceeded Bennett's zeal in some matters;

Seeking escape when public repudiation of policies and

retribution at hand.

c. Resignation from Cabinet -

refused to apologize to Sir Joseph Flavelle;

personal feud , not a difference of principle;

Ontario by-elections, Sept. 1934 -

defended government and party on all scores;

resigned after smashing defeat;

also Bennett willing have him remain for by-elections

purposes.

d. Resignation from Party -

i. Because not invited to caucus;

ii. Because Bennett did not resign -

had been ready and anxious to take over leadership;

matter of health of Prime Minister, not of principle.

2. Reconstruction Party:

a. Circumstances of its birth -

i. born in secrecy -

no convention;

ii. born without name or policies -

secret meeting, Hamilton, July 5;

Stevens accepts leadership, July 7;

- name and platform to be announced later;

Stevens announces manifesto, July 12 -

- no party caucus or conference;

one-man platform;

built like circus or grandstand;

iii. born out of party strife -

born of internal party strife, not of public need;

child of personal quarrel and misfortune;

born of ill-will, not good-will.

iv. born out of suffering of the people -

"This movement was founded on the suffering of the people." Vancouver, Aug. 4.

not on principles, but on unrest;

suffering caused in largest part by policies of restriction and economic nationalism;

should have known four or five years ago -

was told what effect his policies would have.

b. Left Wing of Tory Party -

Conservative party under another name;

Support from Conservative members;

Support from Conservatives throughout country;

Effort to save section of party from disaster;

- policies of Reconstruction seen necessary after policies of Destruction of past five years.

Stevens - Bull Moose of Conservative party;

Teddy Roosevelt and Taft.

c. Another "Third Party" -

3rd parties natural result of Tory reaction;

Not a national party in true sense -

Maritimes and Quebec not interested;

Need for a government enjoying -

Adequate majority in House of Commons;

Support from all sections of country.

No prospect of policies obtaining co-operation of provinces; essential for social reform.

d. "No Difference between Liberal and Conservative Parties."

i. Was he only pretending for past 25 years?

waging only sham battle in H. of C. and on hustings?

ii. No difference on tariffs; dictatorship, etc., etc.?

people of Canada know difference;

records and attitudes of two parties.

iii. Reliance on Big Interests -

(a) "If we get into power, it will be the first time a government will go into power without its hands tied behind its back by the financial interests" -

Nanaimo, Aug. 3

re Tory party - no one should know better than he;

Let him speak for Tory party, but not for Liberal.

(b) Monopoly -

Monopoly source of power of privileged interests- tariffs, credit, etc;

Stevens has opposed anti-monopoly legislation - reductions in duties;

Combines Act;

voted against it 1923,

criticized at every opportunity.

Aim of Liberalism = freedom from monopoly;

Aim of Toryism = increase of monopoly;

My whole aim (writing, speaking, public life) = enlarged freedom in all fields of activity.

3. Campaign of Promises:

a. Similarity to 1930 campaign -

Christmas Tree of

immediate benefits to all;

magical formulas;

sure-fire, cure-alls.

Out-Bennetting Bennett;

Like Bennett, doesn't show how promises to be fulfilled.

b. Appeals to all classes - Something for everybody.

Vegetable growers;

fruit growers;

cattle producers;

dairy farmers;

retailers;

white collar class;

youth;

women and children;

war veterans.

4. Dictatorship:

a. Acquiesced in Bennett dictatorship -

blank cheque; peace, order, good government; marketing;

supported all these measures;

has not as yet repudiated them.

control over railways, Bank of Canada, taken away from H.of C.

- no protest

Speaking, Cranbrook, July 30 (re financial control): "There is a demand abroad for the restoration of control of Canada's affairs to the Canadian people."

- that is what we have been fighting for;

related not merely to finance, but to everything.

b. Plans require Dictatorship -

Speaks of preserving democratic government;

planning, control, regimentation, all imply dictatorship.

c. Disregard of Parliamentary Methods -

i. Pamphlet violated rules of Parliament;

ii. Discussed affairs of Commission in by-elections;

iii. Released findings of Commission to press;

iv. Attitude re constitution -

do not let it stand in way;

proceed regardless of it.

d. Another One-Man Party -

Everything built around "Leader" - not around principles;

Stevens first; then name, headquarters and principles;

All the dictatorial tendencies - "I", "I".

5. Trade:

a. Record as Minister of Trade & Commerce -

i. Activities -

Bennett's special agent in carrying out policy of

restriction;

Supported and advocated policies of extreme economic nationalism from special session on;

"Canada first" campaign;

"My Creed";

Propaganda through Bureau of Statistics and government publications;

ii. Results -

Canada's trade cut in ⅓ while Minister -

cannot escape joint responsibility for destruction of Canada's trade.

Economic Nationalism has failed -

to protect workingman,

to find markets for farmer,

best evidence of this - Price Spreads Report.

b. Attitude in Campaign -

i. Lower duties -

on textiles and agricultural implements;

why wait 5 years, after people strangled?

who will trust after record?

has never recanted policies of economic nationalism.

ii. Wheat -

must sell wheat by trade agreements and extension of credit to countries willing to buy -

why did he not accomplish when minister?

Answer - policy of restriction made it impossible.

iii. Real Attitude - Doesn't believe in trade -

"It is all very well to say increase trade, but with such prohibitions, it is impossible to shoot the stuff into Europe. The long and short of it is that the markets of the world have been tightened largely through fear of war." - Victoria, Aug. 3.

pessimistic view re possibility of trade;

- attitude of defeat, despair.

War not only cause -

Canada's own policies;

Canada one of worst offenders.

lower duties and good-will - methods to regain markets;

"Shoot the Stuff" = "blast a way"; familiar tactics;

Tory methods.

iv. Solicitude for Farmers -

Says farmers exploited by "highly organized interests"

- should say by textile and implement interests;

Promises fair prices for products - possible only by

state subsidies;

or, by markets - which he helped to lose.

Talks of increasing their purchasing power -

again possible only by -

markets;

lower living and production costs.

Advocates national board to protect farmers -
why not trade policies and a government which
will protect the farmer?

6. Social and Industrial Reform:

a. New found zeal -

"For two years I have been carrying on the fight for the forgotten man." - Fort William, July 26.

-began only when tide turned against government.

-why not for five years?

-I have carried it on all my life;

-It was Bennett administration with Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, which forgot the common man.

b. Attack on Old Parties -

Says no hope of reform from Conservative or Liberal parties
-typical of convert to doubt professions of everyone else;
Agree no hope of reform from Tory party;
All real reform re Labour in Canada has come from Liberal party;
Liberal party alone capable of bringing about effective and lasting reform.

c. Stevens' Aims -

i. Uniformity of wages and working conditions; right to collective bargaining-will invite provinces to pass enabling legislation;

What assurance has he of provincial co-operation?

ii. decent standard of living for workers -

-this dependent on trade recovery;

has nothing to offer for attaining this end.

iii. ~~riding~~ administration social and labour laws -

did not enforce Weights & Measures Act.

d. Stevens Methods -

i. Regimentation -

Reform and recovery to be achieved by boards, plans, regulations, restrictions;

Lifting one self by the boot straps.

ii. Recovery necessary -

Liberation, not restriction required;

trade and industry wants markets and recovery - not regimentation.

policies of restriction and destruction of trade brought about ills Stevens seeks to cure -

Price Spreads investigation - not necessary before 1930.

7. Unemployment:

a. Promise -

Opportunity for all who would work on farm;

in mines;

in forests, etc.

Variant of "I promise to end unemployment."
- but admitted in H. of C. Bennett government had failed.

b. Methods -

Public Works;

These cannot go on forever.

No commission to deal with emergent conditions -

same story of overlapping, duplication, waste as 1930-35.

Long range policies -

regulation of industry;

no effort at industrial revival by trade recovery.

8. Railways:

a. Claims Solution depends on -

i. Traffic -

proposes to restore traffic by increasing purchasing power;

Stevens & Bennett crippled railways by destroying trade.

ii. Debt revision C.N.R. -

capital structure must be rewritten;

Duff report recommended 1932 -

nothing done while Stevens in government;

Bennett refused to do so, 1935.

b. Too much Criticism C.N.R. -

claims too much talk of C.N. being white elephant;

never protested when Bennett & Manion sabotaged C.N.R.

9. Currency, Credit & Banking:

a. Nationalization of Central Bank -

Advocates now;

did not protest when handed over to private corporation.

b. Lower interest rates; Freedom from Financial Interests -

Claims this is Canada's first requirement today;

yet permitted control over nation's credit be taken from Parliament and given to financial interests.

10. National Debt:

a. Promises to wipe out in 25 years by use of natural resources -

i. means inflation on basis of resources;

ii. or, means development and sale of natural resources to attain end = fantastic impossibility;

iii. or, means sheer deception.

b. Member of a government which increased debt almost $700,000,000. in five years.

D21032

Trade.

Woodstock

Trade

D21033

– Notes by Lieut.-Col. King

Importance of Trade.

Fundamental solution of unemployment, railways, business, prosperity, etc.

So proved between 1921 - 1930.

Moreover, in world, further international goodwill.

1921-30

1921-1930 - Position when Liberals came into office 1921.

Reductions made in Tariff:

(1) in general tariff,

(2) in British preference,

(3) on implements of production in basic industries,

(4) on necessities of life.

Accompanying this

Other reductions in Taxation:

(1) Sales Tax -

abolished on large list of necessities of life;

reduced on other commodities.

(2) Income Tax.

(3) Postage, etc.

Effect on Trade:

resultant prosperity.

Effect on Unemployment:

employment ended.

D21034

-2-

Trade.

1930-35

1930-1935 - What has been done by present Government.

The three tariffs.

Increases in tariff - general,

- British preference,

- intermediate.

Add - Excise tax - 1% plus 2%.

Embargo (vs. Russia).

Japan

Other restrictions - Dumping and Excise duties, (arbitrary appraisals

regulations, etc.

Other Increases in Taxation - Sales Tax,

Income Tax,

Postage, etc.

Effect on Trade -

Strangulation, depression, increase in umeployment.

Japan.

Trade.

1935 ~~1936~~ - What Liberals will do if returned to office. (suggestions of committee)

Proceed on a different theory re home market - exchange necessary.

(1) Re Tariffs - read from statement of position.

(2) Other restrictions.

(3) Give real preference.

(4) Re Taxation - especially sales tax.

(5) Search for new markets.

Probable effect on Trade.

Probable effect on Unemployment.

D21036

4

Re: Reciprocity:

Liberal policy under Sir Wilfrid Laurier - 1911 -

the opportunity that comes once to a generation.

During War and Conservative Administration nothing accomplished -

tariffs raised by U.S. under Hawley-Smoot Tariff.

(Nationalist policy of U.S.

" " other countries).

Liberal policy to secure British market -

The Dunning budget - defeated.

Liberal policy towards U. S. - difficult with Hoover,

would have won with Roosevelt.

Liberal attitude in Opposition -

Duff resolution.

The President's offer -

why nothing accomplished.

The Ottawa Agreements stood in way,

duties raised in U.S.,

duties pegged.

Postponement of debate on.

Re: Reciprocity:

Present position:

If reductions of duties both sides - no issue.

Question will be asked - purpose of delay:

(1) Preference to method by Executive action to parliamentary method;
no chance for Parliament to criticize.

(2) divert electorate in campaign.

(3) President U.S. would scarcely consent in middle of campaign, especially with no parliament in session or in existence.

Liberal attitude -

= pursue an agreement

no opposition from party.

Re: U.K.-Canada Agreement: 1932 to 1937

1st chance missed -

Imperial Economic Conference 1930 -

change fiscal policy of Great Britain;

proposals impossible/humbug;

methods equally bad.

Had Liberals carried 1930 election, would have had agreement then -

possible entire change in world attitude towards trade and war.

2nd chance missed -

Imperial Economic Conference 1932 -

Attitude of British delegation (statement of policy).

Result of conference:

Tariffs raised - create antagonisms other nations,

Economic Nationalism,

" Imperialism;

Intermediate tariff changed, destroying most favoured bargaining effect

Tariff pegged at figure;

Tariff cannot be altered for ~~seven~~ five years.

D21039

Re: U.K.-Canada Agreement:

Tariff = a tax.

Right of Commons to control taxation at all times -

this right impaired. by anti-preferential duties to be removed in some instances for 7 years

Baldwin's suggestion.

Liberal attitude - follow Baldwin's suggestion:

Revise tariffs (see Rogers).

Why hopeful - Baldwin in office -

read statement Baldwin, City Hall, Toronto, 1928.

Baldwin again in office.

I have been at Conferences of 1923 and 1926.

probable statement of Bennett

that (1) he accomplished what Liberals tried to effect;

(2) must not antagonize the U.S.

Exact statement. (Secure Rhodes)

Bennett's success re blasting has shut us out of other markets.

Stevens a party to all this -

note The Creed - the advertisements.

~~Sutherland~~ Jerry Murphy a party to all this.

Why Woodsworth party -

minimize tariffs = favour economic nationalism

for working out plans, etc.

D21050

<u>Are we going to miss 3rd chance</u>?

Imperial Conference next year -

will follow line proposed by Baldwin et al.

Liberal party will seek immediate revision agreements 1932 -

if satisfactory, will not cancel tariffs;

if not satisfactory, will hold itself free to act as

interests of country demand.

Trade with all nations - <u>prosperity and peace</u>.

<u>Re: Marketing Legislation</u>.

See Rogers' biography.

to work to with

D21041

Trade

1. Trade Revival Necessary to Recovery and Reform:

    1. Canada's position as exporting nation -

        Surpluses of wheat, fish, timber, minerals, etc.

    2. "Home Market"

        Fund of purchasing power obtained from sale of goods in markets of world.

    3. Railways and harbours dependent on movement of goods - export and import.

    4. Manufacturers dependent on customers in primary industries.

    5. Burden of debt can be carried only on large volume of trade and business.

    6. Solution of Unemployment dependent on revival of trade and business.

    7. Reduction in burden of taxation dependent on increased revenue largely from trade - tariff for revenue.

    8. Social Reform dependent on revenues.

Liberal Policy – Trade with all Nations

2. Liberal Record 1921-1930:

    (1) Policies:

        a. Primary Industries:-

            Lower cost of instruments of production;
            Lower cost of articles of consumption.

        b. Volume of Trade:-

            1. Remove restrictions generally to increase total trade ~~e~~ imports as well as exports.

            2. Trade Agreements - France, West Indies, Australia, etc.

(2) Results:

a.) Expansion of Trade - (See statement re.)

b.) Solution of other National Problems -

i. Unemployment
ii. Railways
iii. taxation; debt.
iv. Social reforms.

3. Bennett Record 1930-1935:

(1) Promises. -

(2) Policies. -

a.) Economic Nationalism; Economic Imperialism.

b.) Restriction by:-

i. treaty
ii. Administration.

(3) Results.- Canada's trade strangled.

a.) Total trade fiscal year 1934-35 only ½ what it was in fiscal year 1929-30.

b.) Unemployment, railway, debt problems, etc., brought into being or aggravated.

4. Special Session 1930:

(1) Called to end unemployment; used to further Economic Nationalism.

(2) Unparalleled increases against world generally;

(3) Increases made without investigation -
Tariff Board abolished on taking office;
Bennett Minister of Finance as well as Prime Minister.

(4) Executive given power to alter tariffs, impose dump duties and arbitrary valuations.

5. Imperial Conference 1930:

(1) Attempt to establish Economic Imperialism.
(2) Proposals made without consulting people, Parliament or colleagues.

6. Session 1931:

(1) Further increases in tariff.

(2) Tariff Board -
a.) provision made for, after vast revision;
b.) appointed for specific term, not removeable by House of Commons. (re alteration authority of Govt)

7. Currency Dump Duties; Sept. 1931, etc.:

(1) Imposed against Great Britain when Gold Standard abandoned, Sept. 1931.

(2) Subsequently imposed against all countries whose currencies either appreciated or depreciated.

(3) Instability and uncertainty of tariff.

(4) Strangled trade as much, if not more, than prohibitive tariff rates.

8. Imperial Economic Conference 1932:

(1) Approach -

(a) Special excise duty imposed at session prior to conference.

(b) Baldwin re lowering tariff.

(2) Economic Imperialism:-

(a) Bennett view prevailed; higher tariffs.

(b) Preference by tariff increase;

(c) Intermediate tariff raised to height of general.

(d) Margins of preference guaranteed -
tariffs "pegged"
Parliament thus deprived of right to lower tariffs;

(e) Opportunity to give world great example thrown away.

(3) Results:

(a) Effect on world Trade;

(b) Transfer of trade, but not increase.

(4) Revision:

Attitude of Liberal Party.

9. Marketing Legislation, Session 1934:

(1) Powers given to self-interested economic groups to regulate and restrict marketing, to establish monopolies, impose fines and penalties - without approval of Parliament.

(2) Control of large part of foreign trade given to executive;

(3) Restrictive Legislation -
(a) ~~agree~~ to limit output;
(b) ~~subs~~ to enhance prices.

- limit production
limit sales
licensing,
fines
enforcement } widely done by Land enacted by "Common consent of the Realm"

10. Policy of Scarcity:

(1) Wheat Agreement:

(a) to limit export of wheat;
(b) entered into without discussion in Parliament; not submitted to Parliament.

(2) Policy of Scarcity:

Having restricted imports, Government now restricting exports and internal trade.

11. Trade with United States:

(1) Traditional policy of Liberal party.

(2) Traditional policy of Conservative party.
Traditional attitude of Mr. Bennett.

(3) U.S. Government willing to negotiate first time since nreciprocity agreement defeated.

(4) Government delay in reaching agreement -

(a). Opposition refused opportunity to discuss;
(b). No real desire to lower duties;
(c). Holding treaty as election bait.

12. Stevens:

(1) Today talks about lower duties on textiles, etc.

(2) Minister of Trade & Commerce 1930-34:
  (a) Bennett's Special agent in carrying out policy of trade restriction.
  (b) Supported higher tariffs, special session on.
  (c) "Canada First" campaign; "My Creed."
  (d) Cannot escape full joint responsibility for destruction of Canada's trade.
  (e) Destruction of trade fundamental ~~course~~ cause of ills he seeks to cure.

13. C. C. F.:

(1) Abandonned cause of freer trade; ridiculed Liberals for fighting on tariff issue.

(2) Alliance with Government in giving executive control of trade -
  (a) Bureaucratic state;
  (b) Planning.

14. Dictatorship and Trade:

(1) Tariffs by executive action -
  (a) Currency and dump duties; arbitrary valuations.
  (b) Marketing Act.

(2) Concentration of Power in hands of executive in all fields of Government.

15. Trade and International Relations:

(1) Economic Nationalism and Imperialism lead to war.

(2) Danger enhanced where tariff control in hands of executive.

(3) Barriers to trade - barriers to good-will.

(4) Trade - exchange, not war.

(5) World an economic unit - peace as well as prosperity lies in direction of co-operation between nations.

16. Liberal Policy: (14 points)

(1) Liberation of External Trade.

(2) Development of Primary Industries.

17. Immediate Prospect:-

(1) Failure to apply policies of trade liberation -
   (a) Canada would be compelled to change basis of economic life. Revert from export to self-sustained basis.
   (b) This would involve giving up large part of primary industries and whole economic structure on which they are based, and permanent low standard of living.

(2) Application of policies of trade liberation -
   (a) Success of similar policies 1896 and 1921.
   (b) Would solve many of problems of today and make possible a further era of prosperity, progress and reform.

TRADE!

21047

"I Will . . . . Drive Our Products Into the Markets of the World!"

R. B. BENNETT, July, 1930

The following comparison speaks for itself:

Liberal Government: 1925-1930

Imports into Canada	$ 5,581,130,376
Total Exports	6,279,830,614
Total Trade	11,860,960,000
Average Annual Total Trade	2,372,192,198

Conservative Government: 1930-1935

Imports into Canada	$ 2,857,878,701
Total Exports	3,097,046,493
Total Trade	5,954,925,194
Average Annual Total Trade	1,190,985,038

UNDER THE TARIFF POLICIES OF THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT OF MR. BENNETT, CANADIAN TRADE HAS FALLEN TO ONE HALF THE LEVEL IT REACHED DURING THE LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION OF MR. KING.

1. This decline in trade has made your taxes more burdensome.
2. Not only that, but fewer taxes have been collected because incomes were lower and fewer goods were exchanged.
3. The National Debt rose by $800,000,000 (including guarantees) during the Conservative administration from 1930-1935, while it was reduced by $250,000,000 under the Liberal Governments of Mr. King.

MORE TRADE MEANS MORE WEALTH

VOTE LIBERAL!

LEAFLET No. 15

PRINTED BY THE DADSON-MERRILL PRESS LIMITED. OTTAWA. CANADA.

Turn Over

21048

More Trade Means More Wealth.

VOTE LIBERAL

Issued by the
National Liberal Federation
114 Wellington St. - - Ottawa

Turn Over

K - Biographical

D21049

13+

Reference by Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin
to co-operation with Mr. King

(Toronto "Globe",
August 8, 1927)

"It is a well-known fact that a contemporary statesman of Baldwin was the great-grandfather of the present Premier of Canada. They didn't get along very well together. But two generations have passed, and I defy anyone to find two statesmen who pull together better for the good of the Empire than Mr. Mackenzie King and myself."

D21050

B

Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin - Speech at Opening Session of Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa - July 21, 1932:

"What then should be the first aim of this Conference? It should be to clear out the channels of trade among ourselves. .....

"~~Reverting now to Empire trade~~, we hope that as a result of this Conference we may be able, not only to maintain existing preferences, but in addition to find ways of increasing them. There are two ways in which increased preference can be given - either by lowering barriers among ourselves or by raising them against others. The choice between these two must be governed largely by local considerations, but subject to that, it seems to us that we should endeavour to follow the first rather than the second course. For however great our resources, we cannot isolate ourselves from the world. No nation or group of nations, however wealthy and populous, can maintain prosperity in a world where depression and impoverishment reign. Let us therefore aim at the lowering rather than the raising of barriers, even if we cannot fully achieve our purpose now, and let us remember that any action we take here is bound to have its reactions elsewhere.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom therefore place before the Conference as its general objective the expansion of Empire trade, brought about as far as possible by the lowering of trade barriers as between the several members of the Empire."

In his statement to the British Parliament, Mr.MacDonald made a skilful reservation in the matter of the tariff.

"We want, as a result of the Conference, to remove barriers, which are unnecessary for national protection, to international trade".

D21051 C

United States and Reciprocal Trade

(Roosevelt's Message to Congress, Ottawa Evening Citizen, Jan. 3, 1934.)

"We stand ready to co-operate at any time in practicable measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce."

D21052

Reciprocal Trade with the United States

Proposed Resolution of Mr. Duff:

January 25—*Mr. Duff*—The following proposed Resolution:—That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the Government of Canada reopen negotiations with the government of the United States of America with a view of bringing about a satisfactory reciprocal trade arrangement between Canada and the United States, whereby the natural products of Canada, that is, the products of the sea, the farm, the mines and the forests, and including fish, lumber, wheat, cattle, etc., should have free entry into the United States in exchange for the admission of certain goods from the United States of America, which in the interests of both countries may be admitted into Canada, free from customs tariffs.

Debated in H. of C. February 19, 1934;

Mr. Bennett moved following proposed amendment, Feb. 19, 1934, Seconded by Mr. Rhodes:

That all the words after the word "That" in the said Resolution be struck out and the following substituted therefor:—

"on the 1st day of May, 1933, the Prime Minister informed this House that the Governments of Canada and the United States of America had agreed to begin a search for means to increase the exchange of commodities between the two countries and thereby promote not only economic betterment on the North American continent but also the general improvement of world conditions, and while no trade agreement between the two countries has yet been arrived at, this House approves of the Government continuing their efforts to that end."

Proposed Sub-Amendment of Mr. Mackenzie King:

That the amendment be further amended by adding the following:

"by immediate direct negotiations between the governments of Canada and the United States".

D21053

Examen
Planche

D21054

Unemployment

1. Mr. Bennett's Promises:

"I Promise to end unemployment."

"I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work I said - not doles."

"Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages"

"Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments."

"There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a Government does its duty."

2. Growth of Unemployment:

a. Numbers unemployed -

i. Absence of figures -

Either Government never tried to obtain or deliberately withheld them;

"Conditions improving."

ii. Special Session 1930 -

Mr. Bennett's estimate - 117,000.

iii. Census, 1931 -

393,000 wage earners out of work.

1933 - 783,000 (Mr. Bennett in radio speech, Sept. 1935)

iv. January 1934 -

Mr. King's estimate H. of C. - 500,000; never contradicted.

v. Summer 1935 -

Most conservative estimate based on Bureau of Statistics latest figures - 400,000.

Mr. Bennett's figure 1935 - 500,000.

b. Numbers on Relief -

i. May 1932 - 597,000 (including partial and part time relief);

ii. May 1935 - 1,272,000 (" " " " " ").

3. Government Expenditures, etc.

August 7, 1930 to March 31, 1935:

a. Expenditures -

Federal Share - $160,000,000.

Also vast similar amounts by provinces and municipalities.

b. Loans -

to provinces and corporations - 82,000,000.

c. Guarantees - 66,000,000.

not including wheat

d. Total financial liability - 308,000,000.

more than complete expenditure of Dominion in any year up to third year of war.

4. Results at end of 5 years:

a. Unemployment quadrupled and relief on large a scale as ever;

b. wide-spread unrest and discontent;

i. Relief camp strikes - Regina Riots;

ii. Relief strikers; trekkers; hunger marchers.

5. Liberal Policy:

a. Canada's most urgent National Problem -

given first place on statement of Party's position;

(see 14 points).

b. Long range Policies and Measures -

i. Trade Recovery -

Expenditures cannot go on forever;

remove restrictions; regain markets;

Recovery vs. Reform.

ii. Revival of Confidence -

Stability in Administration;

reduction cost of government;

co-operation and good-will.

iii. Unemployment Insurance -

delay in introducing - eve of election;

relates to future - another year before benefits can be paid;

relates to employed only;

doubtful validity -

will submit to courts;

if rejected will co-operate with provinces to secure sound measure.

Extension, as finances permit, to include old age pensions, health insurance

c. Emergency Measures;

A Representative National Commission:

i. Examples of Canadian Patriotic Fund;

Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment;

ii. Co-Operation -

Mobilize all agencies and departments;

co-operation with provinces;

Liberal governments in provinces guarantee of removal of constitutional difficulties.

iii. Rural Relief -

Distress on plains caused by -

drought, hail, rust, insect pests, loss of markets, etc;

Relief in country more difficult to administer -

isolation, lack of publicity, etc.

Commission will not restrict activities to cities.

iv. Functions -

(a) Administer relief -

avoid overlapping, abuses, etc.

(b) Provide work -

payment for services -

material difference in remuneration as against private work;

nature of work -

of service to state;

cause of pride to those engaged on;

services and facilities of national importance;

social vs. private capital;

Undertakings to be canvassed by commission -

essential public works;

highways, level crossings;

airway facilities;

afforestation;

housing, slum clearance; repair programmes;

preservation of natural beauty;

development of parks;

preservation historic sites, monuments, residences.

Relief Camps -

~~Commission to consider~~ early transfer from Dept. of National Defence.

Special facilities -

recreation;

education;

incorporation into normal life of country.

v. Youth -

(a) past 5 years of discouragement and difficulty for youth;

(b) Commission, as well as government itself, will have special regard for problems of youth.

vi. Procedure and Relations to Parliament -

(a) Government will ask commission to study schemes and recommend proposals for consideration of Parliament;

(b) Parliament will approve measures and provide funds;

(c) Before Parliament meets, Government will make available funds appropriated for relief purposes or use Governor-General's Warrants.

D21000

wheat

Memorandum re D21061
Failure Wheat Agreement +
Comments won by Liberals
on Wheat Board Oct 1948.

Wheat

1. World Wheat Agreement:

Signed by Bennett at London, August 1933.

Canada undertook to limit export of wheat -

a. During crop year 1933-34, to 200,000,000 bushels;

b. During crop year 1934-35, to 15% less than average output on average acreage during 1931-33.

Policy involved - restriction of production - policy of scarcity.

Policy not discussed or approved by Parliament prior to agreement. Agreement never submitted to Parliament.

No effort to implement -

Left to three prairie provinces to carry out;

In matter of agriculture, policy of great magnitude and importance

Six of Nine provinces not consulted;

Reduction left to grasshoppers.

Failure of Agreement -

Argentina exceeded quota for crop year ending July 31/34.

Refused to consider herself bound by agreement, on ground that her quota was drawn up before it was known she would have a bumper crop.

Whole agreement simply dissolved.

2. Policy of Scarcity:-

Government attempted to replace policy of production with

policy of scarcity.

Restrictionist legislation, aimed at increasing price of commodity.

Not an increase of sale.

After restricting exchange, Tory government aims at restricting production.

Effort to isolate Canada - Economic Nationalism.

~~Increase of~~ policy of scarcity = increase of prices - not in interest of Canadian agriculture.

3. Canadian Wheat Board Act - 1935:

At Liberal insistence, this Bill practically rewritten by special committee to which it was referred by House of Commons. In almost all important particulars, the provisions were changed to diametrically opposite sense.

Important changes -

1. The compulsory features which would have made it necessary for the farmers to sell only to the Board and which would have involved closing the Grain Exchange, and the creation of a government monopoly of the whole trade, were made permissive, to come into force only when and if proclaimed.

2. The provision whereby the farmer was to be given partial initial payment and under which he might have to wait for a matter of years for the balance, was withdrawn. Instead, the Board was empowered to fix a reasonable minimum price which the farmer would receive upon sale. If the Board makes a profit out of its operations the farmer is to share in them.

3. Instead of creating a government monopoly of the trade, the Bill was amended to prohibit the Board participating in exchange operations. It must buy direct from producers only.

4. As amended, the Bill contains a statutory direction to the Board to offer grain for sale continuously. In other words, a policy of selling is to supplant the policy of holding, which characterized the operations of Mr. McFarland.

E.J.P.

Sept. 18/31

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
36	135	Chronological Files	Mar.-Sept. 1935	D 20842 - D 20920	
36	136	Chronological Files	Jan.-Sept. 1935	D 20921 - D 21063	
36	137	Chronological Files	July-Sept. 1935	D 21064 - D 21226	
37	138	Chronological Files	Aug.-Sept. 1935	D 21227 - D 21339	
37	139	Chronological Files	Sept.-Oct. 1935	D 21340 - D 21483	
37	140	Chronological Files	Nov.-May 1935-1936	D 21484 - D 21639	
38	141	Chronological Files	Sept.-May 1935-1937	D 21640 - D 21792	
38	142	Chronological Files	Sept.-Nov. 1936	D 21793 - D 21843	
38	143	Chronological Files	Apr.-May 1937	D 21844 - D 22001	

D21064

KING, RT. HON. W.L.M. - SPEECHES & STATEMENTS

General Election Campaign 1935

Copies of Speeches

1. Ottawa, July 31, 1935 - Radio Speech
2. Ottawa, August 2, 1935 - Radio Speech
3. Ottawa, August 5, 1935 - Radio Speech
4. Kingston, August 7, 1935 - Public Meeting
5. Woodstock, August 13, 1935 - Public Meeting
6. Wingham, Ont., August 14, 1935 - Public Meeting
7. London, August 15, 1935 - Public Meeting
8. St. John, N.B., September 3 - Public Meeting
9. Halifax, N.S., September 4, 1935 - Public Meeting
10. Charlottetown, P.E.I., September 5 - Public Meeting
11. Quebec, September 7 - Association of Liberal Youth of the Province of Quebec
12. Quebec, September 7 - Public Meeting

PUBLICATION Vancouver Province DATE Sept 28/35

Canada's Only Hope Lower Tariffs and New World Markets

More Friendly Reception Accorded Liberal Leader In Victoria.

DIDN'T UPHOLD JAPAN'S HAND

Declares Suffering People Need Doctor, Not Fist of Pugilist.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, who will address a Liberal gathering at the Arena tonight, returned from Victoria this morning. At Hotel Vancouver he met delegations from the veterans' organizations and the Board of Trade. The latter took up with him the question of Canadian trade relations with Japan, making the same reperesentations it did to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett on his recent visit.

This afternoon the Liberal leader is visiting the North Shore but will not address any meetings. It is expected he will start speaking at the Arena about 8:30. The speech will be broadcast over stations CJOR and CRCV and the B. C. network.

By C. A. BOWMAN

VICTORIA, Sept. 28—Mr. Mackenzie King has the appearance of growing more confident as he moves farther west. At Victoria last night he managed to get through by 10 o'clock, delivering the message of Liberal hope in an hour and a half as against more than two hours at other western meetings.

interpreted by the Prime Minister of this country.

Mr. King concluded again on the note of goodwill, declaring that a different spirit is needed in Canadian negotiations with other countries. "Right methods are needed," he said, "as much as right measures."

(Copyright, 1935, by the Canadian Press.)

VICTORIA, Sept. 28.—Recent increases in trade between Canada and Great Britain were not due to the Ottawa trade agreements, as Prime Minister Bennett claimed, Liberal Leader Mackenzie King said here last night. They were due to a general increase in world trade and to a slight relaxation by Mr. Bennett of the trade restrictions he himself had imposed.

The Ottawa agreements were a mistake, Mr. King believed, because they pegged the intermediate tariff for a fixed term of years and thus prevented concessions to other countries. They were entered in the wrong spirit, the spirit of protection. Instead of raising tariffs against other countries, Canada should have proceeded by lowering tariffs in the Empire.

Canadian trade with the United States had increased faster than with Great Britain. This was conclusive evidence the agreements were not the cause of any increased trade.

Devoting his whole speech to trade, Mr. King said the Liberal party attached more importance to trade than to anything else. It was the only party pledged to do all possible to expand trade in all directions.

As in other provinces under Liberal governments, Mr. King was introduced by the Premier, Hon. T. D. Pattullo. He spoke in support of the local Liberal candidate, J. J. McDowell, who also spoke briefly. Another preliminary speaker was Byron Johnson, member of the British Columbia Legislature for Victoria.

—MACKENZIE KING.

HARD-PRESSED PEOPLE NEED "PHYSICIAN."

"Men and women have suffered in these last few years as they have never suffered before," said Mr. King. "I have been reading a lot about interruptions at public meetings, and I ask myself the question, if I had suffered as some of those people have suffered, would I sit silent and make no protest?"

"I think that here and there those who interrupt have come to interrupt but most of these people have something burning in their being. They do not deserve abuse. What is needed in a political leader today is not the fist of a pugilist but the hand of a physician. What is needed is someone to heal the wounds from which the people are suffering."

"Unemployment had increased and would be much greater if thousands were not employed on public works, but this could not go on indefinitely, for there was a limit to the public funds which might be expended to provide work.

"All Canadian problems came down to the fundamental matter of trade. The Liberal party attached more importance to policies which would revive trade. The only hope for improvement lay in expanding trade.

"Then there is no hope," shouted a member of the audience.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 21065

PUBLICATION Vancouver Province DATE Sept 28/35

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"That was the attitude of a few," said Mr. King. "It was an attitude of despair and it was a sad thing that anyone in Canada should feel called upon to say politically that there was no hope in this country. It was the severest possible condemnation of the policies of the Bennett government."

Mr. King read a long list of countries with which Great Britain, France, Argentina, Brazil and the United States had made trade agreements. If these countries could make trade agreements and expand their markets, Canada could have done the same had Mr. Bennett been willing.

"I venture to say the whole course of trade within the world would have been changed," he said. "If Mr. Bennett had joined with Great Britain in setting an example of lower tariffs to the world.

Island Candidate Resigns.

COURTENAY, Sept. 28.—Alex. MacNeil, who was nominated by the Liberals in Comox-Alberni, has announced that he will not be a candidate and that he will support A. W. Neill, the Independent candidate.

(Continued on Page 2.)

REPEAT
REPETITION

D21066

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

PUBLICATION Toronto Globe and Mail DATE Sept. 30/36

King Offers Policy To Develop Mines

Joint Provincial Action to Unify Taxation, Encourage Development and Attract Capital to Dominion

OPPORTUNITY — NOW

Vancouver, Sept. 29 (CP).

DEVELOPMENT of a uniform mining policy throughout Canada would lead to a great development in that industry which would go a long way to put the country back on the road to prosperity, Liberal Leader Mackenzie King believes.

Bring Revenue to Canada.

Making his second and last campaign appearance in the mining Province of British Columbia here last night Mr. King announced one of the first acts of a Liberal Government would be to call Provincial Governments into conference and evolve such policy. Uncertainty of Government policy on mine taxation and variations in different Provinces were keeping capital out of Canada. This could be done away with in short order by a conference of Governments.

"I venture to say," he said, "that if out of such a conference a statement could be sent to the money markets of the world as to a settled policy, we would have capital flowing into Canada in short order, we would have more and more labor employed and we would have made a real start on the road to prosperity."

More certainty was needed in Canada that when capital was invested in industry it would be assured of its reward just as much as labor. There was no certainty at all the way the laws were administrated now. No business man had any sense of security in carrying on his business.

Bring Down Interest Rates.

"We must bring about a greater sense of security for all investments in order to bring down interest rates," said the Liberal Leader. "We need a national mining policy which will be known not only to our own people, but all over the world. If we are to develop that industry in British Columbia we will have to get capital not only in Canada but in Great Britain and other countries.

Millions of pounds of British capital were now going into mining investments in South Africa. There was no reason why the same should not be the case with Canada. South Africa was prosperous as a result of the mining development under way there, but a sense of insecurity kept capital out of Canada. The fact that Governments had something to do with mining law and administration was in part responsible for this.

If these governments had nine or ten different points of view it would be vain to hope for agreement, but eight of the Provincial Governments were Liberal, and with a Liberal Government at Ottawa an agreement could easily be reached.

What was true of mining was equally true of fishing, lumbering and agriculture, and similar steps with respect to these industries might be taken.

Backed by His Party.

"I can tell you in my heart I am pretty radical," said Mr. King. "But if I seem to be less radical than I would like to appear it is because I have a sense of responsibility and will not promise things unless I know my party will back me to the limit and enable me to carry them out."

Among the Vancouver Liberal candidates on the platform was Mayor G. G. McGeer, prominent advocate of monetary reform. At one stage Mr. King, criticizing other parties, asked who was the Federal Leader of the Social Credit Party, and some one shouted "Gerry McGeer." "That only shows one of the characteristics of the Liberal Party," said Mr. King. "Gerry McGeer, as every one knows, holds advanced views. The Liberal Party would not be liberal if it did not include within its ranks men who have different shades of political opinion."

Liberal policies represented the minimum of the combined effort to which the party from coast to coast was pledged. They did not represent what might be done in addition. That depended on the men who were sent to Ottawa. If all the Vancouver Liberal candidates were elected, those of advanced views in the party would be fortunate in having strong advocates to lead the party along the path of progress.

D21067

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

PUBLICATION..... DATE.....

Recover Control of Credit.

"I can say this, however," he remarked. "If the Liberal Party returns to power we will go very much further in the matter of legislation of this character than ever before."

The first step in monetary reform was to get back for the Government the control over credit and currency which had been given to the privately owned Bank of Canada. He warned, however, that a Conservative Senate might thwart any effort of a Liberal Government to revise the structure of the bank and secure public control. The international money power, "a great empire in itself," would put up a fight.

"Each Liberal member is free to advocate on the floor of Parliament or in caucus any views on these matters he wishes," said Mr. King. "He may seek to persuade Parliament and his fellow-Liberals. The more free and open discussion on these questions the better. But don't expect me to take up advanced views and find myself away ahead of my party."

Anything of advantage to Canada in the Ottawa Imperial trade agreements would be retained, said Mr. King, but the agreements needed revision. Trade had increased since they had come into operation, but they stood in the way of trade with countries outside the Empire.

Sir Wilfrid's Prophecy.

"The correspondence which has just been published is the best evidence that Mr. Bennett will never conclude a trade agreement with the United States," said Mr. King. "But that an agreement can be concluded is also clearly shown in the correspondence."

There was no one in Canada who opposed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1911 more strongly than Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens. They, more than any other two men, helped to defeat the agreement obtained by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Just after the 1911 election Sir Wilfred Laurier, in a speech, predicted that some time the opponents of reciprocity would change their views and that even his "brilliant young friend from Calgary" (Mr. Bennett) would concede that the old Liberal Leader was right.

Sir Wilfrid's prediction had come true. Mr. Bennett now asked the people to re-elect him so he could do the very thing he would not do when an opportunity offered twenty-four years ago.

"If we return to power, these negotiations with the United States will be taken up where Mr. Bennett left them," said Mr. King, "and just as surely as he has failed we will succeed."

By his trade war with Japan, Mr. Bennett had already thrown thousands of men in the lumber industry in British Columbia out of work, Mr. King charged. He asked if Japanese trade had ever injured Canada when Japan bought from Canada four times as much as Canada bought from Japan. If not, why should this trade be cut off?

"If the Liberals win this election," he said, "I can assure the people of British Columbia that the first day we are in office we will take up these negotiations and will restore trade with Japan, and it will not be at the risk of any Canadian business."

Liberal policies would lead to economic recovery, said Mr. King, and recovery would provide the means to effect social reforms. "Mr. Bennett says, 'Let us have reform and then you will have recovery.' I say the facts of the case are that recovery does not follow reform, but reform follows recovery. No man is more anxious to remove the hazards of life, to provide security for every one against sickness, accident, unemployment and old age than I, but I don't see how it will be possible to put through a great program of reform unless in some way you have the treasury being filled with revenues and have the money to do things which can only be done with money from the treasury."

Mr. King said he had been asked to say something about the Hyndman report on unemployment among ex-service men. He understood the veterans did not wholly agree with some of the recommendations, but they could look at the record of the former Liberal Government for the party's attitude toward ex-service men. "We are prepared to implement the report," he said, "to the extent that the finances of the country will permit us."

"What about the Canadian National Railways hotel?" asked a questioner. (Vancouver has a large hotel built by the Canadian National Railways, but never opened.) Mr. King answered that when the Liberal Party came into power in 1921 Toronto had a fine station which had never been opened because there was no business. In a short time the station was opened, because business revived. He had seen another unopened hotel in Saskatoon. If any one wanted the reason for these two hotels standing empty, they should read "The Tragedy of Sir Henry Thornton." A Liberal Government would deal with the Canadian National Railways as it had done before 1930, and recognize it "as just as important as any other railway."

"What about work and wages?" asked a voice from the gallery. "With all my heart," said Mr. King, "I pray that we may be moving into a period of work and wages, but if we are to reach that ideal it will not be by promises, it will not be by the formation of new groups, but by the application of policies which have been tried and tested by experience."

D21068
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

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Subject (Mr. King, Vancouver B.C., Sat. Sept. 28/35)

UNIFORM MINING LAW IS URGENT NEED, SAYS KING

Dominion-wide Policy to Be Sought by Liberals

START FLOW OF CAPITAL

Sense of Security Would Attract Investment From Other Countries

Vancouver, September 29.—(CP)—Development of a uniform mining policy throughout Canada would lead to a great development in that industry which would go a long way to put the country back on the road to prosperity, Liberal Leader Mackenzie King believes.

Making his second and last campaign appearance in the mining province of British Columbia here last night, Mr. King announced one of the first acts of a Liberal Government would be to call Provincial Governments into conference and evolve such a policy. Uncertainty of Government policy on mine taxation and variations in different provinces were keeping capital out of Canada. This could be done away with in short order by a conference of Governments.

"I venture to say," he said, "that if out of such a conference a statement could be sent to the money markets of the world as to a settled policy we would have capital flowing into Canada in short order, we would have more and more labor employed and we would have made a real start on the road to prosperity."

More certainty was needed in Canada that when capital was invested in industry it would be assured of its reward just as much as labor. There was no certainty at all the way the laws were administered now. No business man had any sense of security in carrying on his business.

"We must bring about a greater sense of security for all investments in order to bring down interest rates," said the Liberal leader. "We need a national policy which will be known not only to our own people but all over the world. If we are to develop that industry in British Columbia we will have to get capital not only in Canada, but in Great Britain and other countries."

EMULATE SOUTH AFRICA.

Millions of pounds of British capital now were going into mining investments in South Africa; there was no reason why the same should not be the case with Canada. South Africa was prosperous as a result of the mining development underway there but a sense of insecurity kept capital out of Canada. The fact 10 Governments had something to do with mining law and administration was in part responsible for this. If these Governments had nine or 10 different points of view it would be vain to hope for agreement but eight of the Provincial Governments were Liberal and with a Liberal Government at Ottawa an agreement could easily be reached.

A conference could decide quickly what steps were needed to ensure uniformity and the provinces

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UNIFORM MINING LAW IS URGENT NEED, SAYS KING

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could agree to enact uniform mining laws and maintain them for a certain period with the Dominion governing a similar undertaking. This policy was in line with the general Liberal policy of developing primary industries. What was true of mining was equally true of fishing, lumbering, and agriculture and similar steps with respect to these industries might be taken.

"I can tell you in my heart I am pretty radical," said Mr. King. "But if I seem to be less radical than I would like to appear it is because I have a sense of responsibility and will not promise things unless I know my party will back me to the limit and enable me to carry them out."

Among the Vancouver Liberal candidates on the platform was Mayor G. G. McGeer, prominent advocate of monetary reform. At one stage Mr. King, criticizing other parties, asked who was the federal leader of the Social Credit Party, and some one shouted "Gerry McGeer."

MONETARY REFORM

"That only shows one of the characteristics of the Liberal Party," said Mr. King. "Gerry McGeer, as everyone knows, holds advanced views. The Liberal Party would not be Liberal if it did not include within its ranks men who have different shades of political opinion."

Liberal policies represented the minimum of the combined effort to which the party from coast to coast was pledged. They did not represent what might be done in addition. That depended on the men who were sent to Ottawa. If all the Vancouver Liberal candidates were elected those of advanced views in the party would be fortunate in having strong advocates to lead the party along the path of progress.

"I can say this, however," he remarked, "if the Liberal Party returns to power we will go very much farther in the matter of legislation of this character than ever before."

The first step in monetary reform was to get back for the Government control over credit and currency which had been given to the privately owned Bank of Canada. He warned, however, that a Conservative Senate might thwart any effort of a Liberal Government to revise the structure of the bank and secure public control. The international money power "a great empire in itself," would put up a fight.

"Each Liberal member is free to advocate on the floor of Parliament or in caucus views on these matters he wishes," said Mr. King. "He may seek to persuade Parliament and his fellow Liberals; the more free and open discussion on these questions the better. But don't expect me to take up advanced views and find myself away ahead of my party."

EMPIRE TRADE PACTS.

Anything of advantage to Canada in the Ottawa Imperial trade agreements would be retained, said Mr. King, but the agreements needed revision. Trade had increased since they had come into operation but they stood in the way of trade with countries outside the Empire.

While the agreements might have caused to some extent the increase in trade with Great Britain there were other reasons to account for the increase. In their essence they were restrictive of trade while the Liberal Party stood for removal of restrictions.

The policy of British preference was inaugurated by the Liberal Party and the Liberals had twice gone down to defeat fighting for wider trade, once in 1911 for wider trade with the United States and again in 1930 for a greater British preference.

Prime Minister Bennett had an opportunity to make a trade treaty with the United States. The president had authority to conclude an agreement without consulting Congress and thus a great difficulty was removed.

"The correspondence which has just been published is the best evidence that Mr. Bennett will never conclude a trade agreement with the United States," said Mr. King. "But that an agreement can be concluded is also clearly shown in the correspondence."

There was no one in Canada who opposed the reciprocity treaty of 1911 more strongly than Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens. They, more than any other two men helped to defeat the agreement obtained by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Just after the 1911 election Sir Wilfrid, in a speech, predicted that some time the opponents of reciprocity would change their views and that even his "brilliant young friend from Calgary" (Mr. Bennett) would con-

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cede that the old Liberal leader was right.

Sir Wilfrid's prediction had come true. Mr. Bennett now asked the people to re-elect him so he could do the very thing he would not do when an opportunity offered 24 years ago.

PROMISES RECIPROCITY.

"If we return to power, these negotiations with the United States will be taken up where Mr. Bennett left them," said Mr. King, "and just as surely as he has failed, we will succeed."

By his trade war with Japan, Mr. Bennett already had thrown thousands of men in the lumber industry in British Columbia out of work, Mr. King charged. He asked if Japanese trade had ever injured Canada when Japan bought from Canada four times as much as Canada bought from Japan. If not, why should this trade be cut off?

"If the Liberals win this election," he said, "I can assure the people of British Columbia "that the first day we are in office we will take up these negotiations and will restore trade with Japan and it will not be at the risk of any Canadian business."

Liberal policies would lead to economic recovery, said Mr. King, and recovery would provide the means to effect social reforms. "Mr. Bennett says 'Let us have reform and then you will have recovery.' I say the facts of the case are that recovery does not follow reform, but reform follows recovery. No man is more anxious to remove the hazards of life, to provide security for every one against sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age than I, but I don't see how it will be possible to put through a great programme of reform unless in some way you have the Treasury being filled with revenues and have the money to do things which can only be done with money from the Treasury."

ATTITUDE TO VETERANS.

Mr. King said he had been asked to say something about the Hyndman report on unemployment among ex-service men. He understood the veterans did not wholly agree with some of the recommendations but they could look at the record of the former Liberal Government for the party's attitude towards ex-service men. "We are prepared to implement the report," he said, "to the extent that the finances of the country will permit us."

"What about the Canadian National Railways hotel?" asked a questioner. (Vancouver has a large hotel built by the Canadian National Railways but never opened.)

Mr. King answered that when the Liberal Party came into power in 1921 Toronto had a fine station which had never been opened because there was no business. In a short time the station was opened because business revived. He had seen another unopened hotel in Saskatoon; if anyone wanted the reason for these two hotels standing empty they should read "The Tragedy of Sir Henry Thornton." A Liberal Government would deal with the Canadian National Railways as it had done before 1930 and recognize it "as just as important as any other railway."

"What about work and wages?" asked a voice from the gallery. "With all my heart," said Mr. King, "I pray that we may be moving into a period of work and wages, but if we are to reach that ideal it will not be by promises, it will not be by the formation of new groups but by the application of policies which have been tried and tested by experience."

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MR. KING

REPLIES TO

MR. BENNETT

September 17th, 1935

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

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Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

The Past, The Present, The Future

The Issue Defined

Radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on September 17th, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Within the past ten days, you have had the opportunity of listening to four radio addresses by the Prime Minister. The impression Mr. Bennett's addresses have left upon my mind, and, I feel sure, also upon yours, is that Mr. Bennett stands today, just where he stood five years ago. His basic policies remain those upon which he has acted right along.

Moreover, Mr. Bennett's appeal remains the same. He continues to believe that promises count for more than all else in a political campaign; that promises will do the trick, a second time; especially if they are on a grand scale, and made with sufficient emphasis.

I did not expect that Mr. Bennett would venture to announce yet another programme of so-called social reform. Yet that is what he has done. As with the one which preceded it, he hopes that this programme will serve to obliterate the record of the past five years. If the measures now being proposed are calculated to prove so effective, why were not one, or all of them, enacted in one or other of the six sessions of the late parliament?

One-Man Policies

Here again, however, Mr. Bennett is running true to form. The far-reaching measures, now put forward for

the first time, were not so much as hinted at while parliament was in session. In no sense can they be described as the policies of the Conservative party. Obviously, the party has not been consulted, or it has ceased to exist. Already, influential Conservatives, and a large section of the Conservative press, if they have not ridiculed, have been extremely critical of Mr. Bennett's latest proposals.

There is another circumstance which the electorate will do well to have in mind. Should Mr. Bennett be defeated in Calgary West, or drop out of the leadership of the Conservative party, once the elections are over, what guarantee is there that the Conservative party will feel itself bound to enact a single measure proposed by Mr. Bennett since the dissolution of Parliament? In view of Mr. Bennett's conversion to the idea that sixty years should be the limit of a man's working days, and having regard as well, for other passages in his addresses, which would indicate that Mr. Bennett may find it inadvisable, in any eventually, to continue longer in the leadership of his party, the possibility of change in the leadership of the Conservative party is something of which account must be taken at this time. Is it not fair to assume that, with a change of leadership, any measure not congenial to a majority of the members of the Conservative party will be dismissed as being just another of Mr. Bennett's promises made for the purpose of winning an election!

The same, indeed, may be said with respect to all that Mr. Stevens is pledging himself to carry out. If, by any chance, in the present elections, Mr. Stevens should meet with defeat in the constituency of East Kootenay, as he did in Vancouver Centre in 1930, or should, for any other reason, find it impossible to carry on, what, during the next five years, will become of the party Mr.

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Stevens himself has brought into being, has named and baptized, and started upon its career under his sole paternity?

Above all, in times such as the present, with great international, as well as national problems to be faced, and with the possibility of war at our very doors, you will do well to consider how inadvisable it is that the fate of Canada should be in the hands of any one man. Surely, it must be apparent to all, that we cannot too quickly return to government by a ministry composed of many men, each bringing his experience and judgment to bear, not to appearances only, but in reality, upon the momentous issues of our day. ,

In the Book of Proverbs, we are told:

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

This is as true today as it was in the days of Solomon. It might be said, with equal truth, that from ancient days to our own, there never has been a time in the world's affairs, more than the present, when there was so much need for men and nations to keep this proverb in mind.

Liberal Policies Unanimously Approved

Let me again remind you of what I have already said of an all-important difference between the Liberal party, and the other parties which are seeking your support in the present elections. The programme of the Liberal party is the work of the party itself. It is not the declaration or manifesto of any one man. It has been endorsed by all who were Liberal members in the last parliament, and by the National Liberal Federation and its affiliated organizations from coast to coast. Not the leader only, but the Liberal party as a whole, is already

committed to, and bound by the policies to which it has given its approval.

So long as I remain the leader of the Liberal party, I intend, as respects its policies, to have this guarantee before asking the electors of Canada to give the party their support. I intend, as well, if the party is returned to power, to see that the policies thus endorsed are carried out. I need scarcely add that it is in this manner alone that, notwithstanding a change in its leadership, a political party can be held to its promises and policies. This method of carrying on government may necessitate less in the way of promises, but it will mean, I believe, very much more in the way of performance. Moreover, it will serve to hold Canada true to the ideal of Democracy, and to preserve our country from Dictatorship. Sooner or later, Dictatorship leads inevitably to the destruction of liberty. It is leading today to war.

If, for any reason, in this general election, I, myself, should suffer defeat in the constituency of Prince Albert, which has honoured me with its representation during the past ten years, and be precluded, subsequently, from re-entering parliament, I would be able to hand over the party leadership to another with the certain knowledge that it was something more than merely the leadership of a political party which was being transferred. I would feel that what I was handing over was a great trust which the Liberals had committed to my charge. If on October 14th, the Liberal party should again be returned to power, it would be even more than this. It would be much more than a trust which the Liberals of Canada had, for the time being, committed to my keeping. It would be a trust which the people of Canada had committed to the keeping of the Liberal party.

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When the time comes for me to hand on to another the torch of Liberal leadership in Canada, I hope I shall be able to pass it on, not as a meaningless thing, or some mere symbol of authority, but, as I received it from the hand of Sir Wilfred Laurier—a light, undiminished, which, in no flickering or uncertain way, discloses the path along which the Liberal party is pledged to tread. I shall have, too, the satisfaction of knowing that the policies of the Liberal party are no meaningless or ephemeral things, since they carry with them the authority and pledge of young and old alike, of men and women of all creeds and classes, and of East as well as West.

Five Disastrous Years

I have said that Mr. Bennett stands today exactly where he stood five years ago. Canada has had five years of Bennett policies and promises. Can anyone say that, except to a few privileged interests, these policies have been of benefit to any part of Canada, or to any class in our country?

Five years of Bennett policies and promises have left Canada with a staggering unemployment problem; with ruination staring farmers in the face; with an unparralleled stagnation of transportation; with an enormous diminution in the volume of our foreign and domestic trade; with bitterness toward Canada in trade affairs in other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and enmity in many foreign countries; with industry and the people of every class being called upon to bear a merciless load of taxation; and with enormous debts and unbalanced budgets in Dominion, provincial and civic administrations.

The worst feature about all that Mr. Bennett has to

say is that he assumes that unemployment and depression are bound to continue indefinitely. What he has been insisting right along was only a temporary condition, has now become chronic. His attitude is one of defeat and despair. Instead of planning for plenty, he plans for scarcity. Instead of aiming at the expansion of trade, he aims at further restriction of trade. Instead of ending unemployment, he now proposes to end work. It is the logical development of the policy of economic nationalism, which he says he deplores, but from which, in his blindness, he can find no means of escape. In planning for scarcity, rather than for plenty, his first step was to restrict or to prohibit trade. That successfully accomplished, the next step was to limit the production and to restrict the sale of commodities. This being in process of accomplishment, he now proposes to restrict work itself, by prescribing the years within which a man shall be permitted to earn his daily bread.

Bennett's Colossal Failures

To cloak his own colossal failures, Mr. Bennett resorts to an old political, but not very creditable device, namely, that of attributing, to policies of his opponents, the evil consequences which flow from his own. Mr. Bennett states that the Liberal policy of freer trade would mean "the wreckage of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reductions in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our natural products." These are the very results which have been produced, not by the freeing of trade, but by the strangling of trade, through Mr. Bennett's policies of extreme protection.

Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of

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the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example of Mr. Bennett's method of seeking to conceal his own shortcomings, by misrepresenting the attitude of his opponents, is the case of Canada's trade with Japan. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of the situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for.

As for a trade agreement with the United States, Mr. Bennett tells us that this is still a possibility. I shall content myself, therefore, with drawing attention to the fact that the long talked of negotiations have yielded thus far only a year old prospectus, an indication of the half-heartedness with which negotiations have thus far been pursued.

Obviously, it is not possible for me, in the half hour at my disposal, to take up, one after the other, the many subjects dealt with by Mr. Bennett in his radio addresses, which occupied in all, two hours and a half. I shall have to leave for the public meetings, which I am about to address, further consideration of such subjects as I have already dealt with in my previous broadcasts, and which include the all-important questions of unemployment; currency, credit and banking; the marketing of Canada's products; reciprocal agreements with the United States and other countries; as well as constitutional issues and international relations.

I wish, however, to say at once, that there is not the slightest ground for the contention that, if a Liberal gov-

ernment is returned to power, Canada's interests will in any way be prejudicially affected by its dealings with Japan, or, for that matter, with any other country.

What the Liberal Party Will Do

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of customs duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations, or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time, to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

Reduce Duties on Implements

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. If returned to office, a Liberal government will, along with other reductions, immediately and materially reduce duties on these articles which enter into the cost of production of our primary industries, more particularly on the implements and machinery of production.

Reduce Taxation on Necessaries of Life

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and that he has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. For one, in a family, who would

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be classed as a producer, there are usually several who are consumers. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled families to pay infinitely more for the necessaries of life, and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed, today, the family might well be described as the forgotten unit in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect immediate substantial reductions in the duties on the necessaries of life, and to exempt from the sales tax many articles of domestic consumption, thereby affording a direct measure of relief to every home and to every individual.

If our primary industries are to be developed as they should be, capital as well as labour must be attracted to them. To this end, confidence in the stability of government policies, as well as in administration, is essential. Ever since the present government assumed office, business has suffered from incessant intervention, discriminatory taxation and from the uncertainty and instability of our customs and other fiscal laws. Unpredictable customs rulings, and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations, have impeded, and made impossible, the recovery and expansion of Canada's trade, almost as much as the extravagant and unparalleled increase in duties. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, as imposed and administered by the present government. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration, and continuity in government policy.

Secure Larger Markets

While the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements may prove an arduous task, the Liberal party believes

that in this way much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated, since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than twenty-one trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated twenty-six agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated seven, and the Argentine five. While Canada's negotiations have been proceeding with the United States, that country, within a little over a year, has negotiated agreements with Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Cuba and Haiti. All these nations have gained an entrance and established a foothold in markets at our very door.

Stevens Remains a Tory

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by now talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. The reduction of duties on agricultural implements and textiles was, time and again, urged upon the government by myself and other Liberal members, when Mr. Stevens was Minister of Trade & Commerce, and, as often, refused or ignored by Mr. Bennett and himself. It will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens to cause the electorate to overlook the fact

that for four years, as Minister of Trade & Commerce, he was Mr. Bennett's right-hand man in the carrying out of policies of trade restriction and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles was raised to unprecedented heights.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, and Mr. Bennett would have you believe that he and Mr. Stevens have parted company, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in Kootenay East by a candidate of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary West by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. This does not look like an irreconcilable quarrel, much less like war to the death. There is a growing conviction that, whatever may be the feelings between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, the followers of both are only temporarily in different camps; that, once the elections are over, their forces will speedily coalesce.

Mr. Bennett, in introducing his latest batch of promises, has harped once more upon the solitary string that the Liberal party has no policies or proposals. The Liberal party, on the contrary, has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike those of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, they have not been especially concocted since the prorogation of parliament. They have been set forth, time and again, over a period of years, and enjoy the unanimous support of a party united from coast to coast. They have, moreover, been drafted, not simply for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government and of leading Canada out of the depression.

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The Liberal Party Pledges Itself

The Liberal party is pledged to regard unemployment as Canada's most urgent problem; to deal with unemployment as a national problem, and through the agency of a representative national commission to cooperate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. It is pledged to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion into a general scheme of social insurance, including health insurance as well as old age pensions. It is pledged to policies which will liberate and expand our external trade upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation of internal trade, by ending artificial price control and price fixing, which restricts and hampers trade internally; to the development of primary industries, by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; to state assistance in the marketing of natural products; to the restoration of control by the state over currency and credit, through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; to the establishment of an investment control board; to the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and controlled utility; to the democratization of industry, through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; to the restoration of responsible government; to the re-assertion of personal liberty, and the right of free speech and free association; to measures of electoral reform; to effect, as quickly as may be possible, a balanced budget, retrenchment of public expen-

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ditures, and reduction of the principal and interest on the public debt; to an inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs of government; to a furtherance of international peace and the work of the League of Nations; and to a more equitable distribution of wealth, which will have regard to human needs, to the furtherance of social justice, and the promotion of the common good.

In the course of his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has found it necessary to give you reasons, apart altogether from the issues of the campaign, and the policies of the respective parties, why you should withhold your support from me, and give your support to him.

Of me, Mr. Bennett says, that he must warn the country, what will be its fate, if it entrusts itself to the guidance of one so supremely oblivious to the actual problems, so utterly uninformed of the practical ways to deal with them.

Of himself. Mr. Bennett says: "I think that even my harshest critics will admit that I have been a good man of business." He then seeks to convey the impression that any success which may have attended the efforts of the present government has been due to himself, rather than to his colleagues. He tells you that he dislikes to talk about his illness, but that he must do so, because, "it had an influence upon the course of events." "It gravely interfered," he says, "with the development of our programme." "Had I had," he goes on to say, "an unbroken sweep between January and May, we would have been further ahead than we are now. Other vital elements in our programme would now have been enacted into law."

In his parting word, Mr. Bennett did not hesitate to say that no one could be found as capable of administer-

ing the affairs of Canada as himself. Referring to the possibility of anyone else becoming the leader of the government of Canada, he says: "I would be more than content, if I could believe that my successor might do better for you than I." However much this may appear to reflect upon myself, or other political leaders, it is certainly hard upon those who have been Mr. Bennett's colleagues during the years he has been in office, and upon all who belong to the Conservative party.

Here, I may, perhaps be allowed to say to Mr. Bennett that, whatever my qualities for leadership may be, I have never found it necessary, in order that my own personality might thereby be magnified, to deprive my colleagues of due credit for what has been accomplished by the administraton of which I have been the head. Moreover, I have not found it necessary to change the name of my party in the course of a political campaign.

Danger of One-Man Parties

It might be well for me to remind you of what I said a moment ago of the danger which threatens all political programmes that lie too completely in the hands of an individual man.

Does not what Mr. Bennett has said make perfectly clear how completely, the carrying out of the measures he now advocates depends, in Mr. Bennett's own mind, not only upon his remaining at the head of the Conservative party, but upon the condition of his own health. What guarantee is there, unfortunate as it would be, that Mr. Bennett might not again, as he says, "let his party down," and also "let you down". It is to guard against just such contingencies, in the administration of a nation's affairs, that government ought to be widely

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distributed among members of a ministry, one and all sharing a collective responsibility for every act. This is the essence of the British system of government. Can we, in the government of our country, afford to risk any contingency against which it is possible to provide, as we face the appalling issues with which, at any moment, Canada may be confronted?

The Liberal Party's Record

Fortunately, I am not obliged to place my own estimate upon the record of the government of which I have been the head. As to business capacity, as well as to all else, the record speaks for itself. When the late Liberal administration took office in 1921, Canada was in the slough of a great depression. Thousands were unemployed, trade was languishing, the railroads were in a desperate condition, the burden of taxation was greater than it had ever been, and the public debt was mounting to unprecedented heights. The country, it might truly be said, was heading for bankruptcy.

What was the story when we left office in 1930? Those years of Liberal administration constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, Canada's total trade reached the highest point in our history—(over two and a half billion dollars.) In seven out of nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Our country had gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade. The total of these favourable balances reached the colossal figure of one and

a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on moderate incomes, and exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished. There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production in the basic industries, motor vehicles, and on many of the necessities of life. Production was vastly increased, and the cost of living was materially lessened.

The Conservative Record

Now, what is the record of Mr. Bennett's administration? In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from the fifth to the eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses, and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased, and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent., and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Notwithstanding that armies of men are being employed on public works, out of funds furnished from the treasuries of the Dominion, the provinces, and municipalities, unemployment has increased from around one hundred thousand

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in 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the railways, have fallen by fifty per cent. With trade strangled and industry depressed, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissension and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

Perhaps, from this, it will be apparent that personal success in business is not always the surest guarantee of success in the administration of public affairs. Indeed, the mere suggestion that success in business is a guarantee of success in government, reveals a failure to appreciate the very qualities which count for most in the administration of public affairs. No one would think of suggesting that Sir John A. Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier owed their success in public life to their capacity to make money. Yet, their names will ever be remembered and honoured by their respective followings, and by the country.

The Art of Government

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the future than with the present, and with human and spiritual values, much more than with material values. It cares nothing for the gain of special privilege; it cares everything for the common good.

Especially where social problems are concerned, there can be no greater mistake that to believe that the qualities and methods which make for success in business are necessarily the qualities and methods that make for success in government. A broad survey of the industrial field discloses only too plainly that many so-called business successes have been due to a ruthless disregard of humanitarian considerations. Indeed, the crux of the social problem lies in the relative importance we attach to human well-being as against material gain. Until we come to regard Industry as being in the nature of social service and see the necessity of dealing with its problems from the point of view of the sacredness of human life and personality, rather than from that of accumulation of wealth and material reward, there will be, and there should be, no cure for social and industrial unrest

The same, I believe, is true of international problems. Referring to myself, Mr. Bennett says: "Tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone, not blind and deaf to facts, that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been." This, no doubt, refers to the concluding words of my first broadcast, when I said: "Let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

D21081

The Two-fold Aim of Liberalism

At last, the issue between Mr. Bennett and myself is clearly defined. To get more business by the hard trading way, the way that puts present material interests before all else, that, Mr. Bennett says, is the Conservative way. That may be Mr. Bennett's way; it may be, as Mr. Bennett says: "The Conservative way," but it is not my way; and, I am happy to say, it is not "the Liberal way."

Progress has been effected, not by individuals and nations working for themselves alone, and putting material interests before all else, but by a course the very opposite. Individuals and nations who have upheld the Liberal faith, have sought to gain for others, as well as for themselves, the ends desired, in the belief that no man liveth unto himself alone and, no nation liveth unto itself; that the good of all is, in the long run, the good of each; that we are all members one of another.

The individuals and the nations which discard Liberalism, pay by losing their liberty. When liberty goes, little else remains. Today the task of Liberalism is two-fold: it is to maintain what we have already gained of freedom in many spheres, and to gain for our fellowmen more in the way of economic freedom. That battle will not be won by individuals putting their own present and material interests before all else, or by Canada putting her present material interests before all else. In the realm of individual freedom, it will be won by each seeking to gain a larger liberty for others as well as for himself. In the international sphere it will be won by international co-operation and international good-will. To win this two-fold objective, is the aim of Liberalism in the present campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all "good-night."

Printed by Printers Guild Limited
Pickering, Ontario

D21082

MR. KING

REPLIES TO

MR. BENNETT

September 17th, 1935

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

D21083

Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

The Past, The Present, The Future

The Issue Defined

Radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on September 17th, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Within the past ten days, you have had the opportunity of listening to four radio addresses by the Prime Minister. The impression Mr. Bennett's addresses have left upon my mind, and, I feel sure, also upon yours, is that Mr. Bennett stands today, just where he stood five years ago. His basic policies remain those upon which he has acted right along.

Moreover, Mr. Bennett's appeal remains the same. He continues to believe that promises count for more than all else in a political campaign; that promises will do the trick, a second time; especially if they are on a grand scale, and made with sufficient emphasis.

I did not expect that Mr. Bennett would venture to announce yet another programme of so-called social reform. Yet that is what he has done. As with the one which preceded it, he hopes that this programme will serve to obliterate the record of the past five years. If the measures now being proposed are calculated to prove so effective, why were not one, or all of them, enacted in one or other of the six sessions of the late parliament?

One-Man Policies

Here again, however, Mr. Bennett is running true to form. The far-reaching measures, now put forward for

the first time, were not so much as hinted at while parliament was in session. In no sense can they be described as the policies of the Conservative party. Obviously, the party has not been consulted, or it has ceased to exist. Already, influential Conservatives, and a large section of the Conservative press, if they have not ridiculed, have been extremely critical of Mr. Bennett's latest proposals.

There is another circumstance which the electorate will do well to have in mind. Should Mr. Bennett be defeated in Calgary West, or drop out of the leadership of the Conservative party, once the elections are over, what guarantee is there that the Conservative party will feel itself bound to enact a single measure proposed by Mr. Bennett since the dissolution of Parliament? In view of Mr. Bennett's conversion to the idea that sixty years should be the limit of a man's working days, and having regard as well, for other passages in his addresses, which would indicate that Mr. Bennett may find it inadvisable, in any eventually, to continue longer in the leadership of his party, the possibility of change in the leadership of the Conservative party is something of which account must be taken at this time. Is it not fair to assume that, with a change of leadership, any measure not congenial to a majority of the members of the Conservative party will be dismissed as being just another of Mr. Bennett's promises made for the purpose of winning an election!

The same, indeed, may be said with respect to all that Mr. Stevens is pledging himself to carry out. If, by any chance, in the present elections, Mr. Stevens should meet with defeat in the constituency of East Kootenay, as he did in Vancouver Centre in 1930, or should, for any other reason, find it impossible to carry on, what, during the next five years, will become of the party Mr.

D21084

Stevens himself has brought into being, has named and baptized, and started upon its career under his sole paternity?

Above all, in times such as the present, with great international, as well as national problems to be faced, and with the possibility of war at our very doors, you will do well to consider how inadvisable it is that the fate of Canada should be in the hands of any one man. Surely, it must be apparent to all, that we cannot too quickly return to government by a ministry composed of many men, each bringing his experience and judgment to bear, not to appearances only, but in reality, upon the momentous issues of our day. ,

In the Book of Proverbs, we are told:

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

This is as true today as it was in the days of Solomon. It might be said, with equal truth, that from ancient days to our own, there never has been a time in the world's affairs, more than the present, when there was so much need for men and nations to keep this proverb in mind.

Liberal Policies Unanimously Approved

Let me again remind you of what I have already said of an all-important difference between the Liberal party, and the other parties which are seeking your support in the present elections. The programme of the Liberal party is the work of the party itself. It is not the declaration or manifesto of any one man. It has been endorsed by all who were Liberal members in the last parliament, and by the National Liberal Federation and its affiliated organizations from coast to coast. Not the leader only, but the Liberal party as a whole, is already

committed to, and bound by the policies to which it has given its approval.

So long as I remain the leader of the Liberal party, I intend, as respects its policies, to have this guarantee before asking the electors of Canada to give the party their support. I intend, as well, if the party is returned to power, to see that the policies thus endorsed are carried out. I need scarcely add that it is in this manner alone that, notwithstanding a change in its leadership, a political party can be held to its promises and policies. This method of carrying on government may necessitate less in the way of promises, but it will mean, I believe, very much more in the way of performance. Moreover, it will serve to hold Canada true to the ideal of Democracy, and to preserve our country from Dictatorship. Sooner or later, Dictatorship leads inevitably to the destruction of liberty. It is leading today to war.

If, for any reason, in this general election, I, myself, should suffer defeat in the constituency of Prince Albert, which has honoured me with its representation during the past ten years, and be precluded, subsequently, from re-entering parliament, I would be able to hand over the party leadership to another with the certain knowledge that it was something more than merely the leadership of a political party which was being transferred. I would feel that what I was handing over was a great trust which the Liberals had committed to my charge. If on October 14th, the Liberal party should again be returned to power, it would be even more than this. It would be much more than a trust which the Liberals of Canada had, for the time being, committed to my keeping. It would be a trust which the people of Canada had committed to the keeping of the Liberal party.

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the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example of Mr. Bennett's method of seeking to conceal his own shortcomings, by misrepresenting the attitude of his opponents, is the case of Canada's trade with Japan. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of the situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for.

As for a trade agreement with the United States, Mr. Bennett tells us that this is still a possibility. I shall content myself, therefore, with drawing attention to the fact that the long talked of negotiations have yielded thus far only a year old prospectus, an indication of the half-heartedness with which negotiations have thus far been pursued.

Obviously, it is not possible for me, in the half hour at my disposal, to take up, one after the other, the many subjects dealt with by Mr. Bennett in his radio addresses, which occupied in all, two hours and a half. I shall have to leave for the public meetings, which I am about to address, further consideration of such subjects as I have already dealt with in my previous broadcasts, and which include the all-important questions of unemployment; currency, credit and banking; the marketing of Canada's products; reciprocal agreements with the United States and other countries; as well as constitutional issues and international relations.

I wish, however, to say at once, that there is not the slightest ground for the contention that, if a Liberal government is returned to power, Canada's interests will in any way be prejudicially affected by its dealings with Japan, or, for that matter, with any other country.

What the Liberal Party Will Do

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of customs duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations, or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time, to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

Reduce Duties on Implements

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. If returned to office, a Liberal government will, along with other reductions, immediately and materially reduce duties on these articles which enter into the cost of production of our primary industries, more particularly on the implements and machinery of production.

Reduce Taxation on Necessaries of Life

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and that he has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. For one, in a family, who would

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be classed as a producer, there are usually several who are consumers. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled families to pay infinitely more for the necessaries of life, and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed, today, the family might well be described as the forgotten unit in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect immediate substantial reductions in the duties on the necessaries of life, and to exempt from the sales tax many articles of domestic consumption, thereby affording a direct measure of relief to every home and to every individual.

If our primary industries are to be developed as they should be, capital as well as labour must be attracted to them. To this end, confidence in the stability of government policies, as well as in administration, is essential. Ever since the present government assumed office, business has suffered from incessant intervention, discriminatory taxation and from the uncertainty and instability of our customs and other fiscal laws. Unpredictable customs rulings, and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations, have impeded, and made impossible, the recovery and expansion of Canada's trade, almost as much as the extravagant and unparalleled increase in duties. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, as imposed and administered by the present government. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration, and continuity in government policy.

Secure Larger Markets

While the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements may prove an arduous task, the Liberal party believes

that in this way much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated, since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than twenty-one trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated twenty-six agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated seven, and the Argentine five. While Canada's negotiations have been proceeding with the United States, that country, within a little over a year, has negotiated agreements with Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Cuba and Haiti. All these nations have gained an entrance and established a foothold in markets at our very door.

Stevens Remains a Tory

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by now talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. The reduction of duties on agricultural implements and textiles was, time and again, urged upon the government by myself and other Liberal members, when Mr. Stevens was Minister of Trade & Commerce, and, as often, refused or ignored by Mr. Bennett and himself. It will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens to cause the electorate to overlook the fact

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that for four years, as Minister of Trade & Commerce, he was Mr. Bennett's right-hand man in the carrying out of policies of trade restriction and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles was raised to unprecedented heights.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, and Mr. Bennett would have you believe that he and Mr. Stevens have parted company, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in Kootenay East by a candidate of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary West by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. This does not look like an irreconcilable quarrel, much less like war to the death. There is a growing conviction that, whatever may be the feelings between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, the followers of both are only temporarily in different camps; that, once the elections are over, their forces will speedily coalesce.

Mr. Bennett, in introducing his latest batch of promises, has harped once more upon the solitary string that the Liberal party has no policies or proposals. The Liberal party, on the contrary, has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike those of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, they have not been especially concocted since the prorogation of parliament. They have been set forth, time and again, over a period of years, and enjoy the unanimous support of a party united from coast to coast. They have, moreover, been drafted, not simply for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government and of leading Canada out of the depression.

The Liberal Party Pledges Itself

The Liberal party is pledged to regard unemployment as Canada's most urgent problem; to deal with unemployment as a national problem, and through the agency of a representative national commission to cooperate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. It is pledged to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion into a general scheme of social insurance, including health insurance as well as old age pensions. It is pledged to policies which will liberate and expand our external trade upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation of internal trade, by ending artificial price control and price fixing, which restricts and hampers trade internally; to the development of primary industries, by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; to state assistance in the marketing of natural products; to the restoration of control by the state over currency and credit, through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; to the establishment of an investment control board; to the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and controlled utility; to the democratization of industry, through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; to the restoration of responsible government; to the re-assertion of personal liberty, and the right of free speech and free association; to measures of electoral reform; to effect, as quickly as may be possible, a balanced budget, retrenchment of public expen-

D21089

ditures, and reduction of the principal and interest on the public debt; to an inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs of government; to a furtherance of international peace and the work of the League of Nations; and to a more equitable distribution of wealth, which will have regard to human needs, to the furtherance of social justice, and the promotion of the common good.

In the course of his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has found it necessary to give you reasons, apart altogether from the issues of the campaign, and the policies of the respective parties, why you should withhold your support from me, and give your support to him.

Of me, Mr. Bennett says, that he must warn the country, what will be its fate, if it entrusts itself to the guidance of one so supremely oblivious to the actual problems, so utterly uninformed of the practical ways to deal with them.

Of himself. Mr. Bennett says: "I think that even my harshest critics will admit that I have been a good man of business." He then seeks to convey the impression that any success which may have attended the efforts of the present government has been due to himself, rather than to his colleagues. He tells you that he dislikes to talk about his illness, but that he must do so, because, "it had an influence upon the course of events." "It gravely interfered," he says, "with the development of our programme." "Had I had," he goes on to say, "an unbroken sweep between January and May, we would have been further ahead than we are now. Other vital elements in our programme would now have been enacted into law."

In his parting word, Mr. Bennett did not hesitate to say that no one could be found as capable of administer-

ing the affairs of Canada as himself. Referring to the possibility of anyone else becoming the leader of the government of Canada, he says: "I would be more than content, if I could believe that my successor might do better for you than I." However much this may appear to reflect upon myself, or other political leaders, it is certainly hard upon those who have been Mr. Bennett's colleagues during the years he has been in office, and upon all who belong to the Conservative party.

Here, I may, perhaps be allowed to say to Mr. Bennett that, whatever my qualities for leadership may be, I have never found it necessary, in order that my own personality might thereby be magnified, to deprive my colleagues of due credit for what has been accomplished by the administraton of which I have been the head. Moreover, I have not found it necessary to change the name of my party in the course of a political campaign.

Danger of One-Man Parties

It might be well for me to remind you of what I said a moment ago of the danger which threatens all political programmes that lie too completely in the hands of an individual man.

Does not what Mr. Bennett has said make perfectly clear how completely, the carrying out of the measures he now advocates depends, in Mr. Bennett's own mind, not only upon his remaining at the head of the Conservative party, but upon the condition of his own health. What guarantee is there, unfortunate as it would be, that Mr. Bennett might not again, as he says, "let his party down," and also "let you down". It is to guard against just such contingencies, in the administration of a nation's affairs, that government ought to be widely

D21090

distributed among members of a ministry, one and all sharing a collective responsibility for every act. This is the essence of the British system of government. Can we, in the government of our country, afford to risk any contingency against which it is possible to provide, as we face the appalling issues with which, at any moment, Canada may be confronted?

The Liberal Party's Record

Fortunately, I am not obliged to place my own estimate upon the record of the government of which I have been the head. As to business capacity, as well as to all else, the record speaks for itself. When the late Liberal administration took office in 1921, Canada was in the slough of a great depression. Thousands were unemployed, trade was languishing, the railroads were in a desperate condition, the burden of taxation was greater than it had ever been, and the public debt was mounting to unprecedented heights. The country, it might truly be said, was heading for bankruptcy.

What was the story when we left office in 1930? Those years of Liberal administration constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, Canada's total trade reached the highest point in our history—(over two and a half billion dollars.) In seven out of nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Our country had gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade. The total of these favourable balances reached the colossal figure of one and

a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on moderate incomes, and exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished. There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production in the basic industries, motor vehicles, and on many of the necessities of life. Production was vastly increased, and the cost of living was materially lessened.

The Conservative Record

Now, what is the record of Mr. Bennett's administration? In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from the fifth to the eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses, and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased, and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent., and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Notwithstanding that armies of men are being employed on public works, out of funds furnished from the treasuries of the Dominion, the provinces, and municipalities, unemployment has increased from around one hundred thousand

D21091

in 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the railways, have fallen by fifty per cent. With trade strangled and industry depressed, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissension and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

Perhaps, from this, it will be apparent that personal success in business is not always the surest guarantee of success in the administration of public affairs. Indeed, the mere suggestion that success in business is a guarantee of success in government, reveals a failure to appreciate the very qualities which count for most in the administration of public affairs. No one would think of suggesting that Sir John A. Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier owed their success in public life to their capacity to make money. Yet, their names will ever be remembered and honoured by their respective followings, and by the country.

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the future than with the present, and with human and spiritual values, much more than with material values. It cares nothing for the gain of special privilege; it cares everything for the common good.

Especially where social problems are concerned, there can be no greater mistake that to believe that the qualities and methods which make for success in business are necessarily the qualities and methods that make for success in government. A broad survey of the industrial field discloses only too plainly that many so-called business successes have been due to a ruthless disregard of humanitarian considerations. Indeed, the crux of the social problem lies in the relative importance we attach to human well-being as against material gain. Until we come to regard Industry as being in the nature of social service and see the necessity of dealing with its problems from the point of view of the sacredness of human life and personality, rather than from that of accumulation of wealth and material reward, there will be, and there should be, no cure for social and industrial unrest

The same, I believe, is true of international problems. Referring to myself, Mr. Bennett says: "Tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone, not blind and deaf to facts, that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been." This, no doubt, refers to the concluding words of my first broadcast, when I said: "Let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

D21092

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Progress has been effected, not by individuals and nations working for themselves alone, and putting material interests before all else, but by a course the very opposite. Individuals and nations who have upheld the Liberal faith, have sought to gain for others, as well as for themselves, the ends desired, in the belief that no man liveth unto himself alone and, no nation liveth unto itself; that the good of all is, in the long run, the good of each; that we are all members one of another.

The individuals and the nations which discard Liberalism, pay by losing their liberty. When liberty goes, little else remains. Today the task of Liberalism is two-fold: it is to maintain what we have already gained of freedom in many spheres, and to gain for our fellowmen more in the way of economic freedom. That battle will not be won by individuals putting their own present and material interests before all else, or by Canada putting her present material interests before all else. In the realm of individual freedom, it will be won by each seeking to gain a larger liberty for others as well as for himself. In the international sphere it will be won by international co-operation and international good-will. To win this two-fold objective, is the aim of Liberalism in the present campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all "good-night."

Printed by Printers Guild Limited
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D21093

MR. KING

REPLIES TO

MR. BENNETT

September 17th, 1935

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

D21094

Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

The Past, The Present, The Future

The Issue Defined

Radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on September 17th, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Within the past ten days, you have had the opportunity of listening to four radio addresses by the Prime Minister. The impression Mr. Bennett's addresses have left upon my mind, and, I feel sure, also upon yours, is that Mr. Bennett stands today, just where he stood five years ago. His basic policies remain those upon which he has acted right along.

Moreover, Mr. Bennett's appeal remains the same. He continues to believe that promises count for more than all else in a political campaign; that promises will do the trick, a second time; especially if they are on a grand scale, and made with sufficient emphasis.

I did not expect that Mr. Bennett would venture to announce yet another programme of so-called social reform. Yet that is what he has done. As with the one which preceded it, he hopes that this programme will serve to obliterate the record of the past five years. If the measures now being proposed are calculated to prove so effective, why were not one, or all of them, enacted in one or other of the six sessions of the late parliament?

One-Man Policies

Here again, however, Mr. Bennett is running true to form. The far-reaching measures, now put forward for

the first time, were not so much as hinted at while parliament was in session. In no sense can they be described as the policies of the Conservative party. Obviously, the party has not been consulted, or it has ceased to exist. Already, influential Conservatives, and a large section of the Conservative press, if they have not ridiculed, have been extremely critical of Mr. Bennett's latest proposals.

There is another circumstance which the electorate will do well to have in mind. Should Mr. Bennett be defeated in Calgary West, or drop out of the leadership of the Conservative party, once the elections are over, what guarantee is there that the Conservative party will feel itself bound to enact a single measure proposed by Mr. Bennett since the dissolution of Parliament? In view of Mr. Bennett's conversion to the idea that sixty years should be the limit of a man's working days, and having regard as well, for other passages in his addresses, which would indicate that Mr. Bennett may find it inadvisable, in any eventually, to continue longer in the leadership of his party, the possibility of change in the leadership of the Conservative party is something of which account must be taken at this time. Is it not fair to assume that, with a change of leadership, any measure not congenial to a majority of the members of the Conservative party will be dismissed as being just another of Mr. Bennett's promises made for the purpose of winning an election!

The same, indeed, may be said with respect to all that Mr. Stevens is pledging himself to carry out. If, by any chance, in the present elections, Mr. Stevens should meet with defeat in the constituency of East Kootenay, as he did in Vancouver Centre in 1930, or should, for any other reason, find it impossible to carry on, what, during the next five years, will become of the party Mr.

D21095

Stevens himself has brought into being, has named and baptized, and started upon its career under his sole paternity?

Above all, in times such as the present, with great international, as well as national problems to be faced, and with the possibility of war at our very doors, you will do well to consider how inadvisable it is that the fate of Canada should be in the hands of any one man. Surely, it must be apparent to all, that we cannot too quickly return to government by a ministry composed of many men, each bringing his experience and judgment to bear, not to appearances only, but in reality, upon the momentous issues of our day. ,

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"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

This is as true today as it was in the days of Solomon. It might be said, with equal truth, that from ancient days to our own, there never has been a time in the world's affairs, more than the present, when there was so much need for men and nations to keep this proverb in mind.

Liberal Policies Unanimously Approved

Let me again remind you of what I have already said of an all-important difference between the Liberal party, and the other parties which are seeking your support in the present elections. The programme of the Liberal party is the work of the party itself. It is not the declaration or manifesto of any one man. It has been endorsed by all who were Liberal members in the last parliament, and by the National Liberal Federation and its affiliated organizations from coast to coast. Not the leader only, but the Liberal party as a whole, is already

committed to, and bound by the policies to which it has given its approval.

So long as I remain the leader of the Liberal party, I intend, as respects its policies, to have this guarantee before asking the electors of Canada to give the party their support. I intend, as well, if the party is returned to power, to see that the policies thus endorsed are carried out. I need scarcely add that it is in this manner alone that, notwithstanding a change in its leadership, a political party can be held to its promises and policies. This method of carrying on government may necessitate less in the way of promises, but it will mean, I believe, very much more in the way of performance. Moreover, it will serve to hold Canada true to the ideal of Democracy, and to preserve our country from Dictatorship. Sooner or later, Dictatorship leads inevitably to the destruction of liberty. It is leading today to war.

If, for any reason, in this general election, I, myself, should suffer defeat in the constituency of Prince Albert, which has honoured me with its representation during the past ten years, and be precluded, subsequently, from re-entering parliament, I would be able to hand over the party leadership to another with the certain knowledge that it was something more than merely the leadership of a political party which was being transferred. I would feel that what I was handing over was a great trust which the Liberals had committed to my charge. If on October 14th, the Liberal party should again be returned to power, it would be even more than this. It would be much more than a trust which the Liberals of Canada had, for the time being, committed to my keeping. It would be a trust which the people of Canada had committed to the keeping of the Liberal party.

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When the time comes for me to hand on to another the torch of Liberal leadership in Canada, I hope I shall be able to pass it on, not as a meaningless thing, or some mere symbol of authority, but, as I received it from the hand of Sir Wilfred Laurier—a light, undiminished, which, in no flickering or uncertain way, discloses the path along which the Liberal party is pledged to tread. I shall have, too, the satisfaction of knowing that the policies of the Liberal party are no meaningless or ephemeral things, since they carry with them the authority and pledge of young and old alike, of men and women of all creeds and classes, and of East as well as West.

Five Disastrous Years

I have said that Mr. Bennett stands today exactly where he stood five years ago. Canada has had five years of Bennett policies and promises. Can anyone say that, except to a few privileged interests, these policies have been of benefit to any part of Canada, or to any class in our country?

Five years of Bennett policies and promises have left Canada with a staggering unemployment problem; with ruination staring farmers in the face; with an unparralleled stagnation of transportation; with an enormous diminution in the volume of our foreign and domestic trade; with bitterness toward Canada in trade affairs in other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and enmity in many foreign countries; with industry and the people of every class being called upon to bear a merciless load of taxation; and with enormous debts and unbalanced budgets in Dominion, provincial and civic administrations.

The worst feature about all that Mr. Bennett has to

say is that he assumes that unemployment and depression are bound to continue indefinitely. What he has been insisting right along was only a temporary condition, has now become chronic. His attitude is one of defeat and despair. Instead of planning for plenty, he plans for scarcity. Instead of aiming at the expansion of trade, he aims at further restriction of trade. Instead of ending unemployment, he now proposes to end work. It is the logical development of the policy of economic nationalism, which he says he deplores, but from which, in his blindness, he can find no means of escape. In planning for scarcity, rather than for plenty, his first step was to restrict or to prohibit trade. That successfully accomplished, the next step was to limit the production and to restrict the sale of commodities. This being in process of accomplishment, he now proposes to restrict work itself, by prescribing the years within which a man shall be permitted to earn his daily bread.

Bennett's Colossal Failures

To cloak his own colossal failures, Mr. Bennett resorts to an old political, but not very creditable device, namely, that of attributing, to policies of his opponents, the evil consequences which flow from his own. Mr. Bennett states that the Liberal policy of freer trade would mean "the wreckage of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reductions in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our natural products." These are the very results which have been produced, not by the freeing of trade, but by the strangling of trade, through Mr. Bennett's policies of extreme protection.

Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of

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the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example of Mr. Bennett's method of seeking to conceal his own shortcomings, by misrepresenting the attitude of his opponents, is the case of Canada's trade with Japan. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of the situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for.

As for a trade agreement with the United States, Mr. Bennett tells us that this is still a possibility. I shall content myself, therefore, with drawing attention to the fact that the long talked of negotiations have yielded thus far only a year old prospectus, an indication of the half-heartedness with which negotiations have thus far been pursued.

Obviously, it is not possible for me, in the half hour at my disposal, to take up, one after the other, the many subjects dealt with by Mr. Bennett in his radio addresses, which occupied in all, two hours and a half. I shall have to leave for the public meetings, which I am about to address, further consideration of such subjects as I have already dealt with in my previous broadcasts, and which include the all-important questions of unemployment; currency, credit and banking; the marketing of Canada's products; reciprocal agreements with the United States and other countries; as well as constitutional issues and international relations.

I wish, however, to say at once, that there is not the slightest ground for the contention that, if a Liberal government is returned to power, Canada's interests will in any way be prejudicially affected by its dealings with Japan, or, for that matter, with any other country.

What the Liberal Party Will Do

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of customs duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations, or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time, to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

Reduce Duties on Implements

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. If returned to office, a Liberal government will, along with other reductions, immediately and materially reduce duties on these articles which enter into the cost of production of our primary industries, more particularly on the implements and machinery of production.

Reduce Taxation on Necessaries of Life

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and that he has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. For one, in a family, who would

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be classed as a producer, there are usually several who are consumers. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled families to pay infinitely more for the necessaries of life, and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed, today, the family might well be described as the forgotten unit in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect immediate substantial reductions in the duties on the necessaries of life, and to exempt from the sales tax many articles of domestic consumption, thereby affording a direct measure of relief to every home and to every individual.

If our primary industries are to be developed as they should be, capital as well as labour must be attracted to them. To this end, confidence in the stability of government policies, as well as in administration, is essential. Ever since the present government assumed office, business has suffered from incessant intervention, discriminatory taxation and from the uncertainty and instability of our customs and other fiscal laws. Unpredictable customs rulings, and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations, have impeded, and made impossible, the recovery and expansion of Canada's trade, almost as much as the extravagant and unparalleled increase in duties. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, as imposed and administered by the present government. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration, and continuity in government policy.

Secure Larger Markets

While the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements may prove an arduous task, the Liberal party believes

that in this way much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated, since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than twenty-one trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated twenty-six agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated seven, and the Argentine five. While Canada's negotiations have been proceeding with the United States, that country, within a little over a year, has negotiated agreements with Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Cuba and Haiti. All these nations have gained an entrance and established a foothold in markets at our very door.

Stevens Remains a Tory

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by now talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. The reduction of duties on agricultural implements and textiles was, time and again, urged upon the government by myself and other Liberal members, when Mr. Stevens was Minister of Trade & Commerce, and, as often, refused or ignored by Mr. Bennett and himself. It will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens to cause the electorate to overlook the fact

that for four years, as Minister of Trade & Commerce, he was Mr. Bennett's right-hand man in the carrying out of policies of trade restriction and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles was raised to unprecedented heights.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, and Mr. Bennett would have you believe that he and Mr. Stevens have parted company, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in Kootenay East by a candidate of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary West by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. This does not look like an irreconcilable quarrel, much less like war to the death. There is a growing conviction that, whatever may be the feelings between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, the followers of both are only temporarily in different camps; that, once the elections are over, their forces will speedily coalesce.

Mr. Bennett, in introducing his latest batch of promises, has harped once more upon the solitary string that the Liberal party has no policies or proposals. The Liberal party, on the contrary, has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike those of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, they have not been especially concocted since the prorogation of parliament. They have been set forth, time and again, over a period of years, and enjoy the unanimous support of a party united from coast to coast. They have, moreover, been drafted, not simply for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government and of leading Canada out of the depression.

The Liberal Party Pledges Itself

The Liberal party is pledged to regard unemployment as Canada's most urgent problem; to deal with unemployment as a national problem, and through the agency of a representative national commission to cooperate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. It is pledged to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion into a general scheme of social insurance, including health insurance as well as old age pensions. It is pledged to policies which will liberate and expand our external trade upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation of internal trade, by ending artificial price control and price fixing, which restricts and hampers trade internally; to the development of primary industries, by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; to state assistance in the marketing of natural products; to the restoration of control by the state over currency and credit, through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; to the establishment of an investment control board; to the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and controlled utility; to the democratization of industry, through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; to the restoration of responsible government; to the re-assertion of personal liberty, and the right of free speech and free association; to measures of electoral reform; to effect, as quickly as may be possible, a balanced budget, retrenchment of public expen-

he affairs of Canada as himself. Referring to the bility of anyone else becoming the leader of the rnment of Canada, he says: "I would be more than nt, if I could believe that my successor might do r for you than I." However much this may appear flect upon myself, or other political leaders, it is cer- hard upon those who have been Mr. Bennett's col- es during the years he has been in office, and upon ho belong to the Conservative party.

Here, I may, perhaps be allowed to say to Mr. Ben- that, whatever my qualities for leadership may be, e never found it necessary, in order that my own nality might thereby be magnified, to deprive my gues of due credit for what has been accomplished ne administraton of which I have been the head. over, I have not found it necessary to change the of my party in the course of a political campaign.

Danger of One-Man Parties

t might be well for me to remind you of what I said nent ago of the danger which threatens all political ammes that lie too completely in the hands of an dual man.

Does not what Mr. Bennett has said make perfectly how completely, the carrying out of the measures w advocates depends, in Mr. Bennett's own mind, ly upon his remaining at the head of the Conserva- party, but upon the condition of his own health. guarantee is there, unfortunate as it would be, Mr. Bennett might not again, as he says, "let his down," and also "let you down". It is to guard st just such contingencies, in the administration ation's affairs, that government ought to be widely

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distributed among members of a ministry, one and all sharing a collective responsibility for every act. This is the essence of the British system of government. Can we, in the government of our country, afford to risk any contingency against which it is possible to provide, as we face the appalling issues with which, at any moment, Canada may be confronted?

The Liberal Party's Record

Fortunately, I am not obliged to place my own estimate upon the record of the government of which I have been the head. As to business capacity, as well as to all else, the record speaks for itself. When the late Liberal administration took office in 1921, Canada was in the slough of a great depression. Thousands were unemployed, trade was languishing, the railroads were in a desperate condition, the burden of taxation was greater than it had ever been, and the public debt was mounting to unprecedented heights. The country, it might truly be said, was heading for bankruptcy.

What was the story when we left office in 1930? Those years of Liberal administration constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, Canada's total trade reached the highest point in our history—(over two and a half billion dollars.) In seven out of nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Our country had gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade. The total of these favourable balances reached the colossal figure of one and

a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on moderate incomes, and exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished. There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production in the basic industries, motor vehicles, and on many of the necessities of life. Production was vastly increased, and the cost of living was materially lessened.

The Conservative Record

Now, what is the record of Mr. Bennett's administration? In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from the fifth to the eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses, and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased, and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent., and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Notwithstanding that armies of men are being employed on public works, out of funds furnished from the treasuries of the Dominion, the provinces, and municipalities, unemployment has increased from around one hundred thousand

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in 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the railways, have fallen by fifty per cent. With trade strangled and industry depressed, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissension and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

Perhaps, from this, it will be apparent that personal success in business is not always the surest guarantee of success in the administration of public affairs. Indeed, the mere suggestion that success in business is a guarantee of success in government, reveals a failure to appreciate the very qualities which count for most in the administration of public affairs. No one would think of suggesting that Sir John A. Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier owed their success in public life to their capacity to make money. Yet, their names will ever be remembered and honoured by their respective followings, and by the country.

The Art of Government

Ability and political capacity are one thing; the methods that make for success in business are only too often quite another and very different sort of thing. Methods that bring success in business too frequently bring disaster in government. Business is concerned with money. Government is concerned with men. Business is an occupation, an occupation which has for its objective the success of the individual. Government is an art. It is the art of effecting a maximum of co-operative effort in all that pertains to the state. It is the art of promoting unity and good-will in all human relations. Business is concerned primarily with present material gain. Government is concerned not less with

the future than with the present, and with human and spiritual values, much more than with material values. It cares nothing for the gain of special privilege; it cares everything for the common good.

Especially where social problems are concerned, there can be no greater mistake that to believe that the qualities and methods which make for success in business are necessarily the qualities and methods that make for success in government. A broad survey of the industrial field discloses only too plainly that many so-called business successes have been due to a ruthless disregard of humanitarian considerations. Indeed, the crux of the social problem lies in the relative importance we attach to human well-being as against material gain. Until we come to regard Industry as being in the nature of social service and see the necessity of dealing with its problems from the point of view of the sacredness of human life and personality, rather than from that of accumulation of wealth and material reward, there will be, and there should be, no cure for social and industrial unrest

The same, I believe, is true of international problems. Referring to myself, Mr. Bennett says: "Tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone, not blind and deaf to facts, that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been." This, no doubt, refers to the concluding words of my first broadcast, when I said: "Let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

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The Two-fold Aim of Liberalism

At last, the issue between Mr. Bennett and myself is clearly defined. To get more business by the hard trading way, the way that puts present material interests before all else, that, Mr. Bennett says, is the Conservative way. That may be Mr. Bennett's way; it may be, as Mr. Bennett says: "The Conservative way," but it is not my way; and, I am happy to say, it is not "the Liberal way."

Progress has been effected, not by individuals and nations working for themselves alone, and putting material interests before all else, but by a course the very opposite. Individuals and nations who have upheld the Liberal faith, have sought to gain for others, as well as for themselves, the ends desired, in the belief that no man liveth unto himself alone and, no nation liveth unto itself; that the good of all is, in the long run, the good of each; that we are all members one of another.

The individuals and the nations which discard Liberalism, pay by losing their liberty. When liberty goes, little else remains. Today the task of Liberalism is two-fold: it is to maintain what we have already gained of freedom in many spheres, and to gain for our fellowmen more in the way of economic freedom. That battle will not be won by individuals putting their own present and material interests before all else, or by Canada putting her present material interests before all else. In the realm of individual freedom, it will be won by each seeking to gain a larger liberty for others as well as for himself. In the international sphere it will be won by international co-operation and international good-will. To win this two-fold objective, is the aim of Liberalism in the present campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all "good-night."

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, Sept. 9/35

PEOPLE, NOT GOVERNMENT, TO DECIDE IF CANADA TO ENTER ANY WAR, WHEN LIBERALS IN POWER, SAYS MR. KING

Federal Leader, Citing Chanak Controversy When His Government Averted War In Near East, Arraigns Premier Bennett for Leaving Dominion Without A Parliament At Critical Moment In World Affairs— Vigorously Denounces Conservative Legislation Placing Full Powers On All Vital Questions Existing And Likely To Arise, In Hands Of One Man, The Premier —Contrasts Liberal Respect For Wishes Of The Canadian People With Dictatorial Laws Passed In Last Five Years—Charges National Credit and Currency And Legislation On Import And Export Trade Taken Out Of Hand Of Parliament And Entrusted To Governor-In-Council

Premier Taschereau, Hon E. Lapointe And Other Leaders Address Big Rally Here

Neither Prime Minister Bennett, nor anybody else, has the right to commit this country, directly or indirectly, by word or otherwise, to any action which would involve the people of the Dominion in another war, it was stated before over 5,000 citizens of Quebec gathered on the St. Roch's market place on Saturday night, by Rt. Hon. W. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, who said that no such important decision should be taken until a mandate had been obtained from the people and there was again a Parliament in this country.

And, if the Dominion were called upon in an emergency to pronounce itself on this matter, it would be advisable to take a plebiscite on the question, if necessary, he added.

NOTABLE SPEAKERS AT EVENT

Other speakers were Premier L. A. Taschereau, who presided: Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Hon. Lucien Cannon, Mrs. Pierre Casgrain, president of the Women's Liberal Association, Major C. G. Power, and Renault Miville Dechene, president of the Young Liberals' Association.

Canadians, if they elected the Liberals to office at the elections, would be assured that they would again have the good old British parliamentary system by which the people, through their duly elected representatives, would have a real voice in the running of their country's affairs, contrary to conditions which have prevailed in Canada for some time past, Mr. King stated.

LIBERALS AVERTED WAR

He recalled how, when he was Prime Minister in the late 20's, the Dominion had nearly become involved in a serious conflict, as a result of the Chanak incident, but that this trouble had been avoided by the prompt, energetic and sensible stand taken on the question by the Liberal party. While Australia and New Zealand had immediately answered London that they would be ready to participate in a war the then Government leaders of this Dominion had wired back for full particulars and had emphatically replied, in answer to the query, that they could give no answer without having consulted Parliament and, if necessary, having gone directly to the electorate to obtain their wish and opinion on the subject.

People Losing Rights

A serious note of warning as how the rights, liberty and freedo of the people and of their Parliame was gradually being taken away fro them in this country, was sounded by Mr. King who objected especially to the manner in which the Government had authorized itself to delve into the Federal treasury,

Laurier, and all other Canadian politicians up till now, he pointed out, when they wanted money, always specified the amount, what it was to be spent for and how it was to be spent but the Bennett Government, famous for its blank cheque methods, had now reached the stage where it delved into the Treasury and spent vast sums of public monies without Parliament knowing anything about the details.

Far-Reaching Legislation

Mr. King was particularly critical of the legislation enacted in the interests of peace, order and good government which, he protested, gave the Government, when Parliament was not in session, the power to pass, by order-in-council, any law it chose to classify under the almost all-inclusive classification of peace, order and good government.

The trend of the Conservative Government in Canada in the last few years, on the grounds of highly unusual conditions prevailing and emergency and radical measures being needed, has been to follow, step by step, the various stages which have marked a number of European countries and which, generally speaking, are resulting more and more in the rights of the people being taken away from them and in conditions akin to dictatorships coming about.

Legalizing Combines

Raking criticism of the Marketing Board Act was made by the speaker who described the law as "an act which gives groups of manufacturers the right to form combines or monopolies to control others" and which authorized the Government to interfere, at will, with the exports and imports of the country and its business in general.

Mr. King also attacked the economic war which the Conservative Government was trying to carry out and, after expressing himself against unreasonably high tariffs, he explained that it was necessary for Canada to buy something from another country if it expected the latter to buy from the Dominion.

Tariff Minimums Hindrance

Among the defective aspects of some of the tariffs made by the present Government was that they could not be lowered beyond a certain point without violating contracts entered into with other nations, he explained.

Questions of currency and credit are important to the masses of the

Marketing act

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population and such policies should be shaped according to their will, through their members at Ottawa, the speaker stated in alluding to the Central Bank.

Mr. Bennett had created this institution but had placed it beyond the control of Parliament altogether so that neither the people, or their representatives, had any say in the running of its affairs, he complained.

The Central Bank, he opined, offered a good example of the manner in which things were being removed from the control of the people and of Parliament and were being placed in the hands of a few privileged individuals who were given considerable power to be used at their own discretion and, naturally, very often more in their personal interests than in the national interests of Canada.

Dictatorship Exists

"We have got away from the old system of democracy and have changed to what can only be described as dictatorship," declared the speaker, who continued: — "Where, in Canada today, is the old system of British Parliamentary government when people's representatives are supreme."

Not only Mr. Bennett's various policies won't work, but the citizens of the Dominion are sick of them and do not want anything to do with them, pointed out Mr. King who recalled how the Conservatives had been badly beaten in every provincial and by-election held in Canada since 1930 and each of which constituted a slap in the face to the present unpopular administration.

"Prime Minister Bennett has been, and is, wholly indifferent to the rights of the people," said the speaker, who recalled that there were seven vacancies in the House of Commons when the last session started, which remained unfilled, and no fewer than seventeen vacancies in the Senate when the session ended. And, since then, a full 15 per cent of the members had accepted various political positions, he added.

Power Retention Attacked

The speaker severely criticized the Bennett Government for having insisted upon hanging onto power until the very last minute as a result of which Canada now has no parliament, or members, since dissolution and will not have until October 14th, and even much later as the various new members would not be sworn in until late in November.

All the power in Canada today is concentrated in the hands of the Prime Minister and a few of his colleagues despite the great European war, economic, financial and unemployment problems which face this and other countries at the present time, he ejaculated.

Geneva Delegation Weak

The Liberal leader also took the government to task for not having named a much better and stronger delegation to represent Canada at Geneva in view of the great importance of the matter under consideration. The three members of the delegation, while undoubtedly estimable people, had no Parliamentary or Legislature experience and no responsibilities in the matter, he said.

The reason why such a delegation had been picked was obvious, he opined, as it was evident that, here again, Mr. Bennett wanted to keep the whole situation in his own hands.

Friend of Working Class

Recalling the great interest he has always manifested in the working classes Mr. King reminded his hearers that, when he had first spoken in public in Quebec over thirty years ago, he was Deputy Minister of Labour. He also recalled that he was Minister of Labour under Laurier, 1908-1911, at the time when the Combines' Investigation Act was passed and remarked that the Conservatives, if they had been more sincere in their announced reforms some months ago, could have made far greater use of this law than they actually did.

Canada's labour problems would only be settled the day that representatives of labour, capital, management and government sat down at the same table, according to the speaker who expressed the opinion that, up to the present time, too much shaping of industry policy had been left to capital.

Most of the measures of Mr. Bennett's social legislation, many of which were hastily passed and at the last minute, were electoral laws which were not only useless and dangerous but unconstitutional, he pointed out.

Speech In French Applauded

Mr. King, who was given a long and tremendous ovation when he appeared before the large crowd, aroused considerable applause and much favorable comment when he spoke entirely in French for the first 5 minutes or so of his speech.

He thanked, in this section of his address, Premier L. A. Taschereau and the members of his Cabinet for their attendance at the meeting and for the way in which they were co-operating with the Federal Liberal Party in this province and, in passing, also paid high tribute to Hon. Ernest Lapointe for the great work he has always done in the interests of Liberalism.

Adhere To Laurier's Principles

Fraternal greetings were extended to youth in general and to the members of the Young Liberals' Association in particular, by Mr. King, who alluded to the great Liberal leader, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and recalled that the Liberals of today were adhering faithfully to the principles of Sir Wilfrid and, in conclusion, he asked his hearers to work with him so that the Canadians of today would realize the great dream of Laurier's life: — A happy, prosperous, peaceful and united Canada.

BENNETT REGIME DOOMED

"The Bennett Conservative Government has been dead since 1932 but it will be buried on October 14th., 1935," declared Hon. Ernest Lapointe, who made a raking criticism of the Conservatives for having hung on to power until the bitter end when it was obvious that the people had lost confidence in them and that they should have given up their mandate long before.

Qualifying the actions of the administration during the past five years as "Jazz Politics", Mr. Lapointe stated:—

"Judgment, common sense, consistency, stability, all this has been sadly lacking in government policies the last few years. The Government has never had a definite program. No dole, said Mr. Bennett, but the dole has been the main policy, joined with fighting with provinces and municipalities. The problem according to Mr. Bennett was a national problem. Now, he claims that it is a provincial and municipal question. A bonus of 5c a bushel was granted to the wheat growers, with the effect of increasing production. The following year, it was abolished and the Government preached the decrease of production. Mr. Bennett had said that no government led by him would fix a price for wheat. You know what the present policy is. We have had the same condition in all the spheres of government atcivities. Canada's politics under the Bennett government have been jazz politics."

No Economic War Justified

In connection with the war question Mr. Lapointe made the following important and official declaration:—

"Newspapers are requesting public men to define their stand on the grave conflict which actually threatens the peace of the world.

"I desire that my words on this subject be published as I utter them. I do not want to allow unscrupulous opponents to again falsely charge the liberals of this province with using the war as an election weapon. I now repudiate any such malicious representation. I shall even say that I sincerely believe that Mr. Bennett and the other political leaders do not differ with me as to the stand Canada should take.

"This being said, I state that in my opinion no interest in Ethiopia, of any nature, whatever, is worth the life of a single Canadian citizen. No consideration could justify Canada's participation in such a war, and I am unalterably opposed to it. How could I think otherwise, after the work which I have given consistently to promote the cause of peace. I have done it, notwithstanding the indifference and in spite of the sarcasms of many who now are expressing anxiety. The same appies to Mr. King who, last fall, on his return from a European trip, was the target of criticism and cheap jokes for having earnestly talked about peace at the annual meeting of the National Liberal Executive.

Should Support League

"The duty of the Canadian Government in the circumstances is to cooperate with the League of Nations to prevent or to stop such war. I still believe that common sense shall prevail and that the catastrophe shall be avoided.

"All I blame the Government for is to have delayed so long in permitting the country to elect a parliament which has its confidence and to have fixed such a long election period that for nearly three months, until the new members are proclaimed, there is in Canada no Parliament which can be called if a legislative consultation becomes necessary.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

D21106

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Bennett Promises Foredoomed

Bennett had failed to keep his 1930 promises but he didn't blame him as it would have been impossible for anybody to have kept such extravagant promises, according to the speaker who explained that it was the Canadian people who got crushed between the high tariff walls which Canada and other countries raised as a result of the illogical economic war being conducted by the Conservative administration.

Everybody was deserting the ship of state with the approach of the elections, as was evidenced by the disgraceful race for political positions, he pointed out and recalled that one half of the Cabinet had disappeared, over 20 members had taken political positions and most of the others were "lying low."

Scores Long-Term Contracts

Mr. Lapointe objected particularly to a number of long-term contracts, representing millions of dollars, which had been given out by the Government for electoral and political purposes, in the last dying days of its existence, and announced, that if a member of the next Government, he would scrutinize all these contracts carefully and would annul as many as possible. "A Government which has not the confidence of the people and which has overstayed its welcome has no right to act this way," he added.

"Tolerance and fair play are the true arms of reform," said the speaker in making a strong criticisms of Mr. Bennett's so called reform legislation.

Employment Insurance Joke

What was the use of establishing an eight-hour day and one day's rest a week for workmen when most of the workmen were idle and had no work?, he wanted to know and pointed out that the Government's unemployed insurance was but a joke when it was considered that it did not bring in any results for almost two years after a man was working when most workmen were without employment altogether.

Bennett could naturally not get along with either the provinces or municipalities because he has always antagonised and fought both since assuming office, according to the speaker who said that many of the laws passed by the Conservatives were unconstitutional and, therefore, useless.

Mr. Lapointe, in referring to a possible National Government, spoke as follows:—

Against National Gov't.

"Some individuals are clamouring for a national government. It is queer that every time a tory government is dying, we hear the same cry.

"Would the so called national government be formed to carry on the will of the people or antagonize it? We are being told that certain problems cannot be solved in the way desired by the promotors of national government because the majority of the people are opposed to such a solution. In other words, this national governmet would be formed to thwart the will of the Canadian people and to force on Canadians something which they do not want. I am opposed to it.

"The coming liberal government will be a true national government because it will represent all the classes and all the provinces," he declared in conclusion.

A Notable Alliance

The King-Lapointe alliance was compared to that of Baldwin-Lafontaine by Hon. Lucien Cannon who recalled that, when the Liberals were in power at Ottawa, Quebec had fair representation, with justice and its share of assistance, from the Federal Government, contrary to what had occurred during the past five years.

The Liberals, when at Ottawa, saw to the general interests of the Dominion and of the various provinces but the Conservatives were only interested in certain provinces according to the speaker who described Mr. King as a real Liberal, at all times and everywhere.

The Conservative who had succeeded him as Solicitor General, while undoubtedly an estimable gentleman personally, the speaker pointed out reminded one of a child which dressed up in its father's clothes on Mardi Gras to give people the impression of being somebody he really was not.

Canada's parliamentary system was almost gone and it was the right and the duty of the Liberals of Quebec, like those in the rest of the Dominion, to vote their party into office at the elections so that the people of Canada will regain their rights, liberty and freedom which was taken from them.

Party Unity Complete

"I wish to state here tonight that perfect and most compete union exists in the Province of Quebec between the Federal and Provincial Liberal parties," declared Premier L. A. Taschereau who, besides acting as chairman and introducing the various orators of the evening, also spoke briefly.

Canada is at one of the most difficult periods of her history when the goodwill of the electorate is most needed, according to the speaker who said that the Dominion needed to have its best men presiding over the destinies of the country and that these very men were to be found at the head of the Libera party today.

Coöperation Assured

Unemployment, agricultural credit and old age pensions were the three main problems confronting the country today, Mr. Taschereau pointed out and he announced, amidst cheers, that the Quebec government would co-operate fully with the King Liberal Government, which would be elected to office in Ottawa within the next few weeks, in an early and satisfactory settlement of these urgent questions.

He extended a cordial welcome to Messrs. King, Lapointe and Cannon, on behalf of the provincial Liberals, and then introduced the first speaker Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Liberal Women's Part

All the political questions of the day are of considerable interest to women who are frequently as vitally concerned in their outcome as are the men, exclaimed Mrs. Pierre Casgrain, president of the Women's Liberal Association of Quebec, who urged the women of this province to be interested and know something of politics and public affairs.

What woman, for instance, was not inte[illegible] in unemployment or possible war when her husband comes home discouraged at night after looking usel[illegible] for work all day long and her sons may be taken from her and led to their deaths on bloody battlefields?, she wanted to know.

Mr. Bennett's promises had proven to be no good and his present extravagant statements could be compared to goods at women's sales which, offered at special prices of $0.98 would cost the purchaser well over $1.00 in the long run, she continued.

Scores Taxation Increase

Mrs. Casgrain also alluded to the greatly increased taxation under the Conservative regime, and particularly the sugar, cosmetics and soap taxes, and, after showing that women not only should vote but should know how to vote, concluded by appealing to the men to cast their Liberal votes early on election day and return home to mind the children so that their wives could do likewise.

While he, like other Liberals, did not see why Canada should become engaged in any war in which she was not interested and did not intend to have anything to do with sending young Canadians to another disastrous conflict, he was glad to see that Canada's Liberal army was now on the move and would shortly win a sweeping victory over the enemy at the forthcoming elections, stated Major C. G. Power, M. C., M.P., Chief Liberal Organizer for Quebec.

Liberal Programme Presented

He referred to the union between the Federal and Provincial Liberals and reminded the crowd that they had heard exposed the Liberals' viewpoint, from the party's Federal and Provincial leaders, the chief lieutenants, the feminine and youth sections and that they now knew the compete Liberal programme.

Major Power, after thanking all those who had participated in the vast meeting and assured it of its success in any way, concluded by urging his hearers to cast their votes for Mr. King and his followers on October 14th, next, so as to bring about a sweeping Liberal victory at the polls for the good of Canada and the Canadian people.

Liberal Youth Ready

The Liberal youth of Canada was willing and ready to play its important role in the national life of the Dominion, particularly in the political and public affairs' domains, under the able leadership of the older Liberal chieftains was th message brought by Renaud Mi vile Dechene, president of the Association of Liberal Youth of the Province of Quebec.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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Mr. Dechene, after offering the co-operation and support of the young Liberals to the party in the coming campaign, concluded by urging the youth of the country to do their duty and cast their votes so as to assure that Mr. King and the Liberals would form the next Government at Ottawa.

The largely attended meeting broke up shortly after half past eleven.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D 21107

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Quebec Chronicle Telegraph Sept 9/35

Youths' Interest In Public Affairs Is Welcomed By Rt. Hon. Mr. King

Warns Against New, Inexperienced Party Schemes In Canada

Division Harmful

That the contribution of youth to the political life of Canada was not only welcome but wanted by the older politicians and public men of the Dominion and that it was absolutely necessary to the whole population that youth play its important role in the country's national life, more so today than ever in the past, was the message brought by Rt. Hon. W. Lyon Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, who was the main speaker at the lunch, held at the Chateau Frontenac on Saturday afternoon, by the Association of Liberal Youth of the Province of Quebec.

An appeal to his hearers to adhere to and support the Dominion's old, experienced and tried political parties, was also made by the speaker who issued a warning against the propagandists who were campaigning to scrap everything of the past in a general upheaval and to inaugurate radical and untried systems. These people used the war cry that "conditions absolutely different and which never existed before, prevail in Canada today and must be met by entirely new methods which our present leaders are too old-fashioned to use," he pointed out in deploring the growing prevalence of people to always try to belittle the old and tried political parties of the Dominion.

Has Distinctive Record

"Youth today is not only the hope but the strength of the country," declared Mr. King who, after stressing the great importance of choosing youth when picking a leader for an important position, recalled that he was only thirty-three years of age when he became a Minister in the Laurier Government.

"Premier Taschereau and I, taking in all political parties in all the provinces, and in the Dominion, share the record of having been the longest at the head of our parties in Canada today," he stated and also reminded his hearers that, of the 1919 leaders of political parties in the British Empire, only Hertzog of Africa and himself remained today. He paid, in passing, high tribute to Premier Taschereau for the latter's great qualities of leadership, wise administration and extensive and continued popularity.

"The Liberal Party looks with a kindly eye upon the solutions which youth can bring to our social, industrial and other problems," said Canada's former Prime Minister, who expressed the opinion that it was the youth of Canada who would have the heavy responsibilities of government on their shoulders for a genertion or so to come.

His long record and success in public life he attributed to the fact "that I have always been surrounded, in public life, by the best and ablest men in Canada, and have always had the benefit of their advice and support."

Collective Wisdom Best

"To be guided by collective wisdom is far better than by one's own judgment," according to the speaker, who said that the tendency of recent years to try to seek one strong man who knew everything and who could do everything all by himself, only meant that people were rapidly approaching dictatorship conditions in the Dominion.

Alluding to the Canadian political situation and referring briefly to the Social Credit, C. C. F. and Reconstruction parties, Hon. Mr. King said he had little confidence in them because they were new, inexperienced and untried. Not a single member of the Social Credit Cabinet had ever sat in office at either Ottawa or Edmonton and, consequently, really knew nothing of political and public life, he pointed out and, as far as the Reconstruction party was concerned, it should be sufficient to recall that Canada had witnessed the unheard of and astonishing spectacle of a political leader choosing himself and his own platform before the party even came into being.

"The only way I know of for a politician to enter public life is to start in young and learn from his elders the problems of government as I did," declared Mr. King, who said that a real political party was like great rivers, like the St. Lawrence, in that they deepened their channels and widened the distance between their banks as they acquired experience and strength along their way.

Old Parties Served Well

Canada's traditional parties, through which citizens of this Dominion had acquired national freedom, personal freedom, intellectual freedom, religious freedom, constitutional freedom, political freedom and economic freedom, had served well in the past and would continue to serve well in the future, he opined, and he made an eloquent and energetic plea for everybody to support the Liberal party at the forthcoming elections, because it was the only experienced, tried, worthwhile and logical party in the Dominion today.

Mr. King, who spoke entirely in English, was given a tremendous ovation both before and after his address.

Party Unity Stressed

"If we stand united we will not lose three seats in Quebec," declared Hon. Ernest Lapointe, who appealed to all members of the party to set aside their personal ideas and prejudices and support wholeheartedly the official candidates selected by the party conventions.

Division could harm the Liberals a great deal and affect the results, he warned, and stated that an abundance of candidates was always a trouble.

A vote cast for a dissenting Liberal was really a vote for Mr. Bennett as it was just as effective for him as if it had been cast for the Conservative candidate directly, according to Mr. Lapointe, who, not scheduled to speak at the lunch, was forced to do so by the delegates who clamored for him to address them.

"It is not only the right but the duty of youth to get interested in, and into public affairs, today," he declared, and ended by congratulating Messrs. King and Taschereau upon their fine reception, and the delegates upon their splendid convention.

"The Liberal party, which needs youth, asks you for your ideals and your ideas, and welcomes them, but we ask you to preach them as loyal soldiers in the Liberal army and not as revolutionaries outside its ranks," stated Premier L. A. Taschereau, in the course of a short speech.

Province's Tribute

"I am pleased to submit the homage and admiration of the Liberals of the province of Quebec to Mr. King and to the Federal Liberal party," said Hon. Mr. Taschereau, who continued: "I am but a humble soldier in the Liberal army, serving under under our great leader, Mr. King, and working fully with his Chief Lieutenant, Mr. Lapointe, upon whose shoulders Laurier's mantle fell, and who has worn it so well ever since."

"We do not excommunicate anybody from the Liberal party which welcomes into its fold anyone of goodwill, but we want co-operation and not revolt," he added. "The way to co-operate and collaborate with the Liberal party is to work with us and not to walk with the Conservatives," he continued.

"My idea of Liberalism is that a Liberal should think Liberal, act Liberal and be Liberal, and have nothing to do with the Conservatives," declared Premier Taschereau, who, in conclusion, stated: "I ask you for the confidence of youth."

Wind Up Successful Event

Nine members of the Association, from all parts of the province, then delivered short speeches before the luncheon was finally brought to an end shortly after three thirty o'clock.

They were Gaston Lacroix, Montreal; Paul Roy, Quebec; Hormidas Gariepy, Three Rivers; Yves Leduc, Montreal; Samuel Gregoire, Quebec; Sylvio Charest, Buckingham; John Dagart, Richmond; Dr. Rolland Bergeron, Matane, and Leonce Levesque, Roberval.

President Edouard Rinfret, of Montreal, who was in the chair, also spoke briefly and introduced all of the various orators at the lunch.

Among those at the head table on Saturday were, besides Mr. Rinfret and Rt. Hon. Mr. King, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Hon. Lucien Cannon, Premier L. A. Taschereau, Hon. Messrs. J. E. Perrault, Honore Mercier, R. F. Stockwell and Adelard Godbout, members of the Provincial Cabinet, C. G. Power, chief local Liberal organizer, and his assistants, Lt.-Col. Oscar Gilbert, James Valentine, and J. A. Lesage, a number of Federal and Provincial members, the nine young speakers, prominent local Liberals and others.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21108

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Charlottetown Guardian, Sept. 5/35

Liberal Leader's Speech Largely A Repetition Of Earlier Campaign Remarks

Questions Of Provincial Interest Relating To The Record Of The Bennett Administration Ignored By Mr. Mackenzie King In Addressing Charlottetown Audience Last Evening.

Steering a wide course clear of the subject of the Duncan Commission recommendations, which five years ago, on the occasion of his last Maritime campaign tour, he declared had been fully implemented "in letter and in spirit," Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, federal Liberal leader, last night pleaded eloquently for the return of his party to power on the promise, chiefly, of reducing gradually the tariff duties to the rates prevailing under his administration in pre-depression years.

Seated behind Mr. Mackenzie King on the platform was the Hon. Dr. Cyrus J. Macmillan, former Liberal candidate, Minister of Fisheries in Mr. King's cabinet, and member of the Duncan Commission of 1926. It was on the basis of the Duncan Commission report that this Province, through presentation by the late MacMillan Government, received from the Bennett administration at Ottawa a subsidy increase of $150,000 per year for all time to come. No reference to this achievement, or to the work of his former colleague in any capacity, was made by the Liberal leader.

A Broad Hint

He did, however, emphasize that when candidates are nominated at a Liberal convention "there is only one thing to do," namely, to support them. This was interpreted as a broad hint that Mr. King was not concerned with the dissatisfaction allegedly prevailing in Liberal ranks regarding the Queen's County nominations.

Mr. King spoke at the Forum, where seats had been provided to accommodate a much larger audience than was present. The result was a disconcerting array of empty benches immediately fronting the speaker.

Mr. Russel Chandler, president of the Queens County Liberal Association, presided. Brief remarks were made by the federal candidates, Messrs. A. E. MacLean, M.P., Peter Sinclair, Dr. T. V. Grant, J. J. Larabee, and by Premier Lea.

Among those on the platform were also the members and supporters of the Provincial Government, Senator Sinclair, Senator McArthur, Dr. I. J. Yeo, Messrs. E. T. Higgs, Nelson Rattenbury, W. F. Tidmarsh, Harry Tidmarsh, Geo. J. Tweedy, D. J. Riley, and others, including a number of ladies.

MR. KING'S ADDRESS

(Canadian Press)

CHARLOTTETOWN, Sept. 5. — Restoration of confidence in Canada on the part of Canadians is the great need of the present, Liberal leader Mackenzie King told a gathering here tonight. For this reason, he hoped whatever party won the election would have a solid and substantial majority and would be able to provide strong leadership and stable administration.

The Liberal party was in the best position of all to provide stable government, because eight of the nine provinces were under Liberal rule and because the party was united. Co-operation between federal and provincial governments would be easy with a Liberal government at Ottawa. The same policies would be applied in both spheres.

Capitalism was being attacked in Canada, said Mr. King, but capital was necessary even in a communistic state. But it would not be easy to get capital for Canadian industries under an unstable government and while political leaders were going about attacking all capital. Under such conditions there could be no confidence.

The Liberal party believed in assisting Canada's basic industries by reducing tariffs as implements of production, said Mr. King. It had pursued this policy when in office and would do so again. It would reduce the cost of production for the farmer, the miner, the lumberman and the fisherman. This would enable them to produce more and to obtain wider markets.

The Liberal leader recalled that in 1919 when he became leader of the Liberal party, he had been invited to the constituency of Prince.

Premier Lea, recently elected with a 100 per cent Liberal legislature introduced Mr. King and was congratulated by the federal leader who appealed for equally strong Liberal representation at Ottawa.

As usual under Conservative rule the present election found a variety of new parties contending for power, said Mr. King. Conservative administrations always led to depression through the application of faulty trade policies. Depression led to resentment and the creation of new parties was merely a form of popular protest. When Liberal governments came into office, however, the causes of depression were removed and the new parties disappeared.

The creation of the C.C.F. was due to a protest against hard times under Conservative rule and the Reconstruction party was a personal protest by Hon. H. H. Stevens against his own party. Mr. Stevens said the reason he left the Conservative party was because he was asked to apologize and because he was shut out of the caucus.

"Mr. Stevens may have felt very bitter against Mr. Bennett," said Mr. King. "But what wrong had his other colleagues done him and what about the whole Conservative party which made Mr. Stevens all that he was. There is such a thing as gratitude but it is NOT for me to settle the quarrels of Conservatives."

It should be remembered, said Mr. King, that in 1930 Mr. Stevens was a defeated candidate. He had NO seat in parliament. Mr. Bennett had come to his assistance and asked one of the British Columbia members to give his seat to Mr. Stevens. He, personally, had helped by asking the Liberal organization not to oppose Mr. Stevens because he believed Mr. Bennett should have the men he wanted in his cabinet. Had it not been for these things Mr. Stevens would not have been minister of trade and commerce and would not even have sat in the last parliament.

10

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21109

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

"Don't imagine a party that owes its origin to a division of that kind is going to succeed in solving the problems of Canada," said Mr. King.

The social credit system should be tested in Alberta before being tried elsewhere, said Mr. King. It would not be wise to experiment in both that province and in the Dominion as a whole at the same time. If it succeeded in Alberta it would soon make its way in the rest of the country.

"I am all for letting it have the best chance possible in Alberta," he said.

Protection had been heralded as necessary to maintain wages and provide employment but the facts proved the opposite. The high protection established by the Bennett Government had brought wages to the lowest level in history and caused increasing unemployment. Protection created monopoly and high profits for the owners of capital but nothing for the working men.

Assumes Heroic Role

100 years ago in Ontario his, Mr. Mackenzie King's grandfather, fought against autocratic government; and wondered if today history was not repeating itself. He pictured himself as leading in the age-old fight of democracy against dictatorship —"dictatorship" in this instance being the authority granted by Parliament to Premier Bennett to take any action by order-in-council for the peace, order and good government of the country. This he denounced as "blank cheque legislation which no British Government had ever asked its Parliament to adopt in a period preceding a general election."

Dictatorship, he predicted, would be "focused up" if Canada gets a National Government.

In this little Island, the Cradle of Confederation, he hoped four Liberal representatives would be elected, "each determined not only to stand four square for your liberty, but to maintain it as well."

OPENING SPEECHES

Mr. A. E. MacLean, M. P., the first speaker, predicted "a triumphant victory" for Mr. Mackenzie King in the coming election. The Conservative policies, he charged had "set the country back a full decade" in its trade development. Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens were "high-pressure salesmen" in whose promises, he thought, the people would not again put confidence.

Mr. Peter Sinclair, Liberal candidate for Queens, said the people of Prince Edward Island would have a friend in Mr. King who he predicted would be Canada's next Premier.

"During Mr. King's regime we had $740,000 spent on public works in this Province, while under Mr. Bennett," the speaker claimed, "we only received from $113,000 to $140,000." At the same time, he maintained, taxes had been raised under the Conservatives.

Dr. T. V. Grant, Liberal candidate for King's County, lauded Mr. Mackenzie King's ancestry and qualifications as a statesman. No other policies but Liberal policies can save Canada today, he maintained.

Mr. J. J. Larabee, Liberal candidate for Queen's, added his appeal to the electors to "stand by" the Liberal party under Mr. King's leadership, who had given to Canada "an era of prosperity that has never been equalled." The depression of the past five years he attributed to "high tariffs, high taxes, broken promises and—Tory policies."

Premier

Premier the Hon. W. M. Lea, the next speaker, expressed regret that owing to inclement weather and the radio broadcasts the audience was not as large as it would otherwise have been. The small minority of Conservatives left in this Province, he said, had been "chastened in spirit." He ridiculed the idea that Mr. King's political chances were unpromising in the Western Provinces. The farmers in the last eection had been stampeded into voting against their own interests but this time, he predicted, they would give Mr. King almost as sweeping a victory as the Provincial Liberal candidates received in this Province.

Mr. King arrived at 7.10 p.m. in a special car attached to the evening train from Borden. At the station he was met by members of the Lea government and other leading Liberals.

From the station he was escorted to the Forum by a procession of automobiles headed by a brass band.

Travelling with Mr. King in another special car are representatives of the press, including P. J. Flaherty, staff reporter for the Canadian Press; Robert Lippsett, correspondent of the Toronto Star; and John MacCormack, resident correspondent in Ottawa for the New York Times.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE D21110

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Halifax Chronicle, Sept 5/35

KING PLEDGES STAUNCH FIGHT FOR PROSPERITY

Cheering Crowd Of 6,000 Hear Liberal Leader

Staunch and Experienced Liberalism Will Raise Banner of Economic Liberty in Canada Says Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King — Will Open Wide Channels of Commerce for Nova Scotia He Says

By KINGSLEY BROWN

A more prosperous Nova Scotia within the bosom of a happier Canada was pictured by Liberal Leader Mackenzie King last night when he addressed a cheering crowd of 6,000 gathered in the Halifax Arena.

GREATER FREEDOM OF TRADE

Staunch and experienced Liberalism, he said, would raise the banner of economic liberty in Canada, would fight for a greater freedom of trade and if elected to power would open wide those channels of commerce which mean so much to Maritime Nova Scotia.

DOWNWARD REVISION

The strangling high-tariff policies of the Bennett Government, said Mr. King, would under a Liberal regime give way to a gradual downward revision of tariffs by which, while no legitimate industry would be injured, the volume of the nation's trade would once again increase.

"No one knows better than those of you who live here in an Atlantic port that the high-tariff policies of Mr. Bennett have failed," said Mr. King. Only a generous exchange of the world's goods can bring to this Province and its ports the prosperity which they deserve.

WOULD BREAK SHACKLES

The Liberal leader, youthful in appearance and vigorous in his style, was supported on the platform by Premier Angus L. Macdonald of Nova Scotia, who little more than two years ago swept another Arena audience into the same heights of enthusiasm as greeted the federal chieftain last night. Liberalism in the past, said Premier Macdonald, had fought and won political liberty; it was now fighting for economic liberty, fighting the shackles of trade and the privileges of great interests.

Mr. King heard too, messages of support and loyalty from the two Liberal candidates in the constituency of Halifax City and County, Robert E. Finn, K. C., and Gordon B. Isnor, M. L. A. By both he was assured of loyal co-operation in the task of rehabilitating Canada if elected to form a government on October 14.

INTRODUCES MR. KING

The Liberal leader was introduced to the Arena audience and the many thousands of radio listeners by M. B. Archibald, president of the Nova Scotia Liberal association. The meeting, he said, marked the opening, in Nova Scotia, of a campaign which had already been too long deferred. He paid tribute to the loyal work of the many men and women in Nova Scotia who were working so hard to ensure a sweeping victory for Liberalism on October 14.

Gordon B. Isnor, M.L.A., and one of the Liberal candidates in Halifax county was the first speaker called. The occasion recalled for him, he said, a similarly enthusiastic meeting in August of 1933. If the same results followed the same measure of enthusiasm then, he said, there could be no doubting the outcome of the present election.

PRAISES MR. FINN

Mr. Isnor spoke in glowing terms of his colleague and fellow-candidate in Halifax county, Robert E. Finn, K.C. As a sidelight Mr. Isnor told the story of how Mr. Finn had once fought for a change in the street railway system in Halifax, demanding and meeting with success in his demand that tramcars be equipped with vestibules for the protection of tram operators. In many similar ways,—not always in big things—Mr. Finn had fought for social and industrial improvement, said Mr. Isnor.

"I would like to have touched on the unemployment situation had I the time," Mr. Isnor said "In 1930 there were 17,000 unemployed in Canada. Four years later that number had increased to 450,000." This, said the speaker, was a result of the "Bennett-Stevens combination at Ottawa."

"WE WON'T FORGET"

"We won't forget!" roared a section of the crowd when Mr. Isnor reminded them that they should mark an 'X' opposite the names of the Liberal candidates when they cast their votes on election day.

R. E. Finn, K. C., Mr. Isnor's able running-mate, followed the Halifax North speaker to the platform. Mr. King's well-developed sense of social and economic justice, he said was the result of his studious application to the Canadian problems of the day, and his sympathetic understanding of the feeling of the mass of the Canadian people

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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In sending Mr. Isnor to Ottawa, he said, the voters of Halifax were sending a business man. "With his practical busines sense and my political experience we will make a team well able to represent this great constituency and will be able to support the principles laid down under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King."

Mr Finn asked his audience how it was that Mr. Stevens could continue four years under Mr. Bennett's leadership and then forsake him, unless there were some sort of understanding between them.

PREDICTS PROSPERITY

"Give Mr. King a chance to bring us prosperity, give him a chance to work with the Liberal premiers in the provinces, and we shall have again an era of prosperity such as that which we enjoyed under the premiership of that great Liberal, Sir Wilfred Laurier.

Prtmier Angus L. Macdonald of Nova Scotia expressed his delight and pleasure at welcoming to Halifax "the foremost of Canadian Libals, one of the foremost Liberals of the world, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

"It is sometimes well for us to remember the past. It is well to remember, in these days of new parties and strange political theories the great part that Liberalism has played in the past in the struggle for responsible government, for political liberty, and against privilege and dictatorship in any form."

FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

Today, said Premier Macdonald, Liberalism is called upon to wage a fight for "economic justice."

"It is a fight for reform, but not the kind of reform cooked up in the last few days of an election campaign to win votes!"

Reviewing the history of Liberalism in Canada, Premier Macdonald said that Mr. King was a fitting successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. "I am glad to be able to stand here tonight and express my support of Mr. King." He was supporting Mr. King, he said, because of his personal record, because of his program of social reform, and because of the principles upon which he was conducting his battle for Liberalism.

"NEXT PRIME MINISTER."

Mr. Mackenzie King was then introduced to the audience as the "next prime minister of Canada!"

Mr. King opened by relating something of his recollection of great political struggles in Canada in which he had taken part. All of these great struggles had come to the mind while sitting on the platform, and he had noticed in the audience, he said, an interest and an enthusiasm which he could not recall having ever watched before.

There was a reason for this, he said. "Perhaps there is not one of you here tonight who has not in the past five years, experienced some privation, some suffering, or some difficulty in making a living."

This thought, he said, provided an inspiration for a Liberal Leader, for one who during the past five years of the Bennett regime had witnessed the most reactionary government that Canada had ever known.

COLLECTIVE WISDOM

"There you have a picture of a political party, "said Mr. King, in speaking of the Liberal candidates on the platform, the members of the Nova Scotian Legislature, and the men and women workers he had met. "That is why you are asked to support this political party. It has not been called into being at the last moment since prorogation. It is an organization that will help to have problems solved,—not by the genius of any one individual, but by the collective wisdom of this great group of men and women."

During the past few weeks, said the Liberal Leader, he had spoken to, and had received assurances of support from, the Liberal premiers of other provinces in Canada. He paid high tribute to the "brain and heart" of Premier Angus L. Macdonald, whom he described as one of the foremost Liberal leaders in Canada.

"ONE OF THE BEST"

"He's one of the best!" shouted a voice in the crowd.

"So far as the people of Canada are concerned, they have spoken unmistakably of their desire to have principles of Liberalism prevail. In the various provincial elections, he said, not only local issues, but federal issues of the greatest importance were discussed.

"Today we have in every province but one Liberal governments. What a prospect to know that one can depend upon such co-operation in meeting the problems of the day!"

"If I had not had in the past so great an experience, if I had not had the privilege of sitting at the council chamber with Laurier, if I had not the assurance that I would have the support of Liberal leaders in the provinces, a support upon which I can count, then I should hesitate to ask for the confidence of the Canadian people as I do now! But when I see all this co-operative effort coming forth, when I see this great company all dedicated to the job of bettering conditions of their fellow men, then I have confidence that we have the united strength, the ability and the numbers to serve you better than any administration you could have!"

"PERSONAL FRIENDS"

"I believe that those who have been selected as Liberal candidates in the various constituencies are men, who, if elected to Ottawa, will prove to be men that I can trust, come what weather there may. They are all men whom already I count among my personal friends. They are men who have the backing that Liberal policies deserve, and I have no doubt but what they will be returned, one and all, when the country goes to the polls on October 14."

Mr. King told his audience that he was not going to make any "specific promises of breakwaters, bridges, roads, public buildings or wharves."

The promises of Liberalism, he said, had been presented in a little pamphlet issued in February of 1933 —"just about half-way between the time Mr. Bennett came in and the time he is going to go out."

"That program was not drawn up on the eve of an election. It was not designed to catch votes. It was not prepared to apply to any particular province."

Unlike the Bennett party—and the Stevens party—the Liberal platform was not based on "promises made but never kept.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Liberal leader warned his audience of the propaganda in favor of "National Government." "Already the advance guard of the National Government group are abroad. But what do they promise? Will they guarantee the integrity of the Canadian National Railways?"

There are those who think that "trade is in the nature of exchange." That is the Liberal view. There are others, he said, who believe that "trade is in the nature of war," who believe that one nation cannot benefit by trade except to the detriment of some other nation or nations. This view is the typical Conservative one, that "trade is in the nature of war."

Mr. Bennett, however, had come into office on a promise to find markets and end unemployment. "I want to say this: I am not attacking Mr. Bennett personally, nor any member of his government; but I do believe that Mr. Bennett thought that by an application of high tariff policies he could provide a protected market at home and thus give employment to Canadians."

TARIFF POLICIES FAIL

"Unfortunately, Mr. Bennett did not know enough about economics, he did not know enough about social problems. The past five years have demonstrated to us all to what an extent his high tariff policies have failed," said Mr. King.

Mr King spoke of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1932. Mr. Baldwin, representing the British delegation, had very plainly posed this issue of trade. "There were two methods: one by lowering the tariffs within the empire; the other by increasing the tariff against countries outside the empire."

This had been Baldwin's statement, and Mr. Baldwin had favored an empire trade scheme based on the first plan. He would have had the tariffs within the empire lowered, but would not have had the tariffs against other nations raised.

"To this view Mr. Bennett was diametrically opposed," said Mr. King. "He dominated the conference, which was rather bad taste, considering that he was playing the host to the British delegation. But Mr. Bennett had his way, and the tariffs were raised against other nations outside the empire."

In this manner foreign nations had been discriminated against, and in return they had retaliated with increased tariffs.

FIGHT FOR CHANGE

Since that time the Liberal Party in both Houses at Ottawa, had fought for a change in this policy of trade. Support for this policy had been a deciding factor not only in the by-elections held in the past few years, but also in some measure in the various provincial elections.

It was not necessary for him, said the Liberal leader, to tell his audience, as Mr. Bennett had told them in 1930, that "unemployment is our first consideration."

"And it is not necessary for me to give figures to show how unemployment has grown since 1930. It has been an experience in which, to some degree, you all have shared."

The Liberal party's approach to the problem of unemployment, he declared, was through its policy of trade.

"Our purchasing power lies in our trade. There is no place where that may be seen so plainly as here in this Atlantic port. Trade has been strangled by the high tariff policies of the Bennett government. Shipping has dwindled, too, and gradually trade and industry becomes stagnant."

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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The Liberal Party will apply two policies to the problem of unemployment. In the first place, unemployment must be considered as a national problem. It must be considered in the light of the national welfare as a whole. It must not be considered from a provincial or municipal standpoint. Bennett's "blank cheque," said Mr. King, hand bankrupted many municipalities.

The unemployment problem, said the Liberal leader, should occupy the attention of "a great national committee, — representing trade, industry, social service, government, and religious groups.

PURELY ADVISORY

The committee which he envisioned, said the Liberal leader, would be responsible to Parliament. He did not want to give the impression that it would be like so many of the groups created by the Bennett administration, which were beyond the powers of the Parliament. The committee would act in an advisory capacity only, devoting all its ability and energy to the task of dealing with the great problem of unemployment.

"But it is not solving the problem of unemployment to keep on dipping into the treasury. We must find some permanent cure. We must realize that unemployment is the result of wrong trade policies and must apply ourselves to the task of creating new policies which will remove the barriers to trade, which will establish trade with all countries that wish to trade with us on a reciprocal basis, which will open the channels of transportation and once again set the wheels of industry turning."

TO CONTINUE SAFEGUARDS

In its policy of tariff revision, said Mr. King, it was not the policy of the Liberal party to make of Canada any sort of international dumping ground. The same principles of safeguarding Canadian industry which had been applied by Fielding and Dunning in previous Liberal administrations would continue to guide the Liberal party if elected to office at the next election.

"All that was done by former Liberal administrations for the good of our industries will be preserved, not destroyed. All due care would be exercised in the process of changing the country's trade policy and there would be no precipitate action which might in any way injure a legitimate Canadian industry. But what the Bennett government had done, through its high tariffs, to strangle industry, would promptly be undone, Mr. King said.

"I believe that what Canada needs more than anything else," said Mr. King, "is the sympathetic physician's touch. It is from the lack of such consideration that Canada has been suffering."

RECIPROCITY

A storm of cheers met Mr. King's announcement that a Liberal government was prepared to enter into a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. When the Reciprocity plan had been defeated in 1911, he said, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had remarked that another chance for such a measure might not come for many years.

"And it did not come for many years," said the Liberal leader. "It did not come again until only a few years ago, when President Roosevelt came into office in the United States. At that time Roosevelt expressed his readiness to negotiate trade treaties on a reciprocal basis with all those countries who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity. But how is it that Canada, in the face of this willingness to negotiate on the part of Washington, failed to make any agreement?"

The answer rested primarily, thought Mr King, in the manner in which Mr. Bennett had tied his own hands by the Empire agreements made at the Ottawa Conference in 1932. He had agreed that against countries outside the empire he would not reduce tariffs below a certain point: he had pegged the tariff. In this way he had "bound and shackled his country. The 1932 agreements have stood in the way of any reciprocal agreement with the United States."

"We have on the platform this evening my friend Mr. Duff, who not only on behalf of his own constituency and province but in the interests of the whole of Canada has taken a very keen interest in this matter of reciprocity with the United States," said Mr. King. He went on to read the resolution, urging reciprocity, which Mr. Duff had moved in the House of Commons two sessions ago. This resolution had been amended by Mr. Bennett in such a manner as to leave the impression that the Bennett government was already considering the matter and had already been in negotiation with Washington.

"That was in 1933. Two years have passed. In that time Sweden has negotiated an agreement with the United States. Belgium has negotiated an agreement, and Cuba along with several other countries. But Canada has made no move. Can we assume, in face of this, that Mr. Bennett was really in earnest in 1933 when he said that he was negotiating an agreement at that time? Or was he planning to wait until immediately before an election before announcing a measure which he had postponed in his own interests and to the sacrifice of his country in the hour of her need?"

The presidential election in the United States next year might conceivably place new difficulties in the way of a trade agreement at the present time, said Mr. King. Any failure to reach a reciprocal treaty now, after the many opportunities afforded by Washington, must be held against Mr. Bennett. The Liberal party, he said, was pledged if elected to form a government, to enter into immediate negotiations with Washington to the end that a treaty advantageous to the people of both nations might be effected as early as possible.

The Liberal leader then switched to the topic of Canada's foreign policy.

PEACE OR WAR

"At Geneva today," he said, "the League of Nations Council is sitting on one of the most momentous issues in its history. All of us are most anxious to see the morning papers and find out what transpired today at Geneva, for it may be that upon the outcome of that meeting hangs the great issue of Peace or War.

"It may be that within the next two weeks we shall see the beginning of a war between two nations, a war which may very well bring into its ambit the British Empire—even Canada. Yes, we may be drawn into it."

"Where does Canada stand?" asked Mr. King. "It will be October the fourteenth before the election takes place. It will be even later before a Parliament is assembled and a government formed. But during this most critical moment we are without a parliament to consider so momentous a matter. And who have we as Canada's representatives at the League of Nations? They are three individuals who, so far as I know, have not had even county council experience."

SHOULD SEND MINISTERS

Mr. Bennett, he said, should have sent to Geneva "at least two of his cabinet ministers. But he needs them at home to help him conduct the election campaign. And Mr. Bennett is the man who speaks of putting country before party!" The government should have sent to Geneva men with authority to speak for the Government of Canada. A man of the type of Sir Robert Bordon, Mr. King suggested, might have been a more proper selection for Mr. Bennett to have made.

"There is another thing of which I would speak, and that is of the manner in which Mr Bennett has pushed aside Parliament and has endeavored to make himself a dictator. He has brought about a situation in which the great acts of state are done not by the representatives of the people but by the executive, by order-in-council."

Despite the fact that Parliament is now dissolved, said Mr King, the present prime minister has at his disposal an "open treasury from which he can take whatever amount of money he pleases so long as he does it in the name of unemployment relief." The "peace, order and good government," legislation, he added, also gives Mr. Bennett full power to dictate what Canada shall do or not even in matters of so grave a nature as war.

TOWARDS DICTATORSHIP.

These were only indications of the direction in which the country was tending under Conservative rule. The country was heading towards dictatorship in which all the affairs of the people would come beneath the control of a single individual.

The time had come, said Mr. King, when Canadians must decide what the course of the next few years should be. The Liberal party, he said, was not a "one-man party"; nor was it a "one-ism" party, not standing "only for social credit or only for reconstruction." The Liberal party did not move in the direction of dictatorship; it moved rather in the direction of a greater freedom for the mass of mankind. Even as Liberalism in the past had fought for civil liberty, for political freedom, for religious liberty, so today it was fighting for "economic liberty."

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In this struggle for economic liberty, said the Liberal Leader, the party had behind it all the finest traditions of militant Liberalism. It was a party with experience, like a great river nearing the sea. Its rich store of experience enabled it to deal with the present situation with those measures best suited to the hour. He felt confident, he said, that with this background and with the vitality and enthusiasm which the younger generation of workers were bringing to the Liberal party, he could rely upon a measure of popular support which would ensure that a Liberal victory in the coming elections would mean better and more prosperous days ahead.

WELL KNOWN LIBERALS THERE

Among the large group of well known Liberals who occupied seats on the platform at last night's meeting were the following:

Miss Marjorie Dunsworth, president, 20th Century Liberal Club; Mrs. R. K. Kelley, Mr. and Mrs. George Farquhar, Mr. and Mrs. Goffrey Stevens, Dartmouth; Hon. L. C. Gardner, Yarmouth; A. T. Logan, Pictou; Mr. J. Murray Logan, Hon. Michael Dwyer, Hon. A. S. and Mrs. MacMillan, Dr. M. E. McGarry, Inverness; Don. F. Fraser, M. L. A., New Glasgow; John Murphy, Halifax; William C. Wickwire, Halifax; Hon. C. W. Comeau, Comeauville; J. S. Smiley, K. C., Amherst; George E. Hagen, M. L. A., Halifax; H. B. McColough, Pictou; J. D. Collins, Amherst; Robert E. Finn, K. C., Halifax; Gordon B. Isnor, M. L. A., Halifax; J. D. McKenzie, M. L. A., Middleton; J. J. Kinley, Lunenburg; J. L. Ilsley, M. P. Kentville; Hon. and Mrs. J. H. MacQuarrie, Halifax; Senator Hance Logan, Miss Annie Stuart, president of Nova Scotia Women's Liberal Association; W. E. Donovan, president Halifax City and County Liberal Association; Premier and Mrs. Angus L. Macdonald, Donald MacLennan, K. C., Inverness; William Duff, M. P., Lunenburg; Dr. D. J. Hartigan, New Waterford; Kenneth J. Cochrane, Cumberland.

The band of the Princess Louise Fusiliers, under the direction of Russell Ward, provided the meeting with some excellent musical selections during intervals.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE D21112

SUBJECT

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Saint John, N.B. Telegraph-Journal, Sept. 4, 1935

Liberal Leader Says Bennett To Launch National Govt. Drive

Mackenzie King Opens Maritime Speaking Tour By Addressing Large Mass Meeting; Dysart, Ryan, Roberts Heard

MULTIPLICITY OF PARTIES FLAYED

"Dictatorial" Practices of Mr. Bennett Condemned; Reconstruction Party Result of "Feud" and Personal Ambitions of Mr. Stevens Charges Mr. King

BEFORE the week is over Canadians are likely to hear from the lips of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett an appeal for national government, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, declared here last night as he opened his campaign in the Maritime Provinces.

Addressing an audience of 2,000 in the Capitol Theatre, the Liberal chieftain warned the electorate against new parties and new promises. He characterized the Reconstruction party as the outcome of a personal feud between Mr. Bennett and Hon. H. H. Stevens and of Mr. Stevens' "disappointment" that Mr. Bennett did not resign and hand him the Conservative leadership.

"I ask," said Mr. King, "if Mr. Stevens had become leader of the Conservative party would we have had any Reconstruction party?"

Loudspeakers carried his words to an overflow audience outside the theatre. His address was broadcast over a provincial radio hookup.

Criticizes Selection

The Liberal leader criticized the government's selection of representatives to the coming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, saying the delegates were not fitted for their task by experience. The Assembly would have to decide matters of peace and war, might have to decide upon sanctions which would involve Canada in war, and yet not one member of the Canadian delegation had ever sat in Parliament or had any experience in government and international problems.

A cross-section of Liberalism in New Brunswick was represented on the platform of the theatre as he spoke. Among the 240 persons seated on the platform were members of the Senate, Premier A. A. Dysart and members of his cabinet, members of the Legislature, members of the House of Commons, candidates in the forthcoming election and leading Liberals from different sections of the province.

Hon. Dr. W. F. Roberts, minister of health and labor for New Brunswick, was chairman. He asserted that every favor that had ever come to the Maritime Provinces had come from a Liberal government at Ottawa. Other speakers were Premier Dysart, who said Prime Minister Bennett became "shackled and manacled to certain privileged interests" and had boosted tariffs for their benefit and brought about sweat shops and low wages in the city and hard times on the farm, and William M. Ryan, K.C., Liberal candidate for Saint John-Albert.

For Two Members

Mr. Ryan pledged himself, if elected, to fight for restoration of two members for this constituency, which lost one member in the last redistribution.

The meeting was an enthusiastic one. A solitary but leather-lunged heckler was quickly silenced.

"We are now likely to have another appeal for a national government," said Mr. King, cautioning electors against a befogging of the issues by a multitude of parties. "Before this week is over you will likely hear from the lips of Mr. Bennett himself that the time has come for a national government and that if he is returned to power he will establish a national government. He will say that the problems of Canada are too great for a party government to solve and that Canadians should put country before party.

"Mr. Stevens formed his Reconstruction party to conceal his past in the Conservative party and Mr. Bennett will form his national government party to conceal the record of his Conservative government.

"Before any national government is sought we should know what it is to do, what will be its policies as to trade, as to tariffs, as to the railways, as to the banks and as to social legislation. We will not get the answer to those questions and that is a sure indication it is only another name for a discredited party and an effort on the part of great privileged interests to maintain their privileges."

"It is so easy to let words slip from one's lips—so easy to say what you will do," remarked Mr. King, referring to platforms of the various parties in the field. "But in this great contest, we must have regard to the nature of the times, the conditions of the country now.

Affects Everyone

"We cannot go on as we have in the last few years. You are now being given the opportunity to say into the hands of which party you are prepared to trust the destiny of Canada for the next five years. There is not a man or a woman before me tonight, or within sound of my voice, whose life is not going to be made better or worse by what happens October 14."

The Liberal leader extended his congratulations to Premier Dysart and his colleagues on their sweeping victory, and said he would also like to congratulate the people of New Brunswick.

"I believe in choosing a Liberal administration at this time, the province has acted wisely, as will soon be seen," he said.

Mr. King voiced his endorsation of every New Brunswick Liberal candidate who has received "official nomination at a convention."

Mr. King said the election was being fought at a time when both Canadian and world affairs were in a critical condition. The electors should remember this when they heard new and varied parties offering all sorts of promises. It was "easier to promise than to achieve."

He pictured the furtherance of external trade as a solution to many of Canada's difficulties.

Peace and Prosperity

"We must," he said, "have a proper position with other countries to hold our own. Let us get back into a condition not of unrest, but of a comparative progress, peace and prosperity."

Citizens should ask themselves what the effect will be of having so many political parties in the present campaign. There had never been so many at one time before. The problems of Canada, the size of Canada, should be borne in mind.

"It may be that in Alberta the question of Social Credit was all important. But even if we had Social Credit perfected in all its phases, would that settle the questions of trade, the financial questions, our international problems?" Mr. King asked.

Above all problems of government in Canada, he placed that of national unity.

"We have got to try and keep our country united. It has been becoming more and more divided in the last few years. We have been getting east against west, and race against race."

"You have had an experience of what time means when you return a

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government to office," said the Liberal chief, cautioning against "trying something out," particularly in the face of present conditions. When a party was elected it was given a mandate for five years. Mr. Bennett had gone over the five years—"beyond the length of time the constitution fixes."

"I am afraid," continued Mr. King, "that the large number of political parties is going to somewhat befog the issue."

Social Credit

In the last few days Social Crediters had been talking of bringing out candidates for the federal election. In Alberta, the new government was saying that Social Credit would have to be studied more, that this study would take at least two years. This had not been admitted in the Alberta campaign. Social Credit had than been something to be "done right away." The appearance of Social Credit candidates in the federal arena could not put a Social Credit government in at Ottawa but it might take votes from one party and enable another to slip in by a minority of votes.

Mr. King next turned to the Reconstruction party, which he said had come into existence since Parliament rose.

"Can anybody tell me who its members were two months ago?" he asked. "No one could, because there wasn't any party two months ago."

Mr. Stevens himself had "brought together all that was required in the way of promises and said 'here's the policy'."

"The Reconstructionists are a party whose leader existed before the party existed, whose leader made the program before the party had any say in it. Is that a party capable of governing Canada for the next five years?"

Mr. King urged electors to ask themselves who was behind the reconstruction party, who would be responsible for the party if anything happened to its leader. In the Liberal party, there were other leaders, trained in government over the years, and whose fathers and grandfathers had been trained before them.

The C. C. F. party was another recent one, not so recent as the Reconstruction party but formed since the last Parliament came into being. Its leader believes a complete change in the social system necessary.

The Question

"The question today," said Mr. King, "is whether the revolution he has in mind—I use the word without offence—whether this is the moment to try and bring it about when conditions are so unsettled."

He continued that the next party he would speak of was "one you know a good deal about. At least you know its record. If you want another five years like the last, go to the polls and vote for it, but don't blame anybody but yourself."

Turning for a moment from the Conservatives to his own party, Mr. King stated that the Liberal party's method of proceeding in public affairs is well known. In 1896 Liberal policies had lifted Canada out of depression into the greatest period of prosperity up to that time. Again in 1921 Liberal policies had raised the country to an even greater era of prosperity than existed in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's time.

"When I speak in the name of the party," he declared, "I do not speak as one man. I speak for all who under the banner of Liberalism say we are prepared to stand for these policies.

"I am beginning to feel that in this country we are putting far too much emphasis on leaders. We are being too much influenced by what has taken place in Europe, where the leader is the whole party, and I deplore that tendency in Canada above everything else."

No matter how great a man was, he did not believe that he could be entrusted with the whole affairs of government.

"That is one fault more than any other I find with Mr. Bennett," Mr. King continued, adding that he is strongly for the British form of government, "a for in which a collective group carry on the affairs of a nation," rather than one man.

"No prime minister of any country at any time has had a freer hand than the present prime minister," said Mr. King. "If his administration has failed, it is not because of any obstruction but because his policy was wrong, and was bound to fail."

Bennett's Record

He touched on the history of the Bennett administration. At the special session of Parliament called after the Conservatives were given a mandate, to deal with unemployment. The bulk of the time was taken in "putting up tariff walls higher than at any time in history, not only against other countries, but against England as well."

Mr. Bennett had gone to the Imperial conference in England and there told the British government that the thing to do was to put up tariff walls, to change the fiscal policy of that country, which had been largely a free trade nation. What he proposed was to given a preference not by lowering existing tariffs between the countries of the Empire but by putting the tariffs against other countries up higher. While Mr. Bennett was in London, Liberals in Canada refrained from saying any word against him.

At the next session of Parliament, tariffs had again been raised, bringing comment from a leading Conservative newspaper that while it was in favor of protection, it was not in favor of prohibiting trade.

Then had come the Imperial Conference at Ottawa.

"We took the view," said Mr. King, "that we could not interfere or criticize. I myself cancelled meetings. Mr. Bennett went into the conference with a free hand."

Mr. King had heard the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin say that England hoped the conference agreements would the lowering of tariffs between the different parts of the Empire, rather than by increasing them against other countries.

"He made that statement thinking of the relations of all parts of the world. If the British Empire had set the example for other countries to follow, the whole history might have been different from what it is," said the Liberal leader.

Mr. Bennett had been telling people he believed in government control.

Railway Question

"What did he do with the railway question," Mr. King asked. The directors of the Canadian National, representing different regions, had been replaced with three trustees removable only after a certain period of time. Removal of the chairman had been made subject to the approval of both the house of Commons and the Senate, "putting manacles on the government."

Parliamentary control had also been taken away in connection with the central bank. The Liberal view had been that the central bank should be so organized and constituted as to enable the whole matter of credit to be shaped by the government for the social need of the people. With the Bank of Canada, however, the directors were all chosen through private shareholders and it had been turned into a "private corporation." When this bank had been established all the gold and securities in the possession of the government had been turned over to the holding of this private corporation.

"The Price Spreads Commission," said Mr. King, "is often referred to as the Stevens Commission, but it is no more the Stevens Commission than it is the Bennett Commission, or the King Commission."

It had grown out of a committee of Parliament provided for by resolution. This same resolution, two years previously, had been rejected when it was submitted by the Liberal party. When the government brought it in, it was supported by everyone, Liberals as well as Conservatives. So that it could carry on after Parliament rose, the committee was made a Royal Commission. The report of this body was not the report of Mr. Stevens alone, but the report of all the committee, and when it was brought out the Liberals supported all its recommendations which were deserving of support.

Mr. King criticized the circumstances and reasons of Mr. Stevens' resignation from the Bennett cabinet. After Mr. Stevens had resigned, he continued to support the Conservative party.

"Mr. Stevens continued," said Mr. King, "to remain as a Conservative member right up to the last day of the session. Is Mr. Stevens today other than what he has been for the last 20 years?"

The Reconstruction leader had left the cabinet not on a question of principle but because Mr. Bennett shut him out of caucus.

"It is the policies with respect to trade above all others which are responsible for conditions today," said Mr. King. "Mr. Stevens was stronger than anyone else for high tariffs. He has been the one more than the others responsible for restricting the trade of Canada." Mr. Stevens had supported Mr. Bennett on the railway question and also on the Bank of Canada—matters in connection with which he was "in some measure condemning" the government today.

When Mr. Bennett went overseas, his health was not good, and it was thought that a successor to him might

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be chosen. Mr. Stevens in that time was campaigning in Canada with the view of strengthening his position with the Conservative party. He expected that Mr. Bennett would resign and that he would become leader not of the Reconstruction party but of the Conservative party.

From "Personal Feud"

"The Reconstruction party," declared Mr. King, "comes from a personal feud betwen Mr. Stevens and Mr. Bennett and the fact that Mr. Stevens was disappointed when Mr. Bennett did not resign. Is that a good basis for the founding of a party which would administer the affairs of Canada for the next five years?"

Here Mr. King made his prediction that another appeal would be made for national government, from the lips of the prime minister.

Turning from this to other questions, Mr. King said that the Liberal party in the last five years had constantly opposed measures which weaken the safeguard of the public treasury. When Mr. Bennett was given the "blank check" for relief, it was a step never taken by any other prime minister.

He likened the public treasury to a cash box, saying that the "blank check" gave the prime minister and his cabinet authority to go to this cash box and take out as much as they wanted, with only one limitation, that it be taken out in the name of unemployment relief.

"We objected strongly to that as Liberals, and we said that it means waste and extravagance."

Mr. King also criticized as a step toward virtual dictatorship the "peace and order" legislation, giving to the cabinet rights which the constitution said should belong to representatives of the people in parliament.

Through this the cabinet had given guarantees to banks and made loans running into huge amounts.

The Marketing Act gave the cabinet the right to say what goods coming under the Act could be imported and exported, and gave monopolistic rights to certain groups.

"The fundamental issue of the election," asserted Mr. King, "is whether we are going to have a democratic form of government or government by dictatorship."

Ruled By Dictatorship

"We may have in the course of this very month a war in Europe," said Mr. King. If war broke out, he asked, what would Canada's position be without a Parliament. No parliament could be brought into being until after the election on October 14. Today the country was practically in the position of having a dictator.

Referring to Canada's delegation to the League of Nations Assembly, he asked whether this was the type of delegation which Canada should have at Geneva, when a question concerning a war which might involve Canada, might come up. The members of the delegation had had no experience in government. Mr. King asserted that when the delegation was chosen, Mr. Bennett was holding all his "party men."

"We should have men there at this time who could share responsibility, even if he had to sacrifice a seat. The affairs of the country at this international event have been left in the hands of three who have never been returned to responsible positions in the institutions of the country."

Social Measures

Dealing with social measures, Mr. King said that the Liberals had increased old age pensions, feeling them the most necessary measures, and had advocated that they be followed up by unemployment insurance. When the present government came in, it was asked to make a study of the constitution, in case any constitutional legislation in connection with this might arise.

Until the present unemployment insurance legislation had been tested in the courts and ruled intra vires, or until the British North America Act was amended, no one could say whether the legislation was worth the paper it was written on.

"If the Liberal government is returned to power, one of the first things we will do is to call a conference of Dominion and provinces with respect to amendments to the B. N. A. Act," Mr. King said.

Before any action was taken as the outcome of such a conference, it would be put before the House of Commons and the Senate and fully discussed.

"The most important of all questions," said Mr King, "is the question of trade. We believe that matters of social reform can only be effective as we bring about economic improvement, which can only come as we increase our trade with other countries."

He expressed the opinion that had the Liberals been returned last election, a reciprocal trade agreemeint would already have been negotiated with the United States.

"As webegin to revive trade, so will we begin to revive the conditions of the people generally," said Mr. King, giving an illustration of the effect of trade on the transportation industry alone. When trade dwindled between nations, ships' cargoes fell off, the railways lost business, loss of wages by their employes spread down the line to wholesalers and retailers, and at the same time taxation had to be placed to meet the cost of maintaining the unemployed.

Mr. King said that next year at the Imperial conference to be held in Great Britain, if the Liberals are elected, he will meet Rt. Hon. Mr. Baldwin, remind him of his statement at Ottawa and seek to have Empire preferences increased not by raising tariffs against outside countries, but by reducing tariffs between the units of the Empire.

Hon. Dr. Roberts

"New Brunswick is singularly honored," declared Hon. Dr. W. F. Roberts, provincial minister of health, chairman of the mass meeting, "honored by the fact that Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has seen fit to institute here his electoral campaign in the East. He has begun in Saint John to roll the sun of Liberal victory toward the West."

"You have often heard the expression 'The man of the hour'. This phrase is most applicable tonight. Beside me, in the person of our chief, is 'the man of the hour!' We are glad to see him and realize that by placing our trust in him, our problems will be solved."

Referring to the reform policies of Mr. Bennett, Dr. Roberts exclaimed: "Scan each legislated item closely. No merit can be found in any of them. Mr. King is the original reformer. If he says something will take place—it will take place. He is the one man for Canada."

"Mr. King," he said, "is the only man who can bring order out of chaos, which state now exists in the Dominion. As a result of dissatisfaction, the Conservatives have lost all hope of victory. They are organizing all manner of parties."

Receiving an ovation from the 2,000 or more present, Premier Dysart, the next speaker, said: "Five short years ago, our distinguished leader appealed from this platform as the head of a government, which in point of achievement, stands without parallel in the history of our country. Tonight he faces us again as leader of the same party, not in power now, but which will be firmly so, after Oct. 14."

Expressing gratitude for the splendid support he received during the recent provincial election, Premier Dysart continued:

"I ask that your June work be deplicated emphatically in October. When a man is driven from cover, the public reacts curiously. You will recall Mr. Bennett's promises concerning the proposed bridge over Saint John harbor and the reconstruction of docks No. 1, 2, 3 and 4. He has used the latter as a big stick to wave over your heads at this time. On Oct. 14, you will know how to measure him."

Mr. Dysart stated that in five years the Conservative leader had created five parties and suggested that "Dr. Dafoe and the Dionnes had nothing on him." He spoke of the Conservatives, Stevenites, National Government Party, the Aberhartites and the "Fit-Reform' party, contrasting "the sweeping power of Liberalism from coast to coast" and declaring that Liberalism was "an anchor holding Canada steady in troubled waters."

The Candidate

Mr. Ryan was the next speaker. Referring to Mr. King as "the greatest living democrat in our country," he said: "I am your servant, one who will try to help his fellow-citizens. I have no personal ambitions. For the past 10 years there has been no proper representation of this constituency. If there had been, I wouldn't be here tonight. There should be two men. One of the first fights I plan to make, if elected, will be to secure proper representation for the Saint John-Albert riding.

"If our farmers, tradesmen and businessmen do not enjoy prosperity, it is due to the Bennett-Stevens administration. Mr. Stevens by his policies has cut the volume of trade in half." The speaker asserted that Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens had built up their regime on promises. "Mr. Bennett can't promise anything more and Mr. Stevens dare not!" he said.

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consideration. 'We will give you a bridge under construction and a free port,' Mr. Bennett had declared." Completing this phase of his speech, Mr. Ryan exclaimed, "We haven't even got a bridge on the order paper."

The speaker stated that in the coming election, regarding this riding, he did not know who his opponents would be. "They must be still seeking someone to offer up as the sacrifice," he declared. "Who will represent Mr. Bennett or Mr. Stevens, I don't know, but before they go to the people, they had better do penance amid the ashes of berths No. 1, 2, 3 and 4. In this election, the paramount issue concerns the great question as to whether or not the people shall rule. That outshadows all other issues."

The Liberal candidate referred to the last federal election when he ran against older Conservative candidates. "They said older, experienced men should look after our port. At the time, I prophesied that if Mr Bennett's trade policies were put into effect, a serious condition would prevail. Such is the case. Mr. King is of the people and thinks for the betterment of his people. I would rather go down to defeat supporting his standard than be lifted in the arms of success under Mr. Bennett or Mr. Stevens."

Appealing for support on Oct. 14, Mr. Ryan declared: "When I have a client I give him the best of my services. I want all of you to be my clients now and I can assure you I will give you my best."

. The Liberal leader and his party will leave early this morning by train for Halifax.

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Windsor Daily Star Aug. 16/35

Mr. King Warns "Purge" of Tory Deeds Is Likely

Party Leader Speaks in London and Intimates He Will Follow Same Course as Mr. Hepburn Did in Ontario If Grits Are Elected

Refers to Danger of War

Points Out Canada Will Be Without Parliament For Two Months While 'War Clouds' Hang Over World; Says House Should Decide on Conflict

By EMMETT E. KELLEHER

London Bureau, The Windsor Daily Star

LONDON, Ont., August 16.—A veiled warning that if the Liberal party is returned to power at Ottawa, it may render null and void the official acts of the Bennett government during the two months preceding election day, a period without a Parliament, was given last night by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, in addressing more than 6,000 persons at a rally in Queens Park.

Eloquently critical of the "staying powers" and the "dictatorial" attitude of the prime minister, Mr. King's comment on a hinted Liberal "purge" of what happens at the capital between now and October 14 was terse and unexplained, but political observers saw in the Liberal chief's statement a threat that he would pace Premier Hepburn and would cancel major moves on the part of the government while the country lacks a Parliament.

Careful Review

If the Liberals win the election, "we will review very carefully what has been done since Parliament was prorogued and will act according to the wishes of the people," Mr. King declared.

Appearing in the best health he has enjoyed in recent years, the party chieftain spent most of the day in London in the interests of G. A. P. Brickenden, the official candidate in the city riding. He made plain his stand in regard to independent Liberal candidates when he asserted, "the Liberal party, to win this seat or any other seat, cannot have half a dozen candidates, and as the leader, I have only one position to take, and that is to recognize the official nominee and to do my best to see that he is elected."

Col. Clifford H. Reason who contested the candidature with Mr. Brickenden is in the race as an independent Liberal.

Viewed as Intrigue

Legislation of recent months calling for the expenditure of "millions of dollars" for public works and other measures were viewed by Mr. King as election intrigue on the part of the government, and an attempt to win votes by the spending of large sums of public money.

Loudly condemnatory of the fact that Canada will be two months without a Parliament, he pointed to the "war clouds" hanging over the world in the Italian-Ethiopian dispute and called upon the electors to back him in his claim that Parliament, and not a government should decide Canada's stand in the event of England being drawn into conflict.

Col. Claude Brown was the chairman of the open air rally. Other speakers included Mr. Brickenden, Hon. J. C. Elliott, K.C., M.P., candidate in West Middlesex, and Col. Duncan G. Ross, East Middlesex candidate.

Paying compliment to the people of London, Mr. King said at the outset of his address that it was the largest gathering he had addressed in recent years.

"But as I look at the vast grandstand, my thought isn't of numbers, but that everyone here represents a human life," he continued. "All of you have been wrestling with difficult problems in the past five years, but I do not come before you with numerous promises of what will be done in a short time if the Liberals are returned to power.

"The world is passing through a stage of transition, and we are unable to say what may come, not a year hence, but a month or two from now.

"And at this stage I want to raise my voice in protest at the length of time it has taken Mr. Bennett to decide he will give the people a chance to say who will govern this country. For, whenever there is evidence that the people are not satisfied, they should be given the opportunity of choosing their next government."

Still Have Government

Too often, public men forget today that they are mere representatives of the people, declared the Liberal leader.

"Some political leaders adopt a rule which detaches themselves from representation," he criticized. "They believe they are all-powerful. What has happened in the past 24 hours in Canada? Parliament has passed out of existence, and yet we have a government in office. The government is determined to carry on two months more. All that, in spite of the fact that two years ago you told the government it no longer enjoyed your confidence."

In provincial elections in the past few years, most of the issues have been fought on questions arising from federal policies,

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Loudly condemnatory of the fact stressed Mr. King. An electorate, unable to speak in a federal election, "have spoken in no uncertain voice in the provincial fields."

"From one end of Canada to the other, there is not one Conservative government in office. And with the exception of Alberta, which is now in the midst of elections, all are Liberal governments," he reminded.

Says Trend Shown

"It shows that the people of Canada are anxious for the Bennett government to know that they should be given a chance to express their voice in federal affairs," the Liberal chief cried. "In the past two and a half years, every federal by-election, except one, has gone against the government, and in that single case the government won by a slim majority."

The theory of British government is that a government carries on "with the consent of the governed," he emphasized, in drawing a contrast with the Canadian situation. When the Fathers of Confederation fixed the limit of government at five years, they set a "maximum" period, and didn't intend a government should stay five years if it didn't enjoy the confidence of the electors, he contended.

"And one of the greatest wrongs Mr. Bennett has done is refusing the people the right to vote at an earlier date," Mr. King condemned.

Elaborates Wrongs

Elaborating on the "wrongs" of the Tory regime, he impressed upon the audience that the prime minister and his colleagues "had taken from parliament, under the pretext of an emergency, the right to deal in 'blank cheques.' The government can take money from the public treasury, and parliament cannot stop it.

"That power Mr. Bennett has for the next two months. Under a pretext he has taken the right to legislate by order-in-council anything for 'peace, order and good government,' though he shouldn't have the power to do so. No other political leader in Canada has had such power.

"And under the guise of necessity, he has taken the power under the Marketing Act to prohibit the export or the import of any produce named in the act, or any manufacture of that produce. He has the right to control foreign trade, without parliamentary authority, though no other government in Canada has ever dared to adopt such measures."

"Is that the kind of a government you want to see established in Canada?" the Liberal chieftain demanded. "It is all done under the pretext of an emergency, and aiding the unemployed, though we all know it is a sham."

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7.

REPEAT
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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Windsor Daily Star

Mr. King Warns "Purge" of Tory Deeds Is Likely

Party Leader Speaks in London and Intimates He Will Follow Same Course as Mr. Hepburn Did in Ontario If Grits Are Elected

Refers to Danger of War

Points Out Canada Will Be Without Parliament For Two Months While 'War Clouds' Hang Over World; Says House Should Decide on Conflict

By EMMETT E. KELLEHER

London Bureau, The Windsor Daily Star

LONDON, Ont., August 16.—A veiled warning that if the Liberal party is returned to power at Ottawa, it may render null and void the official acts of the Bennett government during the two months preceding election day, a period without a Parliament, was given last night by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, in addressing more than 6,000 persons at a rally in Queens Park.

Eloquently critical of the "staying powers" and the "dictatorial" attitude of the prime minister, Mr. King's comment on a hinted Liberal "purge" of what happens at the capital between now and October 14 was terse and unexplained, but political observers saw in the Liberal chief's statement a threat that he would pace Premier Hepburn and would cancel major moves on the part of the government while the country lacks a Parliament.

Careful Review

IF the Liberals win the election, "we will review very carefully what has been done since Parliament was prorogued and will act according to the wishes of the people," Mr. King declared.

Appearing in the best health he has enjoyed in recent years, the party chieftain spent most of the day in London in the interests of G. A. P. Brickenden, the official candidate in the city riding. He made plain his stand in regard to independent Liberal candidates when he asserted, "the Liberal party, to win this seat or any other seat, cannot have half a dozen candidates, and as the leader, I have only one position to take, and that is to recognize the official nominee and to do my best to see that he is elected."

Col. Clifford H. Reason who contested the candidature with Mr. Brickenden is in the race as an independent Liberal.

Viewed as Intrigue

Legislation of recent months calling for the expenditure of "millions of dollars" for public works and other measures were viewed by Mr. King as election intrigue on the part of the government, and an attempt to win votes by the spending of large sums of public money.

Loudly condemnatory of the fact

Vote Date Delay

Elaborating on the delays in naming an election date, Mr. King recalled that, last year, the prime minister explained the "necessity" for new franchise and election acts. At that time, Mr. Bennett claimed that the period required to arrange a general election had been too lengthy, pointing out that in England the whole business is done in "three or four weeks."

It was also the "intention" of the government to reduce the costs of a general election, by drawing up and distributing a "closed list" of the electorate, which would be available on short notice when a date was announced.

"That was last summer," Mr. King went on. "I expected some form of action from the minister of justice, who was acting prime minister, and it was hoped that the election would be held in the fall. But what happened? We started to have by-elections."

"The next excuse given by the government was that care should be taken that all electors were on the list, and the job couldn't be completed until the new year. The government had to have another session, and that was when social reform legislation was introduced.

"I said then that there was no issue between the government and the Liberal party on the question of social reforms, that our attitude would be one of constructive criticism only. And day after day, we asked the secretary of state how long it would take to complete the election lists. It would have been easy to pass the social legislation before the lists were finished. Finally, they were ready, but did we have a general election?

"Mr. Bennett thought there would be opposition to his social reforms, that the Liberals might oppose anything he might bring to parliament. But Mr. Bennett didn't get a chance to go before the people as a great reformer, who was being opposed in introducing social legislation."

In May, of this year, continued the speaker, the government engineered another election delay by declaring the election list must be revised to include thousands of young people who had reached the voting age.

"And remember, all this was a very costly business," he reminded. "But the lists were gone over again. They were finished and were sent out long before this time to all the constituencies. Mr. Bennett could hold an election in four or five weeks, but he insists on another two months in office."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

"Hopeless Failure"

"The hopeless failure of everything the government has attempted to do," and the appalling way in which the unemployment situation has been handled," were two of the descriptions the leader of Canada's Liberals tied to the Bennett regime.

"Every day the government continues in office, makes it harder for the next government," he declared.

"The big question in Canada for the next few years will be how the country will get out of these conditions—how depression may be ended," he resumed. "If Mr. Bennett had any sense of trusteeship, he would have given other people a chance to try out their policies long ago.

"After the election it will take 10 days before a new government may be formed. That will be October 24. And it will take another few days for a new government to look around. That will bring us to November—to the difficult time of the year. Is that treating the people fairly?

Will Be Cautious

"What can a new government accomplish in November, December and January, compared with what it could do in April, May and June? It will take months for a new government to handle situations, with an October election."

If the Liberals attain power they will be "cautious" in dealing with the situation which has been "built up in recent years," Mr. King assured. A new government cannot rush into dealing with "unnatural conditions," brought about by the "extraordinary behaviour and extraordinary measures" of Prime Minister Bennett, he asserted.

"May I ask the businessmen of Canada, have you felt free to make new developments and improvements during the uncertainties over the election date?" questioned the Liberal chief. "Isn't it true that everything is waiting for a change. Mr. Bennett has known that as well as anyone else, but he hasn't shown the slightest consideration for the will of the people, the interests of the people, nor the needs of the people."

New Appointments

Mr. King observed critically that in the past five years, the prime minister has called six sessions of parliament, whereas the usual number is five terms.

While he hesitated to "impute motives" in Mr. Bennett's stretching-out of the government, he pointed significantly to the number of new and important appointments made in recent months. A new deputy minister of marine has been named, and the railway commission has been given a new chairman.

"Some of the offices were kept vacant two years and more," he stressed. "No wonder we are beginning to feel that what Mr. Bennett loves more than anything else is power. He kept these men in line right up to the last minute, before handing out the positions. It appears he is realizing that his days of government are ended, but he wishes to wield dictator's power to the very last."

Much of the prime minister's social reform program is a building-up of a bureaucracy, said Mr. King. It will create a large number of additional public servants. "Following press reports, we find here and there another group of men finding positions."

have given him a controlling interest, or if you give Stevens a large enough majority to cause trouble is that going to help the situation. What we need in this Dominion is a strong representation of one party which will govern in the interests of the people across Canada."

Support for Three

In appealing for support for the three Middlesex County Liberal candidates, Mr. King declared that all of them were able to further the interests of their constituents as well as doing honor and credit to themselves.

"Mr. Elliot has been in Parliament for many years. You all know his ability and his integrity, and you know that if he is returned to Parliament that you will have a good friend. As far as Mr. Ross is concerned, you also know his excellent record and I am sure that there is not a man or woman in his riding who knows of his ability who will not lend him their support. Mr. Brickenden has done this city great credit. His home and his family are bound up in this city.

"The Liberal Party to win this seat, or any other seat, cannot have a half a dozen candidates running," warned Mr. King, "and as leader, I have only one position to take and that is to recognize the official nominee and do my best to see that he is elected."

Stand on Labor

The speaker then dealt with the attitude of the Liberal Party towards labor. The platform he declared was not drawn up a few hours ago or a few months back, but it was in a statement contained in his radio addresses a short time ago and it could be found in Hansard of February, 1933. Two and a half years ago, he told his huge audience, the Liberal members saw that the policies of the Bennett Government toward the unemployment question were failing and in a caucus they all agreed upon a definite policy, which had since been agreed to by the National Liberal Federation of Canada.

"The members of the Liberal Party believe that the unemployment question is one of the most urgent national problems.

"It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the admin-

restored by the Liberals. And today, Hon. Mr. Stevens endorses that law, he pointed out.

In social reform, it was a Liberal government which instituted old age pensions, declared the Liberal chief.

He took his audience back to 1921, with conditions which paralleled the situation of today. The public debt was increasing yearly, and the Liberal government's first aim was to balance the budget. "Because we believed that only as national recovery came would we be able to establish social reform," he asserted.

It was while he was prime minister that old age pensions became law, stated Mr. King. A Conservative senate defeated it, but it was later put into force by the Liberals.

"That was introducing social reform step by step," he said. "We had to be sure we weren't burdening the country with debt. We advocated next an unemployment insurance act. Mr. Bennett comes along today with that proposal. If reform was the thing to bring about recovery, why didn't he introduce that five years ago. Why not three years ago, when the Liberals said they would support it?"

Says Plank Stolen

Granting he did caution there might be constitutional difficulties in enacting such a law, and that the British North America Act might have to be changed, he urged that such action be taken, he stated.

But, "This plank which Mr. Bennett claims is his own was taken from the Liberal platform."

Rural and urban communities in Canada are interwoven in such a way that "we cannot have prosperity in one and suffering in another," asserted the party leader. "Each has to share the other's burden, and that is the only way in which we can hope to make prosperity worthwhile."

"Anxious as I am to see social reform, I want to see the rural communities receive equal treatment," he said, as the audience applauded.

Minimum Wage Law

In regard to a minimum wage for men, how would it aid the jobless man, he wanted to know. Voicing his support of a national minimum wage, and even an international law, he warned that accomplishment might take years.

"But don't imagine that will cure all the ills of a country," he said.

Mr. King tagged the social reform program of the prime minister as "make believe."

"He knows that certain things may only be done after the constitution is changed, with the co-operation of the provinces, or by the provinces alone," he claimed.

As an example, he drew attention to the New Deal legislation in the United States being declared illegal after it had been in force two years.

"No measure should be brought into parliament until it is certain that it is constitutional and valid in every respect," he declared.

Plea to Youth

Addressing the "young people" in the audience, he took them back to their days of Hallowe'en pranks, when they wore masks and dressed up in borrowed clothes as "little old men or little old women." One rang a door bell, and asked for apples, or one rang a bell and ran away.

Both Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens were Hallowe'en playboys, he said. One wore the mask of "reform," and the other of "reconstruction."

Cites Europe

"If you have studied the situations in Italy, Germany and Russia," he went on, "you will note that all dictators have done away with their cabinets, and have got the power in their own hands. But they feel the need of a small group of men to advise them. So we have economic councils not the chosen representatives of the people, but friends of the dictator himself.

"We have that in Canada today, but is it just and fair for a government to create a bureaucracy in that fashion?"

At that stage, Mr. King declared that if the Liberals win the election, "We will review very carefully what has been done since Parliament was prorogued, and will act according to the wishes of the people."

And, "A Liberal government will end all dictatorship in Canada," he promised.

Government bills passed in late months, and calling for the expenditure of millions of dollars, were viewed as election intrigue by the Dominion's No. 1 Liberal.

He pointed to the extensive program of public works, to the large sums of money arranged to bonus the development of natural resources, and asked: "Isn't it all intended to influence the election. Millions and millions of dollars have been spent in this way.

"Never Change Mind"

"And are these contracts not being let so they will reflect on the general election. See all these measures being enacted, and then understand why Mr. Bennett is waiting until October before giving the people a chance to speak."

Mr. King's voice resounded through the loud speakers to every section of the grandstand as he cried out: "He may wait until Doomsday, but he will never change the mind of the people at the present time in regard to the government."

"You cannot act too quickly to place men in your Parliament who will meet emergency conditions," he warned, as he proceeded to dwell on the threatened conflict between Italy and

The Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade, and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance."

Unemployment Question

The whole question of unemployment, he said, must be dealt with from two angles. One as emergency and the other as a permanent condition. To continue simply emergency measures would continue the same condition, but a permanent policy must be created which would eliminate the present condition. He declared that the Liberal party believed that the emergency situation must be dealt with by special measures, similar to the manner in which certain conditions were met with during the Great War.

The Liberal party took the position that the unemployment problem was too large for any single government department to deal with it was a mistake to leave it with the department of labor. Because it was a national problem, Mr. King contended that a great national body should be set up consisting of representatives of the Trades and Labor Council, the Red Cross Society and other such organizations to investigate the situation from coast to coast and tender a report to the government. An organization similar to the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Commission which was made necessary following the war, was cited as an example of the emergency unemployment board the Liberal party had in mind.

The various government departments were never intended, he claimed, to deal with an emergency situation such as existed today. The national commission would only investigate the situation and the government would have a complete report on which to base any investigation that may be undertaken.

Emergency Policy

There is no municipality or province in the Dominion that can deal with the unemployment situation alone, claimed Mr. King in further advocating the setting up of a national commission and he suggested that many municipalities would not be in a state of bankruptcy today if such a national commission had been appointed to investigate the whole question of unemployment as it effected the people of Canada.

"They run around and ask for apples in the form of votes," he pictured. "But I say to them, just take away those false faces, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens."

The Conservative Party today was a "house divided **against** itself," in the mind of the Liberal leader. The prime minister and his bitter opponent of 1935 "worked hand in hand" for many years, and were close friends and staunch advisers.

Today, they are fighting each other, but "when you take their masks off, you find they follow the same political policies from which the country is suffering."

Feud Is Reviewed

Mr. King reviewed the Bennett-Stevens feud, how the minister of trade refused to apologize to his boss, and they parted. But Mr. Stevens supported the Conservatives "to the last minute," observed the speaker, hoping he would gain the party leadership during the period when there was some doubt whether Mr. Bennett would continue at the helm.

"Mr. Stevens was prepared to go to party caucuses to the very end, only Mr. Bennett said he didn't want it," recalled the Liberal chief.

"We have right here in London today a candidate for Mr. Bennett and one for Mr. Stevens. And as I recall it, the candidate for Mr. Stevens was a member who supported Mr. Bennett."

He viewed the division between the pair as "part of the general unrest of the times . . . and I'm not surprised that the Conservatives find themselves in this predicament today.

Says Stevens Same

Warning the younger electors who might think Mr. Stevens a "new reformer," he declared the Reconstruction Party leader "remains what he has been for the past 20 years."

"When the election is over, you'll see the supporters of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens coming together and making up the old Tory Party," he predicted.

"We have to look upon this country as a builder looks at a house he is going to construct," said the Liberal leader. "Whether he is going to live in the house, and whether it is going to be a happy and a contented home depends upon how the house is built. And you don't build from the top down, but from the foundation up.

"If you want these social reforms, the Liberal Party invites you to join with it in making the foundation as it should be. After that, we will improve the upper

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Ethiopia and the position of Canada in the event of another war involving England.

"The press tells us of one of the greatest tragedies which is facing the world," he said. "A country living quietly is told it is about to be slaughtered, irregardless of conciliation and arbitration. We are told that all that is delaying this tragedy is a rainy season, which will be over at the end of September.

"And none of us can say what may happen. If war comes in Abyssinia, there will be sympathizers in other countries throughout the world, and who can say where it will end.

Need for Parliament

"You ought to have in Canada today a government which will be able to meet any situation. Need for action may come in a month or two. Mr. Bennett must have seen the war cloud which is hanging over the world. And you and I know that we shouldn't be facing these things during the next two months, with no Parliament."

"I say to Mr. Bennett, that so far as any war situation is concerned which may involve European countries, that no government has any right to say what a country will do in that situation until a new government is elected, and a new Parliament is formed. Parliament alone must decide."

Other Parties

"You will be appealed to by the C.C.F. which wants to revolutionize the social structure and by the Reconstruction Party which wants to reconstruct Canada and by the Communists and the Tories who are split in two," declared Mr. King. "but while all these things are entertaining, I want you to remember this, that some party must deal with the situation which exists in this country at the present time, but where are we going to be if we return one of these parties? Does not Canada need a united Parliament, one which can express the unanimity and strength required to govern for the next five years. Can we afford to take chances on little groups with a half a dozen leaders to make, Parliament a jumble and chaos."

"How would Woodsworth handle the situation?" asked the Liberal leader. "I have the highest regard for his integrity and I believe he is sincere, but say that he is following a mistaken policy. You cannot do without social reform, but social revolution cannot be done in a few months or in a few years.

"How will you feel," he continued, "if you find that the day following the election that you

Unemployment in Canada today was four times greater than it was when Mr. Bennett took office, but he suggested that the figure was much greater, as many of those who were described as employed were engaged in relief work "on your taxes" and would be classed as unemployed if it was not for this special work.

"How long can we use the public treasury in this way?" he asked.

Turning to the question of social services, Mr. King said: "It is all right to say to the blind and the aged we will give you better pensions, to say to the unemployed we will give you unemployment insurance, and to promise health insurance, but how are you going to do it?

Slaps Reform Plea

"I don't know, unless, first of all, we bring about another condition of trade and business which will give us normal times. Mr. Bennett says that reform is all important, and that recovery is bound to follow reform. But it is really the other way around. You have to have recovery, you must have normal times first before you can raise the taxes. Otherwise, you are only putting a greater burden on the taxpayer, and increasing the public debt. Unless you do that, you will drive the country closer to the precipice.

"If I never see office again, I will never tell the electors that all the ills will be healed by voting for a Liberal or any other party. I must be honest with the electors.

"I was told after the last election, that the Liberals lost because we didn't make more promises. But I'm a prouder man than Mr. Bennett tonight. I do believe, however, that by following a certain course, it will be possible to take this country out of the depression, and return it to the heights of prosperity.

"Mr. Bennett talks of social reform. I'm as interested in reform as himself or anyone else. I can look back on not one parliament, or two parliaments, but upon my whole life, and say that in every year I've given my best to the solution of national problems."

The Liberal leader then told how he drafted fair wage legislation under Sir William Mulock, who established the federal department of labor. He drafted the Industrial Disputes Act, which has been on the statutes for 30 years, he reminded his audience.

Recalling his own work in arranging the Combines Investigation Act, he emphasized that it was repealed by a Conservative government and later

Takes Credit for Act

structure. It is the only right way to proceed."

Britain Is Example

Drawing a comparison with economic recovery in England, Mr. King asserted that Canada, with her vast undeveloped resources, should have made a better showing in recent years. England has accomplished much "by remaining true to the constitution," he said.

"No British government has ever asked Parliament to give it blank cheque for 'peace, order and good government,' nor to give it control over trade when there is no Parliament," he declared. "The King of England himself said in one of his jubilee addresses that he bows before the law of his country.

"Is that the spirit we have had in Canada in the past five years. No, we have had the voice of only one man, who has been telling the people what he is going to do.

"When Mr. Bennett undertook to be the government himself, he made a fatal mistake. Do you electors want to have that error repeated, or have Parliament carried on in the spirit and in the letter of the constitution?

"Dou you want a spirit of good will in Canada, a spirit of neighborhood with other nations? If you do wish that spirit of unity and brotherhood, then send back to Parliament the men who will carry out the wishes of the people—the men of the Liberal Party," Mr. King concluded.



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21118

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Toronto Daily Star, August 15/35.

KING SAYS OCT. 14 IS DAY AUTOCRACY WILL BE DOOMED

"Even Mr. Bennett Cannot Much Longer Usurp Office," He Declares

IS CHEERED BY 2,000

By ROBERT LIPSETT

Wingham, Ont., Aug. 15.—"Just as October 14 marks the election date, so it marks the end of the worst government this country has ever suffered under, the worst, the most autocratic administration Canada has ever known," Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King assured a sweltering but enthusiastic audience of 2,000 people here yesterday afternoon.

Announcement of the election date came dramatically at the close of an address in which Mr. King attacked encroachment on the rights of parliament by the Bennett ministry. It had, he said, filched from the elected representatives of the people control over the public purse and had delegated to itself the legislative functions of parliament. It had taken the right of parliament to review and supervise the country's huge investment in national railways and had turned control over credit and currency into the hands of a privately owned central bank. Finally it had displayed an utter disregard for the wish and will of the people in refusing to bring on an election in spite of the strongest evidence that the people wanted a chance to oust Mr. Bennett for more than two years.

Sees End Near

"Even Mr. Bennett cannot continue much longer to usurp office," said Mr. King. At this moment The Star gave Mr. King the news that the date had been set as October 14 and he gave it to his audience.

"There'll be slow music for Bennett that night," one of the railbirds ventured. "The shock of what's going to happen to him is going to be awful," said another, and as Mr. King referred to the ministry as the worst in Canadian history, pandemonium of assent swept through a perspiration-soaked crowd.

The metal structure of the arena caught the attention of a broiling sun and before the meeting was half an hour old coats were largely abandoned, collars wilted and everything capable of use as a fan came into play. Even Mr. King, who stands heat well, looked like the victim of a Turkish bath when he finished his address.

Trade, currency and credit control, railways, titles were dealt with after Mr. King had paid tribute to R. J. Deachman, Liberal candidate in North Huron.

One by one and over the whole life of the Bennett government parliamentary control of these important affairs had been removed from the house of commons, he asserted. Control of public expenditure by parliament and the making of laws by all the representatives of the people was all that stood between communism and fascism, he said, yet the Bennett government had expended nearly $300,000,000 on relief and in loans and guarantees without having the money voted by the house.

Has Power of Hitler

It had taken the legislative function into the hands of the executive which was into the hands of Mr. Bennett. "Has Mussolini more power? Has Hitler more power?" he demanded.

In the case of the marketing act an attempt was being made to vest law-making authority in appointed boards. "I am not opposed to marketing regulations," Mr. King insisted, "but I am opposed to any plan under which parliament is deprived of the right to pass on the regulations." He warned that the act passed by Mr. Bennett might be "a wolf in sheep's clothing that may devour you as well as your markets." He did not believe the powers vested in local boards would stand the test of the courts, and pointed out that manufacturers who used any of the raw products coming under control of the act were also to be permitted to create monopolies.

In a passing reference to the return of titles to Canada at Mr. Bennett's insistence, Mr. King referred to them as another touch of Bennett's feudalism, "which we neither need or want in Canada at this time."

Says Women Interested

Mr. King opened his address with a short talk to the women, whom he suggested were more interested in tariffs and trade than the men themselves, since they do most of the buying that is done in the home. "Your fortunes depend on the solution of these problems," he told them.

The Liberal leader expressed an earnest desire that Mr. Deachman should be elected in North Huron. He is a man, he declared, who has made a special study of problems as they affect the farmer, the agriculturist. "Some say he thinks only of the farmers," said Mr. King. "Well, after all, it is true that the growth of our nation depends on the prosperity of the people on the land. So far as Mr. Deachman is concerned, there is no one in the country who could do more for the farmer on the floor of the House than could he."

The speaker charged that Mr. Bennett should have granted a general election two years ago when a whole flock of by-elections showed a landslide of disapproval of the government and its policies.

"That is why I say that the people no longer govern. Their wishes are no longer obeyed nor even considered," he charged.

What's Country's Trend?

"Whither are we going? Whither are we tending in this country?" he asked. "I want you to see how we have been led here in Canada. Many young people will go to the polls for the first time. They know very little of how our parliamentary system came into being. I might say the same for the women, for they have not had the vote long. They cannot begin to appreciate all that is meant by parliamentary government.

"Let me go back one hundred years. In those days we had representatives of the people being sent to parliament and above them an executive council chosen by the governor. The elected representatives made the laws, but it depended on how the executive regarded the laws, how and whether they were carried out.

"Government came to be at sixes and sevens. The Liberal party had its birth in Canada in an effort to force the executive to be responsible to the elected representatives of the people. Liberals in those days demanded that this executive council be chosen from the representatives elected by the people and not appointed at the whim of the governor. It was a long, bitter struggle, but finally responsible government came into being."

Must Control Purse

He recalled the fight for responsible representation in Canada. "The most important thing for parliament to keep control over is the country's purse," Mr. King declared.

"If our young people had a full purse, they would not worry about who had to fill it. They would think they were pretty powerful. That is what Mr. Bennett has grown to feel. Our forefathers saw that, and they who had to fill the purse gained control of the spending of the money.

"I refer you to Mr. Bennett's radio addresses. Reading them, you realize that no Tory knows the meaning of reform.

"In his first address, he said: 'In my mind, reform means government intervention'," reminded Mr. King.

"Mr. Bennett doesn't know the meaning of the word reform.

Forms of Intervention

"Mr. Bennett's tariffs and arbitrary valuations on imports were forms of government intervention," he said. "He has been interfering with business for five years now, and what has been the result? More than a million on relief rolls. Yet he says: 'Reform means government intervention.' What utter nonsense that is. Mr. Bennett doesn't know the difference between a means and an end. Intervention in business is not an end. Reform is the end and intervention should be utilized only as a means to that end.

"If we are to reform conditions in Canada, we have to begin by freeing trade from the strangling restrictions. Reform in that direction is to be achieved by freedom from tariffs and dumping duties.

"Of course, intervention is the means by which we remedy abuses such as those of overworking women and working children in mines. Then, and then only, is intervention the means to the end of reform. But remember this, reform is to be always the end in view. It is not intervention alone.

Combination Needed

"Neither laissez faire nor intervention are a means to an end," declared Mr. King. "There must be a judicial use and combination of each.

"The difference between Liberalism and Conservatism may be best defined by an understanding of the difference between Mr. Bennett's and my view of reform. Mr. Bennett believes that reform means government intervention, while I believe that reform means parliamentary guidance and co-operation.

"Sir Robert Borden always stated the purposes for which he needed large sums of money. All Mr. Bennett did in regard to the unemployed was ask parliament to vote him $20,000,000. He did not state how he was going to spend it. The

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rest of the session he spent in bringing about government intervention.

"Mr. Bennett said he wanted an absolutely free hand, he wanted a blank cheque. When I asked what the money was to be used for, he would not say, other than that it was for relief.

Sees Dictator's Hand

"We protested but it was no good. Next year, the next year, and this year the same thing happened. Anything he wants to spend, he can spend, by saying it is being done for unemployment. There you see we have a dictator. When those things happen there is an end to responsible government."

Mr. King declared that Mr. Bennett should have accounted for every cent and told how it would be spent. "That power Mr. Bennett has got and he is trying to accustom the people to it," said the Liberal leader. "He has even curbed the powers of the auditor-general.

"If it is true that the House is being now dissolved, Mr. Bennett still has that blank cheque. He can spend anything he likes and there is no government to say to him 'nay'. He alone is now in possession of the public purse. That has been the situation since the House prorogued some weeks ago. Is that responsible government, I ask you? Is that safeguarding the rights and the taxes of the people?

"All that money he spent through his blank cheque has to be paid for. It may not be in income tax, but you will have to pay more for everything you buy. It will be heavy taxation.

"Do you know how much money he spent?" he demanded. "For unemployment alone $160,000,000, and all but $20,000,000 under the blank cheque!"

Has Seized Power

Mr. King stated that the government is divided into three parts. There is the legislative branch, the executive branch and the judiciary. To the legislative branch falls the duty of enacting laws in the interests of peace, order and good government.

"But Mr. Bennett has seized this power for himself and his executive," Mr. King warned his listeners.

"He took that right by means of closure, and by means of his overwhelming majority in the House. He's taken it again, again and again. All he needs to say is: 'This is necessary for peace, order and good government,' and it is law. He doesn't even need a parliament. Has Hitler any more power than that? Has Mussolini any more power than that?"

The speaker declared that Mussolini will even now be forcing through edicts in Italy so that he may prepare for the war with Ethiopa.

"All these edicts he will force through in the interests of peace, order and good government," he declared.

Says He'll Do It Again

"That's what our prime minister has done to-day. If he gets back into power, he'll begin where he left off—"

"There is no chance," shouted a listener.

"You are right," agreed Mr. King. "See that he doesn't.

"But what has happened in Italy may happen here," he continued. "Under dictatorships the right to vote has been removed. In Italy and Germany, people dare not think aloud. Parliaments have been wiped out. Unless you are a Nazi or a Fascist you cannot even go to the polls to vote.

"That is why I ask you 'Where are we going?' The only thing that stands between the extremes of fascism and communism is our parliamentary system. That is what we must preserve."

Premier Bennett had made loans and guarantees of $308,000,000 in five years of office, all above the ordinary cost of government, he said.

"If parliament had control of that expenditure, we would not have spent half that sum and we would not have had half the unemployed," declared Mr. King.

"He (Premier Bennett) said he favored control by parliament. How much control has he given to parliament over the railways? When Liberals came into office, Canada had a serious rail problem, yet we made out of the C.N.R. one of the finest railway systems in the whole world.

Charges C.N.R. Hampered

"Yet, from the instant this Bennett government came into power, it decried the C.N.R. to hamper its chances of success," charged Mr. King hotly.

Liberals had framed the C.N.R. Act so that the directors could be removed by parliament at will, yet Mr. Bennett provided the new chairman could not be removed for seven years without the consent of both Houses of parliament. "Is that control by parliament?" he demanded.

Because it had the deciding vote, the Senate, now a Conservative body, would largely control the administration of the C.N.R., warned Mr. King. "Mr. Bennett kept seventeen appointments to the Senate off until the last minute," he pointed out. "Now his appointees will still run the C.N.R., even after Mr. Bennett's political death.

"He has put the railways of Canada beyond the control of parliament," complained the Liberal leader.

"What about the banks?" asked Mr. King. "The Liberals have long been agreed that what this country needs is a central bank. Had the Liberals created this bank, the control would have been left in the hands of parliament. "Mr. Bennett has himself appointed the governor of Canada's Central bank. All the directors are directors of a private bank. He says he believes in government control, but he has put the country's credit in the hands of a private corporation.

"Gold used to belong to the people. To-day, $60,000,000-odd of gold belongs to a company directed by private interests.

"Do you see where we are getting? This same thing has been done in Germany and Italy. Little by little, the country is being changed from one governed by a parliament into one which is controlled by means of a dictatorship.

Ignored Vote on Titles

"In Sir Robert Borden's day we framed a law stating that we no longer wanted titles in this country. They might be all right in some parts of the world, but we didn't want them here in Canada. Now what does Mr. Bennett do when he gets into power? He said in fact: 'I am not bound by the wishes of parliament. I want titles granted in this country, and I am going to ask the governor-general to grant some more titles.' Yes, that's exactly what he did, and yet I venture to say that if a poll had been taken in the House, regardless of party, there would have been an overwhelming vote against the return of these titles.

"What's the whole business of titles for? Why, it is so Mr. Bennett can pick out his favorites here and there, and either lavish attention on them, or else he wanted some reward to hold over the heads of his followers so he could make them fall in line with his policies."

In closing, the Liberal leader turned to the Marketing Act. He likened it to a wolf in sheep's clothing. "When the garment is thrown off, then the sheep see what is in their midst," he warned. "Beware, I say to you farmers, of this wolf in sheep's clothing. When you are offered the Marketing Act by some one who tells you of its benefits, take care you are not being given something that will devour, not only you, but your markets as well."

Mr. King charged that this act was just another which slipped out from under parliamentary control and supremacy.

Insists on Approval

"I have no objection to the regulations of any act so long as they are submitted to parliament before they go into effect. That is the way they do things in England. Regulations there, before they are enforced and penalties imposed, must be approved by parliament.

"What's going to happen in Canada if you have groups of producers here and there all over the country making regulations and imposing penalties to suit themselves? Don't, I plead with you, don't be led astray by single clauses in this act. Look at the act as a whole. Look at the last part for which the first was made. That first part permits producers to make rules and name penalties. But now look at the end of the act which comes under the control of Mr. Bennett and the executive. These boards run farther than you think; where will they land us?" he asked.

In a word, he told the meeting that the last clause of this Marketing Act encouraged the formation of monopolies in industry. "Is there anyone here; any producer who would in the interests of his product want to introduce any regulation which you know parliament would not approve?" he asked. "Is there anyone here who would be so selfish and so dishonest that he would enforce his own will against the best interests of the people? No, of course not. That is why I say that parliament should have control. Let it pass on any regulations that are going to be forced upon the people. Let it be done by the people's representative.

Will Stand Test

"I am in favor of marketing acts —I'm in favor of compulsory regulations," said Mr. King, "but I believe they should be passed by parliament. I don't believe any other kind will stand the test of our courts. Those passed by parliament are the only kind worth while. If the regulations are the creation of parliament, there is no fear they will be upset by the courts," assured Mr. King. Under the wide powers of the Marketing Act, Mr. Bennett, who is the government, can ban the importation into Canada of any product or "material made from that product" entering into competition with Canadian products.

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"That law can be made to apply, not only to natural products, but against imports of manufactured products," warned Mr. King.

"It is an act to establish monopolies of manufacturers under sanction of the law of the land," he declared. "Do not be lulled into a false sense of security. This power is given them. It is all nonsense to say it will not be exercised.

"What could be more of a dictatorship? Here you have in the hand of one man the whole foreign trade of Canada. He has the whole economic life of Canada under his control. Could any dictator ask more? That is exactly what you have in Italy, Germany and Russia to-day. You haven't it in Great Britain, and you won't have it in Canada after the election day," he promised. His next words were drowned in a thunder of cheers.

Set Aside Great Charter

"Mr. Bennett also wants the power of the courts to imprison or fine," said Mr. King, continuing to discuss the proposed marketing act. "This takes us back to the days of Magna Carta, when it was declared no man could be imprisoned unless under the laws of the land. "Government to-day in Canada simply means 'I' and that's Mr. Bennett," he charged.

"All things I have spoken of to-day directly affect you," Mr. King told his audience in concluding. "In all the work Mr. Bennett has done he hasn't had a stronger supporter than Mr. Stevens. It was only when Mr. Bennett closed the door in his face that he ceased to be a Conservative.

"Without political freedom and liberty you will never get economic, religious and other types of freedom."

Mr. King recalled that the Liberals had previously tried without success to bring about an investigation of price spreads and related matters. "These reforms, whether brought forward by Mr. Bennett or Mr. Stevens, are simply a screen to hide a vast amount of bad government," he added.

Speaking of the socialization of banks and railways, Mr. King said that everyone was vitally interested in knowing to what degree self-government would be allowed to continue. He scored Mr. Woodsworth and the leaders of movements similar to the C.C.F. Disappointment at the delay in announcing the date of the general election was again voiced by Mr. King. He spoke of the hopes that had been dashed, time and again, in this respect. At this moment, representative of The Toronto Daily Star handed Mr. King a telegram. The man who was Canada's premier for eight and one-half years opened the envelope, unfolded the enclosed paper and, after glancing for but a moment at the message, continued without further interruption.

Announces Election Date

"They told us the election might be in August," went on Mr. King. "Then they said it would be in September, then not until early in October. Now I learn from this telegram that the date of the election has finally been fixed as October 14."

"October 14," repeated the speaker in a dazed tone, his starched collar wilted by the heat.

"Mr. Bennett has successfully delayed the election and thus usurped just so much more absolute power with which to effect his autocratic policies. But I wish to tell Mr. Bennett that just as October 14 marks the election date, so it marks the end of the worst administration this country has ever suffered."

The latter part of Mr. King's declaration was drowned out by the roar of the crowd, half in derision of Mr. Bennett and half in praise of Mr. King.

"October 14," reiterated the speaker, "will mark the end of the worst, the most autocratic administration Canada has ever known."

Mr. King's voice was again drowned by the volume of applause and, realizing the utter futility of attempting to proceed, resumed his seat.

The conclusion of his stirring address, featured by such important news, was greeted with resounding cheers. Hundreds of his listeners rushed to the platform and grasping him by the hand again pledged their support to the Liberal cause.

Support Is Pledged

Douglas Nairn, president of the Wingham 20th Century Liberal club, pledged the support of that body to Mr. King.

Referring to the approaching Conservative meeting at which Denton Massey will speak, Mr. Nairn said that "undoubtedly Mr. Massey has had more success in preaching the virtues of the gospel than he will have preaching the virtues of Mr. Bennett."

"In our hands lies the power for a new deal in Canada," said Mrs. W. H. Fox, president of the Ontario Women's Liberal association, speaking for Canadian women as a whole. She pointed out that the women controlled 52 per cent. of Canada's total votes.

"There is no question but that tariffs and taxation have contributed to the greatest part of our present troubles," said Mrs. Fox. "On relief are the heads of no less than 250,000 Canadian families, while 250,000 of our most capable young men and women are unemployed."

There would be serious difficulties if the country did not rally to the support of Mr. King, declared Mrs. Fox. "Every time we turn a deaf ear to the Liberal party," she said, "we as much as create a traitor in our own social order. We cannot allow ourselves to betray our youth, for in them lies the future of our country."

Candidate Speaks

The next speaker was R. J. Deachman, Liberal candidate for the federal riding of North Huron. "There is no doubt as to who will be our next premier," he declared. "The Mail and Empire says difficulty is being experienced in injecting life and hope into Tory Toronto. If you can't instill hope there, you can't instill it anywhere."

Mr. Deachman declared that Hon. H. H. Stevens had mutinied and now, "as a deserter," was "adrift in an open boat, fishing to save Canada." The Spotton committee room in Wingham, he said, did not display any "Conservative" banner.

"In 1930," said Mr. Deachman, "the Conservatives would have promised you anything. They would have promised you even the head of John the Baptist on a charger."

Mr. Deachman accused George Spotton, present Conservative member for North Huron, of calling several years ago for protection of home markets by raising tariff walls. "For every dollar in the home markets to-day," said Mr. Deachman, "there was $1.75 in the last year of Mr. King's regime. And that figure will be equalled if you elect Mr. King again."

Sees Way to Prosperity

"Not even Mr. King could make this country prosperous if he adhered to the Bennett policies. But he will not attempt to foist such policies on you," said the candidate. "He will bring you prosperity through the policies of true Liberalism."

"There is a moral issue involved," stressed Mr Deachman. "We are human beings in a closely-knit society. Unless we can do something to raise living standards, they will drag us down with them. We cannot have a moral society while everything is overshadowed by the most blatant economics. Only by allowing ourselves to be guided by sane policies can we hope for and realize humane and prosperous conditions."

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NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Montreal Gazette, August 14/32

KING SAYS LIBERAL AIM IS REDUCTION IN EMPIRE TARIFFS

PRAISES BALDWIN'S PLAN

Asserts Its Adoption Would Have Averted Depression

CALLS PREMIER DICTATOR

Liberal Leader Tells Woodstock, Ont., Audience Economic Questions are Simple

Woodstock, Ont., August 13.—(C.P.)—Immediate adoption of the Empire trade policy outlined by Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin at the 1932 Ottawa Imperial Conference, a policy of lowering tariffs in the Empire rather than raising them against foreign countries, is the aim of the Liberal party, Liberal Leader W. L. Mackenzie King said here today.

Had Mr. Baldwin's proposals been adopted in 1932 the depression would have been over and the wave of economic nationalism now sweeping the world would never have developed, Mr. King said. Prime Minister R. B. Bennett had had his chance and had missed it, but if a Liberal Government were returned to power one of Mr. King's first acts would be to go to Mr. Baldwin, now Prime Minister of Great Britain, and tell him Canada was ready to accept his plan.

Accompanied by Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn of Ontario, Mr. King opened the Liberal campaign in Western Ontario here when the two addressed a picnic in support of A. S. Rennie, M.P., Liberal candidate in Oxford County. Tomorrow he travels to Wingham for another picnic.

By raising tariffs the Bennett Government had restricted the exchange of goods and increased unemployment, said Mr. King.

It had led to the closing of foreign markets against Canada by such retaliatory action as Japan had just taken.

Mr. Baldwin's sound ideas on trade, expressed at the Ottawa conference, had been proven by events since, said Mr. King. Mr. Baldwin had stated: "There are two ways in which increased preference may be given—either by lower barriers among ourselves or by raising them against others. The choice between these two must be governed largely by local considerations, but subject to that, it seems to us we should follow the first rather than the second course."

COULD HAVE SET EXAMPLE

By lowering tariffs in the Empire an example could have been set to the rest of the world and other countries would have sought to secure a share of the trade of the Empire by lowering their tariffs, Mr. King proceeded. The Bennett policy had been to raise tariffs against those outside the Empire and this provoked retaliation, and promoted the development of economic nationalism whereas the Baldwin policy would have had the opposite effect.

A Liberal Government would work with Mr. Baldwin in freeing the channels of Empire trade and by so doing aid in freeing the channels of world trade, said Mr. King. If anyone doubted his ability to secure Mr. Baldwin's co-operation they should look at the record of his term of office.

Mr. Baldwin had once said, speaking in Toronto: "I defy anyone to find two statesmen who pull together better for the good of the Empire than Mr. King and myself."

The long delay in holding the election had its part in hindering recovery from the depression, Mr. King said. With the election coming so late in the year a new Government would have no opportunity to effect beneficial changes before the winter. The election should have been held a year or two years ago but "in his autocratic disregard for the people" Mr. Bennett had hung on to office until the last minute when it was apparent his Government had lost the support of the country.

A new Liberal Government "would be handicapped from the start" by the delay in the election, he continued. The depression would thus be needlessly prolonged. No businessman would make commitments until the election was over and the period of uncertainty which accompanied elections, even in normal times, was being needlessly prolonged at a time when its effects were most injurious.

"Mr. Bennett is robbing the people of the right of self-government and robbing them in no uncertain manner," he asserted.

Canada should have had a treaty with the United States two years ago, Mr. King said. The United States Government was anxious to trade with countries which would permit reciprocal trade. Other countries were getting into the American market ahead of Canada because of the Bennett Government's policies and the delay in the election.

No single part of Canada can prosper at the expense of the rest, Mr. King said. Unity and a national viewpoint were essential and the Liberal party's policy in the election campaign was framed with that in mind. It was addressed to every citizen in every part of Canada.

"The most autocratic Tory Government this country has ever had in office," was the way Mr. King described the Bennett Government.

Great economic questions were really very simple if one stopped to consider them, said Mr. King. They reached right into the family and the house.

"We hear a lot of the forgotten man," he said. "I think we should hear more of the forgotten family."

Mr. King said the interminable delay in bringing on the general election should provoke a strong protest. It was another instance of autocratic disregard for the will of the people by a Prime Minister who had made himself a dictator and taken most of the functions of government into his own hands.

Mr. King warned against third parties. Their only effect was to undermine the political party which should be elected and make possible the election of a government supported by a minority of the people.

"Either the Railway Commission requires a chairman or it does not," said Mr. King, commenting on the appointment of Hon. Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, to that post. If the commission needed a chairman the post should not have been kept vacant for three years. He asked if it had been kept vacant by Mr. Bennett to serve the public "or to hold a club over his followers in the House of Commons and induce them to do his bidding."

"Why have we not a trade agreement with the United States?" asked Mr. King. "Other countries have secured trade agreements. Argentina is getting into the United States with her cattle. When a Liberal Government sets out to make trade treaties it will be handicapped because other countries have got in before Canada."

This was one of the effects of the long delay in holding the election. A new Government would have little opportunity to do much to improve conditions before the winter set in.

The home market, said Mr. King, was not necessarily a place where goods were sold but a place where there was purchasing power and purchasing power was made by money coming into the country for goods which were sent out. By putting up tariffs and restricting external trade the Conservative party had prevented money from coming into Canada and so had injured the home market as well as the foreign markets, Mr. King declared.

SAYS EXCHANGE NECESSARY.

A country could not trade all one way. There had to be exchange. Ships which carried goods out of Canada had to carry goods into Canada on the return trip. The high tariff policy had injured Canada and the first industry affected was shipping. Ships were tied up in harbors because there were no goods being carried. The railways next felt the pinch. Wholesale and retail trade was affected. All this threw men out of work. The unemployment problem today was due to the restriction of trade.

"It's all nonsense to say that our markets were lost because of the tariffs of other countries," said Mr. King.

Only within the last few weeks another market had been lost because the Government proposed to fight other countries instead of trying to promote goodwill. That market was in Japan and Canadian lumbermen, wheat growers and flour mills were suffering as a result.

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In 1930 Mr. King said, the Liberal Government in the Dunning budget had sought a larger entry into the British market. Soon after Mr. Bennett had destroyed that one effort by raising the Canadian tariff. Then at the Imperial Conference of 1932 in Ottawa Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, leader of the British delegation, urged that the best way of promoting trade in the Empire was by lowering tariffs within the Empire rather than by raising them against countries outside.

Had that idea been followed at the conference, Mr. King said, the depression would now be over. There would have been a very different British Empire and a different world today. Economic nationalism would have been arrested, trade would have revived and ill will, distrust and the war spirit would have been dispelled.

Another Imperial conference would come next year Mr. King went on. Mr. Bennett had rejected Mr. Baldwin's proposition. But if a Liberal Government were in office the proposition would be revived and accepted. The first step Mr. King would take on going to England would be to go to Mr. Baldwin, now Prime Minister, and remind him of it and sit down to make it a reality.

Mr. King said the people should not be misled in the election by debates on any particular law, such as the Marketing Act or by local issues. They had to take a political party all in all or not at all. They had to take all the acts and policies of the Bennett Government or none of them. They had to take its autocracy and its tendency to dictatorship. Similarly they had to take the Liberals all together and they could rely upon it a Liberal Government would do nothing to injure the people as a whole or any section.

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D21123

SUBJECT

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Toronto Daily Star, August 8/35.

PREMIER BENNETT IS MUSSOLINI. HITLER, STALIN ROLLED INTO ONE DECLARES W. L. MACKENZIE KING

One of First Things Will Be Thorough Prison Investigation, Says Liberal Leader

BRITISH TRADITIONS DISCARDED, IS CLAIM

Points Out Bank of Canada Fascist Institution—Speaks at Kingston

FREEDOM AT STAKE

Voters Must Realize May Be Last Election If Bennett Returned to Power

By ROBERT LIPSETT

Kingston, Aug. 8.—In a dramatic appeal to 6,000 residents of Kingston and district last night, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King declared that unless the people of Canada realize what is at stake in this election it may be the last election in which they will have an opportunity to participate for many years.

It was the opening barrage of the Liberal platform campaign and Mr. King made it clear that it is his firm belief that parliamentary institutions are challenged by the Bennett government and that renewal of a mandate to Mr. Bennett is the end of constitutional government in Canada.

"For the sake of freedom itself, for personal liberty," he said, in concluding his address, "I ask you to consider not imaginative situations, but the definite facts I have given you and by your ballots to say whether we are to make of Canada a second Italy, a second Germany, or a second Russia."

He charged Premier Bennett with the upbuilding of a bureaucracy as insidious as that created by Bismarck in Germany, and declared the same subterfuge of "social reform" was being used to bring it into being.

Trend to Militarism

The $1,200,000 mounted police building at Ottawa and a barracks of similar cost at Calgary, in Mr. Bennett's own riding, were cited as evidence of the trend to militarism which is "the hand-maiden of bureaucracy."

Mr. King declared there were three perils confronting the Canadian people. The first was that of a government too weak to rule—a group government. The second was the peril of national government, and the third and greatest was that of a dictatorship.

It was the third that he dealt in chief in the course of his Kingston address. The trend of the last five years, he said, had been towards dictatorship to a degree which made the paramount issue in this election one between democracy and dictatorship, or between government by parliament or by the executive.

The cumulative effect of acts of the government, rather than any one act, was the test which must be applied and this cumulative effect showed how freedom and the right of government had been removed from the people and their parliamentary representatives and how near the precipice of dictatorship Canada now stands.

Overflow in Park

If the Kingston reception accorded Mr. King is a forerunner of what he is to receive throughout the country, his sanguine hopes that the Liberal party will be returned to power by an overwhelming majority appears well founded. Nearly 4,000 people faced him in the armories and another 2,000 who could not be accommodated in the building heard him over loudspeakers in Artillery Park. Several minutes of his radio time were absorbed while the cheering thousands refused to let him speak and when he had concluded the acclaim accorded him bore out his preliminary attestation that no leader in the life of Canadian politics has ever enjoyed more loyal support and co-operation than he has.

His speech was made on the 16th anniversary of his selection as leader of the party in succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

When Mr. King took the platform he paid high tribute to his former private secretary and biographer, Prof. Norman M. Rogers, who is his candidate in Kingston. Dr. Rogers had just concluded an address in which he held the Bennett radio program of social reform to have been the greatest political anti-climax in the history of Canada.

Mr. King said firstly that he desired to publicly thank Hon. Vincent Massey for his part, in organizing the Liberal party, and said the day was hastening when Mr. Massey will fill that larger part in public affairs he is so well qualified to fill.

Honor for Massey Hinted

The declaration was interpreted by some to mean that Mr. Massey will fulfill his belated engagement as high commissioner at London and by others as intimation that he will be a member of the next King cabinet.

Mr. King's reference to Dr. Rogers was equally uncertain, but Kingston people read into the leader's statement that he hoped to have a much closer association with him after the election, an inferred promise that the Queen's University professor will be a member of the next cabinet if he is elected.

Mr. King stressed the fundamental principle of Liberalism as being that of conciliation and goodwill towards all parts of Canada, with the objective of a united country and reviewed the success with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier in minority, both as to race and religion, had made that principle effective.

"There was something in him that appealed to all people. It was fairness," Mr. King said. "And fairness and confidence is what we need to-day. I believe I can say that above all other things that have come to me in public life I have had the most loyal, the most devoted and the most united following any leader has ever had and from that premise I say to you that the problems of the present time cannot be solved except by men of one mind and one will if this country is to be raised from the depression."

Bureaucracy No Solution

The problems could not be settled by a bureaucratic ministry. No man was sufficient unto the day and most certainly they could not be solved by taking out of the hands of parliament the functions entrusted to it. Mr. King saw Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier walking arm in arm as opposed to infringement of the free institutions which have marked Canadian legislative development and in open opposition to the program and policy of the Bennett government since 1930.

"We are once more," Mr. King said, "fighting the battle of political freedom which has waged in this country for a hundred years."

Kingston is the home of Portsmouth penitentiary and of Collins Bay Farm of gentlemen prisoners, while Mr. King's own constituency of Prince Albert also houses the prairie penitentiary. The Liberal chief took the opportunity of making one promise, and it was that after the next election, if he is returned to power, there will be a complete inquiry into the penal system of Canada.

He also pointed with pride to the nine years' record of the Liberal party in dealing with the problems of returned men and said "so long as there is a war veteran in Canada, the Liberal party will not forget his service and will seek to do him justice."

Parliament Robbed of Authority

The gradual encroachment of the Bennett ministry upon the authority of parliament, with a direct challenge that Canada has been listing heavily to dictatorship, was the keynote of the address. Not by any single action, but by the cumulative effect of the acts of the ministry, must the situation be judged, he declared.

The first session saw a drive to turn protective tariffs into prohibitive tariffs and to put manipulatory powers of administration into the hands of the executive. The second session witnessed the "blank cheque" legislation which has since been perpetuated; then came the "peace, order and good government" manipulation under the relief act that took further authority out of the hands of parliament.

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In 1933 the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways was scrapped and a board of trustees set up for a term of years that gives Bennett control even though his government goes into the discard, and the president may not be removed except with consent of both Houses of parliament. Mr. ing pointed out what this meant with a two-to-one Tory majority in the Senate.

Speaking of the Bank of Canada, Mr. King said: "Mr. Bennett has fashioned in that bank another Fascist institution. It is out of the control of parliament and yet it controls the credit and currency of Canada."

There is much in the Ottawa agreements that is satisfactory, Mr. King said, but there are features which are not, and they are those which negative Canadian efforts to promote trade with foreign countries. They peg the tariff at a particular point and thereby destroy a great basis of negotiation for trade.

Predicts Reciprocity

Mr. King expressed the belief that before an election is called Mr. Bennett will announce some manner of reciprocal trade agreement with the United States. He pointed out while for years the Liberal party had been arguing for such an agreement and had presented resolutions respecting it the government had always said the negotiations were proceeding and that parliamentary discussion of the subject might injure them. "If," said Mr. King, "there is a pre-election announcement of that kind, I am certain the people of Canada will ask why it was not accomplished one, two, three or four years ago."

He had only denunciation for the government for holding on to the strings of office to the last hour of its legal life, pointing out that the five-year term was a maximum and that there had been abundant evidence in the past two years that the Bennett ministry had completely lost public confidence. It was borne out by nine by-elections and by all provincial elections held during that period.

The Liberal chief returned to the usurpation of parliamentary authority with reference to the Marketing Act. He assailed the placing of power to fine and put people in jail in the hands of non-elective bodies such as provided for under the legislation and held it to be the most insidious encroachment upon civil liberties made effective by a government that had ridden roughshod over the constitution.

"Mr. Bennett has taken into his hands," Mr. King declared, "the power to control the entire trade of the country. He can prevent imports. He can stop exports. Could you give a dictator more power than that? And it is all done in the name of emergent need of the present time. In Germany they call it Hitlerism, in Russia it is communism and in Italy, fascism. Do we want it in Canada?" There was a chorus of 4,000 voices that shouted "No, no, no."

Pays Tribute to Massey

"In opening this campaign here may I thank you with all my heart for the welcome you have given me," Mr. King began with feeling in his voice. He further thanked the Central Ontario association for giving him the opportunity to begin his campaign at its banquet.

Mr. King gratefully thanked Mr. Massey, chairman of the National Liberal Federation of Canada.

"I am glad to say that the day is drawing close again when Mr. Massey can again fill that larger role he is so well qualified to fill," he said to give more than a hint that Mr. Massey would replace Hon. G. Howard Ferguson as Canadian High Commissioner at London just as soon as the Liberal party is returned to power.

"I wish to express my pleasure at seeing so many people at this table who have been my colleagues in the House of Commons. If Ontario does its duty in the coming election, these gentlemen will be returned to parliament and we will not be sitting on the opposition benches, but on the side of the government.

"To-day, August 7, is a day which has great significance to me personally and to the Liberal party of Canada. To-day marks the 16th anniversary of my choice as leader of the Liberal party in this country.

Grateful for Party Loyalty

"If there is anything above another for which I have reason to be grateful, it is the loyalty and unity with which members of the party have supported me for 16 years," continued Mr. King. "I was asked recently whether I was not apprehensive at the prospect of assuming office at a time like this. I answered that question as I wish to answer it to you to-night. I referred to a brief conversation I had with Lord Willingdon on the eve of his departure to be viceroy of India. I asked him did he look forward with confidence to what he might achieve in the office in view of the troubled conditions in India?"

"He replied: 'Mr. King, if I had not lived in India part of the time as governor of Bombay, part of the time as governor of Madras, if I had not shared my life with the people of India, I would not be anxious to assume my new duties.'

"In all humility it is in the same spirit that I look forward to being called to assume the responsibility of prime minister of this country. If I had not the experience I have, if I had not the confidence of the whole people, I would hesitate to assume such a responsibility at such a time."

Mr. King recalled some years ago when he was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to come into his cabinet.

"Then I saw how the policies of a party might be worked out so that all parts of the country might be consolidated and made to act as one.

"Have you ever thought that Sir Wilfrid Laurier held the office of prime minister for 15 years and during that time was in a minority in both religion and race? There was something in his nature so liberal that it appealed to all peoples. He was able during all his administration to keep this country united from coast to coast and bring to it prosperity. I have had the figure of this great leader in my mind during the years in which I have served my country. During my 16 years of leadership of the Liberal party I have also had the most devoted and loyal following which any Liberal leader has ever been privileged to have. At no time has this loyalty been stronger than it is to-day.

A Great Opportunity

"And I say that if we do not have in this country a party that is strong enough and loyal enough to co-operate throughout the length and breadth of this land, our problems cannot be solved.

"There ought now to be a chance for men of one mind and one will to work together as never before to lift this country out of the depression in which it finds itself.

"Great names have been referred to this evening. They are part of the reason I am glad to be opening my campaign in Kingston. One of those names is that of Sir John A. Macdonald, and I want to pay tribute to him to-night. Though I do not agree with some of his policies, Sir John A. Macdonald, from the time he took office until he left it, held before the people of Canada the wisdom of following British institutions.

"If you had asked them whether the country should be governed under the parliamentary system or under some of these new methods of government you would have found both Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the side of parliamentary institutions."

Mr. King recalled then Sir Richard Cartwright, with whom he sat in Laurier's cabinet. He, too, was a great Liberal, he said. The same was true of Sir Oliver Mowatt, an old Kingston boy, too.

"Alexander MacKenzie, too, came to this constituency and carried out construction work as a stonemason. He was a day laborer and in political life he carried out these same policies of honesty and steadfastness. His name brings another Mackenzie to my mind. This constituency has an association with my grandfather. Here he met Isabel Baxter, who became the partner of his days," he smiled. He had better luck than I have had in that regard. But I have had better luck than he in another regard for I have never had a price put upon my head."

"It was here again after the rebellion of 1887, after exile and at last receiving pardon, that Mackenzie came to spend part of his days before friends presented him with a homestead in Toronto.

"Is it any wonder that those of us who are Liberals should be proud of these names in a contest such as this? What do they mean with respect to trade, to parliamentary government, to responsible government? We rejoice with the people who have been fighting for freedom the last 100 years at our opportunity to go into battle again.

"I venture to say that Mr. Rogers, your candidate here in Kingston, is the kind of man that Canada needs in public life to-day. His whole training up to the present has been of a nature to train him for great public service. He served his country overseas in time of war, and he has been serving it in peace as well. So I ask you, my fellow citizens, to send to parliament, Mr. Norman Rogers. I have previously been associated with Prof. Rogers in public organization work, and I hope to be more closely associated with him at Ottawa in the future.

A Word to War eVterans

"I must pass on to the main theme on which I am to speak. But first I must refer to two things of special local interest. I refer firstly to the war veterans.

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"To the war veterans I say: I point you to the record of the Liberal party during the nine years I had the privilege of leading the party.

"From platforms up and down the country I promised that so long as there was a war veteran in the country the Liberal party would not forget the service he had rendered.

"The second subject I want to refer to is the penitentiary, not just locally, but the troubles of administration in penal institutions throughout the country.

"There must be something wrong when you find trouble at New Westminster, when you find trouble at Prince Albert and when you find trouble in the penitentiary here.

"If a Liberal party is returned to power one of the first things we will do is to conduct some sort of investigation into these institutions and see if there is not some way of preventing these difficulties of administration in the future."

Recalling his radio speeches, Mr. King said that in the first address he spoke of the peril of national government, and the danger of a large number of parties. "I referred, too, to the peril of dictatorship; the way our country has been drifting in the past five years.

"In the next broadcast I stated Liberal policies, policies that have the support of Liberals from coast to coast. In my last address I spoke of the greatest of all our problems, that of unemployment."

"Those who have followed Ottawa policies in the last five years have seen how far we have drifted away from responsible government. We have seen ourselves drifting to the position where more and more we have been governed by the executive.

Dictatorship or Democracy

"That is why I say that the great issue to-day is between dictatorship and democracy. Now it is the issue between parliamentary government and government by executive.

"As leader of the opposition, I have followed very closely the work of parliament from day to day, and I have at times been appalled at the measures that we have been asked to accept. I want you to truly realize the extent of what has been going on at Ottawa during the last five years.

"When you begin to see what the combined result is, then you realize how your liberties have been taken from you and how near to the precipice the government of the people has come.

"Think of what the government did to help those out of work.

"In the first session of this present parliament $20,000,000 was passed on to municipalities to assist the unemployed. That is all that was done for the unemployed at that time. Most of the time was taken up with setting up Mr. Bennett's type of economies, a policy of economic warfare. He set Canada out to fight the nations of the world rather than show goodwill toward other countries, which is the only way by which foreign trade can be stimulated.

"He spent most of the time at that session in raising the tariffs in this country to a higher point than they ever were before.

"Sir John A. Macdonald had his ideas on protective tariffs. So did Sir Robert Borden and other Conservative leaders. But not one of them sought to turn protective tariffs into prohibitive tariffs.

"That's what Mr. Bennett tried to do and he did it, not only against foreign countries, but also against the mother country. And this was on the eve of the London Economic Conference.

"He told British statesmen that unless Britain became a protective country and gave up her ideas of free trade, she could give up all hope of getting a favorable trade agreement with this country.

"Mr. Ramsay MacDonald told him Britain could not agree to this and Mr. Thomas told Mr. Bennett that his ideas were all 'humbug.'

Economic Warfare

"It was to begin this policy of economic imperialism. It was economic warfare from the imperial point of view. At that first session, too, there was a move of taking out of the hands of parliament and putting into the hands of the executive the power to raise or lower tariff walls.

"At the next session then we had the blank cheque. Mr. Bennett compelled parliament to give him a sum of money to be used as he thought best to help in the matter of relief. During the war, Sir Robert Borden never did that. When there were troops to be sent overseas he came before parliament and asked for a specific amount.

"But not Mr. Bennett. He had to have a blank cheque. He had to have an unnamed sum to use as he saw fit. He told us then that it was for one year, but he kept the same blank cheque through 1932-1933-1934-1935. Why, to-day, the executive council of which Mr. Bennett is head, has control of this unnamed sum of money to be used for relief.

"How have these blank cheques been used? They have been used to guarantee banks and to guarantee Newfoundland against losses, without ever coming to parliament to ask permission for these expenditures. The entire treasury is at the disposal of the prime minister to-day, to meet any emergency as he sees fit.

"There is also the power given Mr. Bennett to pass laws regarding peace, order, and good government. The constitution says this privilege belongs exclusively to parliament, one of the three great branches of government. When Mr. Bennett took to himself this power he was doing the same thing that Hitler and Mussolini have already done. Is that helping your people, or is it robbing them of their own popular government?

"You must remember that Mr. Bennett received this power from parliament by applying closure and he has that power to-day. Parliament is not sitting now, but Mr. Bennett and his cabinet, still at Ottawa, have power to pass an order-in-council, submit it to the governor-general for approval, and thus arbitrarily create new laws in respect to peace, order and good government.

Parliament Robbed

"Do you see how, little by little, the House of Commons is being ignored and its legal powers removed?

"Take another session," continued Mr. King. "Mr. Bennett is saying a great deal about control—the need of control for reform. What was done about keeping the control of parliament over the Canadian National Railways in the session of 1932?"

Mr. King explained the C.N.R. was formerly administered by a board under parliamentary control.

Mr. Bennett did away with this board and he passed an act giving him the power of naming trustees to run the Canadian National Railways. He also passed an act whereby the president of the Canadian National Railways, no matter how unsatisfactory he might be, could not be removed without the consent of both houses."

Mr. King maintained that since the senate was "overwhelmingly Conservative," this move tended to thwart the people's will as it might be respected in the House of Commons.

"Let me pass to the next measure. Mr. Bennett says control is the essence of reforms. What is the control over the Bank of Canada? The Liberals suggested a bank to control credits from a national point of view, but Mr. Bennett, a year or two later, comes along and turns over to a private institution the control of credit and currencies. There was always in the past securities in the vaults of the department of finance to back up our currency. These securities have now been literally taken out of the vaults of the government and handed to private control on which parliament hasn't a single member of the board of directors except a deputy minister who has no vote at the table.

"Mr. Bennett has fashioned in that bank another Fascist institution. He has created an institution over which the people's representatives have no control. He has given it over to the private interests.

"So we have that sort of thing going on at Ottawa; helping to take away the authority of parliament and giving it to private people to control the credit and currency of this country.

Intermediate Tariff Jettisoned

"Now I come to the Ottawa agreements. There is much in those agreements that is satisfactory. But Mr. Bennett brought to parliament and asked approval of the customs changes negotiated in the agreements before parliament had the chance of examining them. There you had taxation without representation.

"Mr. Bennett so arranged matters that he took away the intermediate tariff, the great instrument in negotiating agreements with other countries. As long as the Ottawa agreements stand as they are the people of Canada cannot lower tariffs if the want to, regardless of the fact that a tariff is a tax.

"We were told when that agreement was introduced that it was binding and would not be changed," said Mr. King.

Referring to the reciprocal trade negotiations with the United States, Mr. King related: "He told us that if there was any discussion as to reciprocal trade agreement with the United States the negotiations might fall through. Parliament dared not discuss things. If you don't think as the premier of this country does, you can't discuss things at all. If an agreement does not come about the fault will be with Mr. Bennett.

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'Take the question of social reform," continued Mr. King. "This goes to the very heart of parliamentary government. Usually a party lays out its platform and if it changes its policies it resigns to give the people a chance of expressing their opinion on the new policies.

"But what do we find with Mr. Bennett's reform program? There was no discussion even in the cabinet, so we are told, in regard to the program of social reform announced over the radio."

Mr. King declared that the Conservative government had violated a British tradition when it didn't accord the courtesy to the governor-general to announce in the speech from the throne the policies which the government intended to bring before the House.

Hitler's Method

"He has crowded the King's representative out of the government altogether. That is the method of Hitler, that is the method of Mussolini. The leader is everything with them and with Mr. Bennett. Surely the will of the people must count for everything. I ask you, is there any doubt of the feeling of the people of Canada towards his policies during the past three years?

"There is a rule that parliaments must be elected every five years. It was placed there for just such men as Mr. Bennett, men who would go on and on usurping the control despite the known will of the people. For I tell you that if he did not fall foul of the constitution Mr. Bennett would not be going to the country even now.

"You would not even have the prospect of an election this year if it were not for the clause in the constitution which requires Mr. Bennett to dissolve parliament at the end of the next eleven days.

"Do you realize that in the last ten by-elections nine of them went against the administration? Do you realize that this is the one way in which the people have a way to express their will?

"There have been provincial elections all over Canada and from the Atlantic to the Pacific we have seen Liberal governments returned where there were Liberal governments before and also where there were Conservative governments. In ight provinces out of nine there are Liberal governments. There is not a single Conservative administration except in Ottawa, and it has been Mr. Bennett's policies which have given the provinces the problems they have to-day.

"Let me come to another all-important question. You have heard a great deal of the marketing act. Let me explain to you how, even in this instance of regulating the way in which the farmer shall sell his product, the individual voter has been robbed of his voice in the government.

"Under that act certain powers have been given to the executive independent of parliament altogether. What I am dealing with is the great problem of political freedom. We have always been in favor of state assistance to marketing. But we do object to having the farmers stealthily robbed of their rights, which have been taken away from the representatives whom they elected to parliament. We have in their place a huge bureaucracy, able in many cases to function only at the instance of the executive himself.

"Mr. Bennett has been empowered to give his regulations the power of law, to make fines and penalties—even that of imprisonment—for the enforcement of his regulations.

"I have always thought that before a man was imprisoned he should have the right to the judgment of his own people. That was a principle laid down years ago.

Right to Combine

"This is not legislation by the law of the land, but by groups all over the country, some in existence and some not in existence at the time the legislation was passed.

"This law gives the power to impose fines and imprisonments that these groups may pass and these groups are not representative of the people.

"This act applies also to groups of those who manufacture natural products. It means that by this law of Mr. Bennett's these groups of manufacturers are given the right to combine into monopolies and they are doing it," he declared. "Mr. Bennett has taken it into his own hands to control the entire trade of this country.

"This legislation has a clause giving the governor-general-in-council the power to prevent importation. He's got blank cheques—all the money he wants—he has taken the internal trade into his own hands and now he also takes control of the external trade, too. There is a clause giving the governor-general-in-council the power to prohibit the export of any product it pleases. Like the dictators in the old lands, he has taken all this power into his own hands in the name of the emergent need of the time."

Mr. King read a section of the act giving to the governor-in-council the power to regulate or restrict the importation of any product into Canada. "It gives them the right to regulate and restrict products into Canada. Not parliament but Mr. Bennett it is who has the power," the speaker interpolated.

Another clause he read permitted the executive council to restrict or stop the export from Canada of any natural product and provide for the licensing of people who export or import.

"They can say to you, 'You can't export; you can't import'. Is that freedom? Remember, it isn't parliament that can do this but the governor-in-council, which, as we all know, means Mr. Bennett.

"Nazi-Fascist-Soviet"

"You have in this legislation all the earmarks peculiar to Hitlerism as it is in Germany, Fascism as it is in Italy; Sovietism as it is in Russia. Do we want that sort of thing here in Canada?"

A thunderous peal of "no, no, no" from the audience greeted this appeal.

"Let me come in conclusion to the situation as it is at this moment.

"We have the prime minister himself having kept in his own hands until the last moment the representation of the people of Canada. After a by-election went against Mr. Bennett, he decided he would have no more by-elections before a general election. Before parliament adjourned there were seven vacancies. In spite of the fact that legislation of vast importance was to be enacted, five of these constituencies remained unrepresented after a vacancy occurred.

"Do you realize that at the end of this parliament there were no less than 17 vacancies in the senate? The senate is a legislative body, how does Mr. Bennett justify that? What it means is that Mr. Bennett said to his own followers: 'You have no power to oppose me. If you dare to do this, you will never be appointed to the upper house so long as I am in power.'

"In this last session, we had some of Mr. Bennett's social legislation brought into parliament and objected to in the House of Commons by some of the cabinet ministers themselves. We had Mr. Guthrie, minister of justice, himself say that a certain reform measure submitted by Mr. Bennett was unconstitutional. In the upper house many of those measures were thrown out and among the most active of the senators in rejecting the prime minister's legislation was Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen.

"Under the British system you have the principle of government solidarity. Mr. Meighen was not free to do what he pleased when he was a member of the government. Mr. Guthrie wasn't free to do what he pleased. He was a member of the government.

"When a measure fails to get the support of parliament, the minister responsible for that measure ought to resign or the government ought to resign," maintained Mr. King.

The speaker pointed out that in Great Britain they will not countenace a single regulation until it comes before both the House of Commons and the House of Lords for approval. He charged that Mr. Bennett was "creating a bureaucracy," by his "blank cheque" legislation.

"When you run the affairs of the country by orders-in-council you are come to the moment when your parliamentary government is at an end," he declared. "If the people of this country do not realize what this election means, it may be the last election at which they will have the opportunity of voting for many a long year.

Dictators Need Force

"In Germany they regimented the working people until one day they were called out, not in the interests of freedom, but to war on mankind," the speaker declared. In Canada, too, agriculturists and industrialists might soon find their activities circumscribed.

"The last word is this: To-day as I was coming here I saw on the banks of the Ottawa river two great departmental buildings, one put up by the Liberals and one which is going up to-day. The one to-day is to cost $1,200,000. It is for the R.C.M.P. and the cost is coming out of the money for relief. Out in Regina there is another great barracks which is being put up for the R.C.M.P. It, too, is being built out of relief funds. This money is being spent, not to encourage industry, not to encourage agriculture, but to foster a great military force. For dictators must have a great force behind them to enforce their decrees. And remember, the last word of dictatorships is the cannon and that which comes out of the cannon's mouth.

"Are we so far away from the tragedy that took place in Regina only a few days ago? The power to maintain order is the power of the province, not of the federal authorities. The provincial police of Saskatchewan said they had the

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situation well in hand. I say it was a direct invasion of provincial rights to send a Dominion force into Regina.

"These aren't imaginary things which I am describing to you. They are happening on the eve of a federal election. They show just how blind dictators become when they come into possession of unlimited power.

"I sincerely hope you won't allow yourselves to be deceived by a lot of claptrap about what the present government will do about this and that. Look instead at what the government has done.

"I ask you, for the sake of freedom itself, to keep in mind what I have told you, not something that may happen but something that has happened. Are we to make of Canada a land of progress and freedom, or are we to make another Germany, another Italy, or another Russia?"

"This is an election which should have taken place a full year ago," declared Hon. Vincent Massey, chairman of the National Liberal Federation. "If the welfare of the country had been consulted it would have taken place a year ago. I don't suppose that public opinion and public needs have ever been flouted in this country with such cynical indifference as we have seen at Ottawa in the last twelve months. Business in Canada has suffered immeasurably by the delay in the decision as to who is to govern in the next five years. Every business man, whatever his politics, will tell you so.

"But the election cannot be delayed indefinitely. It is comforting to realize that even Mr. Bennett cannot abolish parliament altogether. We may be sure, ladies and gentlemen, that the electors, when they go to the polls, will not forget that one of the many charges against the present government is that confusion and hardships in Canada to-day have been prolonged and intensified by their persistent refusal to give to the people a chance to choose what their government is to be.

"I wish to join in the welcome which has been extended to our honored leader, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King," continued Mr. Massey. "We Liberals are happy to wage our campaign under such a wise and experienced captain. No one indeed in public life could have a more loyal and united following than he has at this crucial time, and no one could so richly deserve the devoted following he has in all parts of the Dominion.

"We have become increasingly conscious of our good fortune in having Mr. King as our leader in this fight. Mr. King is the most experienced statesman in Canada. In all the British Empire there is no national party chief who has been charged with such duties for as long a time as Mr. Mackenzie King himself. These are days when the political stage is crowded with leaders of all kinds; leaders with broken promises and broken parties too; leaders who continue to promise all things to all men in an unworthy bid for votes; self-appointed leaders with non-existent parties. We Liberals are fortunate indeed in having a chief with a consistent and sincere conception of government and a comprehensive forward-looking policy and a united following behind him, able and keen to work with him in putting these ideas into practical effect.

Unity a Primary Issue

"The unity of Canada is one of the primary issues of this campaign. I don't suppose there has been a time since confederation when the basic structure of this country has been so shaken as it has been in the last five years. Not only has our national fabric suffered from the severe strain of a great depression, but also it has been badly shocked by the profoundly disturbing effect of mistaken policies, clumsy administration and from alternate violence and vacillation at Ottawa.

"This is a complicated country to govern and it needs, on the part of those who administer its affairs, steadiness and wisdom and a sensitiveness to public need. But instead of the broad and human policies which could have given a footing of unity to Canada, so needed in these difficulties, the Dominion has been in the hands of a government whose actions from beginning to end seem to have bred strife and antagonism and bitterness.

"Our essential balances have been upset, town and country have been set against each other, east has differed with west, class with class. The same methods which have provoked domestic difficulties within our boundaries, have caused trouble for us abroad. The latest example is a trade war with Japan, which threatens to reduce our external trade still further, despite the fact that we have little enough left as it is.

"At the moment I am thinking, however, of troubles at home, in particular of the impossibility, under the present regime at Ottawa, as we have seen, of effecting a reasonable co-operation between province and dominion. That represents a relationship of the utmost importance, because most of the social reforms and necessary regulation of our industrial life can only be effected under our present constitution by a genuine co-operation between province and dominion, for most of these reforms are in that ill-defined sphere which lie between the province and the dominion.

"Our constitution now is out of date. The British North America Act, which served us well in 1867, must be changed. When a country has outgrown a constitution as we have done, the constitution must be altered to suit its needs. Canada's requirement must come first, and the constitution must be adapted to serve them. We Liberals are committed to revise the constitution and to make the necessary alterations. And this can be done—and must be done—in such a way as to preserve all those essential rights which minorities, racial and religious, possess and which are the very stuff of our national fabric.

"But it will take some time to revise the constitution, and in the meantime much is to be done. We can't wait any longer. Those reforms which times like these make so imperative must not be delayed. Well, there is only one way to do it, and that is by co-operation, free and voluntary, between province and dominion.

"Something was said by somebody a few days ago to the effect that democracy in Canada can be preserved by the perpetuation of quarrels between the dominion and the provinces. I wonder how the man on relief feels about that, whether he thinks it a good thing to have two governments bickering as to which is responsible for the relief he needs. How does the taxpayer feel when financial responsibilities become a football to be kicked backwards and forwards between Ottawa and provincial capitals? The depression has caused hardship to hundreds of thousands of Canadians. Their care and re-establishment in life is a solemn human responsibility, not to be evaded or dodged as they have been by the government at Ottawa. On the other hand, they are rather a common obligation to be shared by all governments concerned.

The Only United Party

"We Liberals believe in the soundness of our policies. But quite apart from the rightness of those policies we are in the very fortunate position of being able to put them into effect. Policies are one thing, and their application is another. Whenever you may think of the policies, if you can understand them, of Tory leaders like Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Stevens, or of a Socialist leader like Mr. Woodsworth, it is well to remember that no one of these three will be able to form a government with a majority in the House of Commons.

"If you look at the election map of Canada to-day, you will find how true that is. Liberalism not only is the only united party in the dominion, but it is the only political party that can provide an effective, stable, working government in this dominion; in other words, the only party that can carry its policies into practical application. This is a very important fact to remember. Ideas that can't be put into effect are simply pious aspirations that have no relation to practical reality. Sound ideas, together with the ability to apply them, mean sound government. Liberalism has a great past, but to-day we are thinking not so much of its past as of its future, because it stands at the moment on the threshold of its greatest opportunity. In the election of your Liberal candidate to enable him to take his share in the great task which lies ahead, you will be doing your part to help Liberalism to bring in a new and happier day in the life of this country."

Ready and Eager

Mr. King was introduced to the vast audience by Professor Norman Rogers, Liberal candidate in Kingston. He pointed with pride to the fact that the Liberal leader had chosen Kingston to open his momentous campaign.

"We are ready and eager for this contest. The stars are for us and we suspect that Mr. Bennett himself is our strong ally. Canadian Liberalism has never entered a campaign with greater faith in its principles and its leaders than this one," Prof. Rogers declared.

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"This is an election which should have taken place a full year ago," declared Hon. Vincent Massey, chairman of the National Liberal Federation. "If the welfare of the country had been consulted it would have taken place a year ago. I don't suppose that public opinion and public needs have ever been flouted in this country with such cynical indifference as we have seen at Ottawa in the last twelve months. Business in Canada has suffered immeasurably by the delay in the decision as to who is to govern in the next five years. Every business man, whatever his politics, will tell you so.

"But the election cannot be delayed indefinitely. It is comforting to realize that even Mr. Bennett cannot abolish parliament altogether. We may be sure, ladies and gentlemen, that the electors, when they go to the polls, will not forget that one of the many charges against the present government is that confusion and hardships in Canada to-day have been prolonged and intensified by their persistent refusal to give to the people a chance to choose what their government is to be.

"I wish to join in the welcome which has been extended to our honored leader, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King," continued Mr. Massey. "We Liberals are happy to wage our campaign under such a wise and experienced captain. No one indeed in public life could have a more loyal and united following than he has at this crucial time, and no one could so richly deserve the devoted following he has in all parts of the Dominion.

"We have become increasingly conscious of our good fortune in having Mr. King as our leader in this fight. Mr. King is the most experienced statesman in Canada. In all the British Empire there is no national party chief who has been charged with such duties for as long a time as Mr. Mackenzie King himself. These are days when the political stage is crowded with leaders of all kinds; leaders with broken promises and broken parties too; leaders who continue to promise all things to all men in an unworthy bid for votes; self-appointed leaders with non-existent parties. We Liberals are fortunate indeed in having a chief with a consistent and sincere conception of government and a comprehensive forward-looking policy and a united following behind him, able and keen to work with him in putting these ideas into practical effect.

Unity a Primary Issue

"The unity of Canada is one of the primary issues of this campaign. I don't suppose there has been a time since confederation when the basic structure of this country has been so shaken as it has been in the last five years. Not only has our national fabric suffered from the severe strain of a great depression, but also it has been badly shocked by the profoundly disturbing effect of mistaken policies, clumsy administration and from alternate violence and vacillation at Ottawa.

"This is a complicated country to govern and it needs, on the part of those who administer its affairs, steadiness and wisdom and a sensitiveness to public need. But instead of the broad and human policies which could have given a footing of unity to Canada, so needed in these difficulties, the Dominion has been in the hands of a government whose actions from beginning to end seem to have bred strife and antagonism and bitterness.

"Our essential balances have been upset, town and country have been set against each other, east has differed with west, class with class. The same methods which have provoked domestic difficulties within our boundaries, have caused trouble for us abroad. The latest example is a trade war with Japan, which threatens to reduce our external trade still further, despite the fact that we have little enough left as it is.

"At the moment I am thinking, however, of troubles at home, in particular of the impossibility, under the present regime at Ottawa, as we have seen, of effecting a reasonable co-operation between province and dominion. That represents a relationship of the utmost importance, because most of the social reforms and necessary regulation of our industrial life can only be effected under our present constitution by a genuine co-operation between province and dominion, for most of these reforms are in that ill-defined sphere which lie between the province and the dominion.

"Our constitution now is out of date. The British North America Act, which served us well in 1867, must be changed. When a country has outgrown a constitution as we have done, the constitution must be altered to suit its needs. Canada's requirement must come first, and the constitution must be adapted to serve them. We Liberals are committed to revise the constitution and to make the necessary alterations. And this can be done—and must be done—in such a way as to preserve all those essential rights which minorities, racial and religious, possess and which are the very stuff of our national fabric.

"But it will take some time to revise the constitution, and in the meantime much is to be done. We can't wait any longer. Those reforms which times like these make so imperative must not be delayed. Well, there is only one way to do it, and that is by co-operation, free and voluntary, between province and dominion.

"Something was said by somebody a few days ago to the effect that democracy in Canada can be preserved by the perpetuation of quarrels between the dominion and the provinces. I wonder how the man on relief feels about that, whether he thinks it a good thing to have two governments bickering as to which is responsible for the relief he needs. How does the taxpayer feel when financial responsibilities become a football to be kicked backwards and forwards between Ottawa and provincial capitals? The depression has caused hardship to hundreds of thousands of Canadians. Their care and re-establishment in life is a solemn human responsibility, not to be evaded or dodged as they have been by the government at Ottawa. On the other hand, they are rather a common obligation to be shared by all governments concerned.

The Only United Party



Stating some of the principles for which Liberalism stands, the speaker declared that first and foremost it was "the greatest good for the greatest number." He expressed the belief that the people of Canada would hasten to the polls to cast their votes against the inroads on responsible government made by the Bennett government in the past five years.

"For five years we have had an opportunity to test the value of those trade policies instituted by Mr. Bennett. We saw Canada plunged into a blind alley in 1930. The time has come for us to break away from the economic suicide," he continued.

A reduction of unemployment in Canada can only be accomplished by foreign trade, and along those lines Mr. King has built his program for reconstruction, he insisted.

For instance Kingston's two greatest industries are shipping and the locomotive works, he said. These have been prosperous only when there was a Liberal government in power in Ottawa.

Miss E. L. Mowat of Kingston followed Prof. Rogers and said a few words before the Liberal leader rose to speak.

The meeting was closed with a brief address by W. A. Fraser, M.P. for Northumberland.

REPEAT

REPETITION

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Ottawa Citizen, Aug. 6, 1935

3.

Text of Mr. King's Speech On Unemployment Problem

Following is the full text of the address of Mackenzie King over a national network of the Canadian Radio Commission and independent stations:

Tonight I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

I know that you do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to end unemployment"; "I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles"; "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages." Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada if a government does its duty."

Growth of Problem.

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere today its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration. Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

National Registry.

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of a national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments and municipalities have, year by year for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

Speeches From Throne.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the speeches from the throne with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, and that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

Unemployment Figures.

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed. This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons in January, 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labor organizations and labor leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

1,272,000 on Relief.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed, they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May, 1932, to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May, 1932, there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation and want by any yardstick or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four and, for some, five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will

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venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair?

Terrifying Problems.

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focussing attention upon problems of relief and unployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children in rural and isolated communities are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products as the wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment, there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

Govt. Expenditure.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the amount guaranteed in connection with the government's wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Dominion of Canada in any years since Confederation up to the third year of the Great War.

Present Situation.

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditure, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September, 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for Communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the Capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long."

Unemployed Band Together.

It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment." It was also in Regina that, for political purposes, the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behavior when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with this nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated, and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commismission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

Must Cut Expenditures.

It must be clear that expenditures for the purpose of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavor to regain markets which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; cooperation and goodwill between the federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time is Required.

Time is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures, however sound they may be. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavored to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

You will recall that during the war there was established, under act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-operated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of which was audited under the supervision of the auditor-general of Canada.

You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment expressly for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

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National Commission.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it said it would deal with existing emergency conditions of unemployment through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved? Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe? Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

Not Exact Parallels.

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adopted to the existing situation.

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavor to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the expenditures of all moneys. Similarly, in the endeavor to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the services of all departments of provincial governments will be made equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

National Govt. Movement.

Perhaps this will appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform, may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal than in having all governments of the one mind?

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of anyone else.

Need for Social Reform.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignore the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no substitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The truth is, there is no relation of cause and effect between reform and recovery. As respects cause and effect, the situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Immediate Problem.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of employment, let me say at once that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of airway facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life.

Preservation of Beauty.

Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth. What I believe the country would welcome, above all else, would be a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists and to

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afford to the people fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great national beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites and monuments and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the country as distinct from its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

Single Unemployed.

Especially would co-ordinated effort of the kind make its appeal to the single, homeless, unemployed, who, engaged thereon, at this time of distress and discouragement, would be made to feel that they were citizens in every sense of the word, and engaged upon the country's work. While, necessarily, there must be a difference in the rate of payment to persons dependent on the state from that paid to persons employed by private enterprise, so that there will always be an inducement for men to enter private occupations, as opportunities arise, wages should be paid for this class of service. The commission would be especially requested to consider the early transfer of the relief camps from the control of the Department of National Defence, and to enlist the co-operation of every possible agency likely to be of service in the permanent establishment of young unemployed men in the normal economic life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen: In my three radio broadcasts I have tried to place before you, in language both simple and direct, the situation in Canada, as it is viewed by the party which I have the honor to lead, and which has accorded me its fullest confidence and loyalty during a period of leadership approaching sixteen years. Towards myself, however, in other relationships, its confidence and loyalty has extended over a much longer period of time. I was a comparatively young man when I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to enter his cabinet as minister of labor of Canada. For eight years before that time, I had held the position of deputy minister of labor, having been appointed to that office on the recommendation of the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Right Honorable Sir William Mulock. That appointment was made, because of my special interest in, and study of social and economic problems, for years previous. To trace the sources of that interest, I should have to speak of matters too personal, and to which I would not be justified in referring at this time.

True to Labor's Cause.

In seeking, however, from my fellow-countrymen, an expression of larger confidence than any thus accorded, I may perhaps be permitted to say that to my interest in the problems of labor, more than to any other single reason, is due, I believe, the confidence which, along life's way, I have been privileged to enjoy in increasing measure. To the working men and women of Canada I think I can say that, throughout my life, I have been true to the cause!

Unemployment is the hardest cross which a working-man is called upon to bear. Mr. Bennett has tried to solve that problem, but he has tried too late, and he has tried to do it too much alone. I think, too, that his methods and policies have been at fault. The problems of labor cannot be solved by any one man; they require, more than any other problem, united effort. Their solution, moreover, will not be found in endless experimentation, but only in the application of principles and policies which have stood the test of experience and time. Even in a period of great emergency, such as the present, it is too much to hope to secure the united effort of all, but the effort of a political party, united in its aims and policies from one end of the country to the other, can go a long way towards effecting even that result.

Aim of Liberalism.

Of this, at least, I am sure: the task which confronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart. "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country at this hour of its great need a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share in larger measure some of the burdens of their fellowmen, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "Good night."

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Ottawa Citizen, August 3/35.

Full Text of Mr. King's Speech Giving Platform

Full text of Mr. King's speech last night follows:

The Liberal party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties, each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakeably demonstrated during the past five years.

Plenty of Promises.

Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any of these things? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called "New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be wholeheartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organizations representative of all classes and in all parts of the country, and of its representatives in parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Conservative Party Dictatorship.

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his hands to say what the party would do, what its program was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfrid Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favourable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by a cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

Liberal Party Makes Policies.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto specially suited to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines its policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett and of the Reconstruction party, under Mr. Stevens.

Mr. Bennett's Own Policies.

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the cabinet or of parliament.

More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party, and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

No Wonder at Doubts.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once questioned, not by the members of the opposition alone, but by members of the government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the leader of the senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

Stevens' Announcement.

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies; not the leader who creates both the party and the policies. For days, the country was kept in a state of suspense, as Mr. Stevens, with scissors and paste in hand, was kept busy going through all the political programs and platforms he could collect, and, piecing them together, with as many excerpts from the report of the Price Spreads Commission, and as many platitudes of his own, as could be included in a document that would not be too long for publication. This document, too, we are told, is being given very wide circulation. But what guarantee is there that, if everyone in Canada receives a copy, he is going to be any better off?

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Unanimous Liberal Policy.

As I speak to you, I have before me a statement of the Liberal party's position on some immediate problems. This statement was issued by the National Liberal Federation of Canada two and a half years ago. It sets forth the policies of the Liberal party as I was authorized to present them to the House of Commons by every Liberal member in the House, and, indeed, by the unanimous approval, in party caucus, of the Liberal members of both Houses of Parliament. I made it clear, when presenting the statement to Parliament, that it was not intended by the party to be all-inclusive; that there were other matters than those referred to, as, for example, the party's attitude towards war veterans, towards the aged, and the blind; matters pertaining to health and housing; and such subjects as the Civil Service and reform of penitentiary administration; the granting of titles; and many more, all of which would have to be mentioned, if every important question was to be taken into account.

I added that, on most of the matters not referred to in the statement, the party's position had already been made clear, either at the time of the general elections of 1930, or since, upon resolutions, or by speeches of leading members of the party in Parliament. Allowing for all this, you will, I think, be surprised at how up-to-date, and inclusive of most matters of immediate concern, the statement is. Viewed as a whole, you will find, I believe, that the policies set forth constitute a sound basis for the reconstruction of the national life of our Dominion.

Four Relevant Features.

As I read from the statement of the party's position which is before me, there are four important relevant features which I should like you to keep in mind. The first is, the time at which it was given publicity in Parliament; the second is, the circumstances which called it into being at that particular time; the third is, the authority which lies behind the statement; the fourth is, the approval which the policies therein set forth have already received from the electors themselves.

A word as to the time. This statement of the party's position and policies, as I have already mentioned, was made in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1933. You will observe that February, 1933, stands almost exactly midway between the beginning of the first session of the seventeenth Parliament and the close of its last session. It was just a little over two and a half years after the present government assumed office, and a little less than two and a half years ago.

Recalls Reason for Statement

Now a word as to the circumstances which called the statement into being. No one will deny that, from the moment he assumed office, Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies, and those of the party, into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended an Imperial Conference in London a little later in the same year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the sessions of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation.

To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year. From that time on, the party continued to press its point of view upon the government, and to advocate, both in and out of parliament, the policies as set forth.

With Fullest Authority

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout the country.

The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings.

United and Happy Party.

In 1933, a Liberal summer conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study. In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavor. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

Support in By-elections.

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully discussed in relationship to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those either of the government or of the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In the Provinces.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and, thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general election.

Statement of Policy.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in

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an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

Liberation of External Trade.

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote trade with all nations and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will abolish the extravagant increases in the tariff made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute stability for uncertainty in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of British preference by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

Against Prohibiting Tariffs.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

Liberation of Internal Trade.

The Liberal party will seek to end artificial price control and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed, before the mass buying and price spreads committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

Development of Primary Industries.

The Liberal party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting reductions in the costs of production of Canada's basic products and by obtaining wider markets therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

The Marketing Act.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal party is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor-in-Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representative of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements, namely, that the act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

Control of Credit

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted National Central Bank, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

Fascist Type Institution.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in Parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of sovereignity of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has thus been lost, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

Control of Investments

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes an Investment Control Board should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent to all.

Safeguarding of National Railways.

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and publicly controlled service.

This statement of policy will, I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favoring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control, or of their countenancing either at the present time or in the next Parliament of Canada, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

Democratization of Industry.

The Liberal party believes that industrial reconstruction is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

Restoration of Responsible Government.

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of Parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as

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always, for the principle of a free parliament, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives Parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) Legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) Legislation providing the executive with a "blank check" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon once more subject the executive to the control of Parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

Re-assertion of Personal Liberty.

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of free speech and free association, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitary deportations.

The Liberal party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

Electoral Reform.

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure a true parliamentary representation of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce the cost of election campaigns.

A Balanced Budget.

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by retrenchment of public expenditures, by reduction of principal and interest on the public debt by a reduction in taxation and by increased revenues through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a reduction of the cost of government in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

International Relations.

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for peace and good-will among nations, and to promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth.

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to the furtherance of social justice, and to the promotion of the common good.

Minimum of United Effort

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. Save their inability to persuade others of the party of the wisdom of measures they may propose, there is nothing to prevent the more advanced and venturesome members from making further substantial contributions to the party's program. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, which will be the last of this series, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

Tonight, I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwarranted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There is none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

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Ottawa Citizen, August 1/35.

1.

Full Text of Address By Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Following is the text in full of the address of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:

"During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings.

"There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

"It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom, not for today only, nor for the coming year, but for the next five years, our country is to be governed.

Election Promises.

"You have had one experience of being deceived by promises at a general election. Are you prepared to risk another? You have seen how long a period of time five years is; what opportunity it affords a ministry, if the ministry be so inclined, altogether to ignore, and even defy, your clearly expressed will, and your most evident wishes. You have reason to know how all important, in the administration of a nation's affairs, are a right attitude and sound policies. You have seen how a wrong attitude has made for bitterness of feeling, for unrest and discontent, for friction between governments, and for a divided Canada. You have seen, too, how wrong policies, despite vast expenditures of public monies, have only served to increase debt and taxation, to augment unemployment, and to prolong depression.

"Are you going to risk more in the way of bitterness, of unrest, of discontent, of conflict between governments? Are you prepared to take chances on policies which, over a period af another five years, will mean bankruptcy for yourself and the country, more in the way of unemployment, and further prolonged depression? These are questions you do well to ask yourselves, with respect, not only to a government which long since has lost the confidence of the electorate in all parts of Canada, and is now, shamefacedly, appealing to you for a renewal of your confidence; but also with respect to what is being promised and proposed by untried and newly created political parties.

On Political Parties.

"Let me pause to say a word about political parties. To listen to what some people are saying, one would believe that there is something sinister, if not fundamentally wrong, about a political party as such. To see how absurd this is, one has only to ask oneself what means is possible, other than the agency of a political party, for men and women who feel and think alike on great social, economic and political questions, to gain expression in legislation and administration for aims and ideals which they share in common. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the means whereby men and women who hold similar views are enabled so to augment and to consolidate their numbers as to gain a majority over all opposing forces. They thereby secure the power necessary to give effect to their views in matters of government.

"Even Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Stevens," the Liberal leader continued, "who seek to create a prejudice in your minds against what they speak of as the two old political parties, have found it necessary, in order to further the aims they have in view, to organize political parties of their own. Are their aims any the less genuine because they are being championed by a political party? Would these parties be any the less worthy of support if, in addition to their names, they had great traditions, and had fought from generation to generation for the ends they profess to be seeking to serve? You will do well, especially where there is a tendency to tear up everything by the roots, and to get aboard the last carry-all that comes along, to see that the vehicle to which, for the next five years, you intend to trust your individual fortunes, and the political and economic life of our country, is made of something more substantial than the banners pinned to its sides, and the volume of sound its musicians are capable of producing:

Third Parties.

"In Canada we have long had the two parties known as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896, for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921 there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario and in Alberta, and the Independent Labor party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C.C.F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction party.

"Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country. Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

Two Major Parties.

"Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties —the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

"Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

"Just as the great rivers of our land, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces and deepen their channels and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger

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and mightier tasks as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of thought and influence and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

Cause of Third Parties.

"It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part rather than with the whole of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls.. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

"I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which discontent has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

Prosperity Vanishes Then.

"As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

"The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government under Mr. Meighen long after the Union government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office, that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Outcome of Tory Rule.

"Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depression and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. Now hope and expectation are that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations than for the methods of big business and of high finance and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity, and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

"Balance of Power."

"Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted.

"Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the members of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means, the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

Time Is Not Now.

"There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were, on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or withholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason.

"Such, however, is not the situation in Canada. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the government which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has labored for so long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms.

"I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Frequently Thwarted

"Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada.

"Of this I am perfectly sure," he went on, "that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing Liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people,

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will not have a ghost of a chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

"These are facts, not fancies, of which everyone who is more concerned with enactments than with manifestoes, will do well to take full account. We hear much of the wisdom of being realists. The realist in politics in Canada today will remember that all measures, to be enacted, require not only the approval of a majority in the House of Commons, but the approval, as well, of a majority in the Senate. The realist in politics will also remember that, unless sympathetically administered, the best of laws can be rendered of little or no avail.

Tory Dictatorship

"If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons.

"I ask you to think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate are to be made amenable to public opinion, and Liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

Whither Are We Tending

"This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is 'whither.' Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain.

"It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself as he has blazed a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

"Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the 'whispers of death' were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to see all that lies behind that one word 'whither.'

Self-government.

"I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustomed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

"Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government. None of them wholly succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and prosperous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; an Italy with its free Parliament, to which the memory of Garibaldi was still dear; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Negation of Freedom

"If," he said, "with respect to the liberties of the people of Europe, the student of government, even immediately prior to the war, had been asked the question, 'Whither are these nations tending?' he would have found much to lead him to say, 'Towards a larger liberty, based on an increasing recognition of the importance of self-government.'

"What has happened since? War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the people of Russia, surrender the ambition of remaining or of becoming democracies.

"It was not until someone began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and overriding the constitution, that in Europe parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

Death of Democracy

"And what has come in the stead of parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

"For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I propose to test all policies and all proposals by the simple method of asking whither they tend. If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

Opposes National Govt.

"That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favor of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible.

"I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubtedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system.

Last Desperate Effort.

"Traced to its source—the source that is financing the present movement—it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs and taxation in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests.

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"Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service, it would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

"In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbors in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such detail as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems.

Must Repudiate Tendency

"My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of the party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these.

"What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government than the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighborhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror.

"Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need."

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Toronto Mail & Empire, Aug. 27/35.

WHAT MR. KING HAS DECLARED IN THIS ELECTION.

(1) Mr. Mackenzie King intimates that the depression was caused by Conservative policies since 1930.

The depression began a year before Mr. King left office and has been accentuated by his extravagance while in office.

(2) Mr. King says he will make a trade treaty with the United States.

During his nine years in office Washington passed legislation reducing Canada's exports of farm products and manufactures of farm products to the States from nearly $175,000,000 in 1921 to a little over $3,000,000 a year. He did nothing about it but negotiations are now under way at Washington for a fair trade treaty.

(3) Mr. King says that he will extend Canada's markets abroad.

Most of the world's markets were closed to this country while he was in office.

(4) Mr. King says that he will improve trade relations with Great Britain.

The Empire Trade Agreements signed at Ottawa in 1932, in spite of Mr. King's protests, provided Canadians with preferred, sheltered markets of immense value that have saved the country from the full effects of the depression.

(5) Mr. King says that he will find markets for Canada's primary producers.

This is exactly what the Bennett Government has been doing, not only in the Empire trade agreements but in treaties with France, Germany, Poland, Austria and other countries.

(6) Mr. King says that he will improve Canada's world position.

An adverse trade balance of $103,000,000 under Mr. King has now been converted into a favorable trade balance of $145,000,000.

(7) Mr. King says that the Government's course has been detrimental to the country.

Canada to-day enjoys a greater proportion of the world's trade than it did in 1929, when Mr. King was in office. It is the fifth exporting nation in the world.

(8) Mr. King says that Canada is badly off compared to other countries.

Our next door neighbor, the United States and most other countries have suffered far more severely than Canada from the depression, which is world wide and which began a year before Mr. King left office. The most trying economic period in modern times has been more effectively combated in this country than elsewhere. This country has recovered faster and further from the depths of the depression than any other nation except Great Britain.

(9) Mr. King says that Mr. Bennett has throttled Canadian trade.

The League of Nations Statistical Bureau reports that Canada's record in maintaining her commerce during the past four years has been surpassed by only one other great trading nation. While world exports declined 57.1 per cent. Canada's exports declined 49.9 per cent., those of the United States declined 66.9 per cent., those of the United Kingdom 57.2 per cent., those of Germany 65.8 per cent., those of France 58.4 per cent., those of Italy 58.1 per cent.

(10) Mr. King says that the farmers are in a bad way.

Our agriculturists have had a hard time, but farmers in Ontario and other provinces are to-day buying agricultural implements often for cash on a scale that keeps the implement factories running full time.

(11) Mr. King says that Conservatives are reactionary and Liberals forward minded.

Most of the progressive legislation placed on the Statute books in the last thirty years has been carried through Parliament by Conservatives. Mr. Bennett's social reforms are typical. Mr. Bennett acted while Mr. King put his ideas in a book sixteen or eighteen years ago and then forgot them.

(12) Mr. King says that the methods of big business and high finance and high pressure salesmanship are worthy of condemnation.

It was during his nine years in office that financial combines, merger mongering and profiteering by high finance reached their greatest proportions. Mr. Bennett has actually passed legislation to correct the abuses complained of.

(13) Mr. King says that Mr. Bennett is a dictator and runs the country all by himself.

Mr. King pleads for the enthronement of the Liberal party in Ottawa and all the provinces so that he may have no one in public life to question his own authority.

(14) Mr. King says that he will give the people unemployment insurance.

The present Government has passed legislation to that end already. The Employment and Social Insurance Act adopted at the recent session of Parliament provides for a wide measure of health and unemployment insurance and re-employment under the administration of an Employment and Social Insurance Commission.

(15) Mr. King says that he will abolish increases in the tariff and extra taxes on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties.

If he does that he will close scores of factories which have been opened under the present administration and are running full time.

(16) Mr. King says that he will end the making and alteration of tariffs by executive action.

If he does so he will condemn thousands of Canadian fruit and vegetable growers and other farmers to ruin.

(17) Mr. King says that he will make a cut in tariffs against foreign countries and greatly increase the British preference.

If he does this he will throw tens of thousands of Canadian workers out of employment.

(18) Mr. King says that he will cure unemployment.

Unemployment has already been cut in half and if Mr. King were to carry out his pledges the number of those out of work would increase once more.

(19) Mr. King says that he will make the Bank of Canada publicly owned so that the Government can control currency and credit.

This means that politicians would be allowed to play ducks and drakes with our banking and financial system which has been one of the main buttresses of Canadian stability and recovery during the depression.

(20) Mr. King says that hunger marches and relief camp strikes are deplorable.

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Mr. King's lieutenant, Attorney-General Roebuck, incited the Communist-led trekkers to go back home and organize until they were strong enough to force any Government to do their will.

This list of Mr. King's statements will be concluded in to-morrow's issue.

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Mail & Empire, Aug. 28/35.

WHAT MR. KING HAS DECLARED IN THIS ELECTION.

(Continued from Yesterday's Issue.)

(21) Mr. King says that the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway, the creation of airplane stations, the elimination of level crossings and other projects should be undertaken as a means of providing work for those who are still idle.

These projects have all been under way for some years past and are being pushed to completion.

(22) Mr. King says that third parties in Canada have invariably originated when the Conservatives were in power.

It was while the Liberals were in power in Ontario that the Patrons of Industry and the Protestant Protective Association developed. In the election of 1894 fourteen Patrons and two P.P.A.'s were returned to the Legislature. In 1919 under disturbed post-war conditions the U.F.O. slipped into power for a term, but with the Conservatives in office the number of U.F.O. and other irregular members fell from fifty-eight in 1922 to seven in 1934. In the federal field it was under a Unionist Government, partly Conservative and partly Liberal, that the Progressives originated and mustered a strength that gave them and other independents, in the general election of 1921, a post-war strength of seventy-one members—a force which has since dwindled away until in the last House it was only twenty-two.

(23) Mr. King says that in calling partizans to the Senate Mr. Bennett has committed a crime against the constitution.

In 1904 Sir Wilfrid Laurier called Sir Richard Cartwright to the Senate after dissolution. In 1917 Sir Robert Borden, as head of a Unionist Government, called a number of members of Parliament to the Upper Chamber seventeen days after dissolution. In 1925 Mr. King himself on the day of dissolution called a number of his Cabinet colleagues and House followers and others to the Senate. Weeks after dissolution in the same year he appointed three others to the Upper Chamber. After dissolution in 1930 Mr. King promoted two of his Cabinet colleagues and several of his House followers to the Upper Chamber. Nearly all of Mr. Bennett's appointments to the Senate were made before dissolution.

(24) Mr. King says that no government of Canada has any right to take any action with respect to war until there is a new Parliament and a new government in office, and that if the Liberals come in no such decision will be made until Parliament has assembled.

This procedure is compulsory under the Statutes and no government to-day could think of any other course.

(25) Mr. King says that Mr. Bennett is building armouries and creating a vast military machine to hold down the people.

Canada is the most undefended considerable country in the world, and everybody knows that there is not the slightest foundation for the Opposition leader's statement.

(26) Mr. King says he will reduce interest rates.

The Bennett Government recently placed a loan at an all-time record low interest rate, and it has through co-operation of the banks and other large institutions reduced commercial and mortgage interest rates.

(27) Mr. King says that he will abolish titles in Canada.

He himself delights to be known as The Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.A., LL.B., LL.D., Ph.D., M.P., P.C., Freeman of the Cities of London, Sheffield, Manchester and Edinburgh, leader of His Majesty's loyal Opposition.

(28) Mr. King has condemned the Government's legislation for "peace, order and good government," and promised that he will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

In thus pledging himself he has offended the saner elements of the population and threatened the welfare of the average man, woman and child, which is menaced by the Communist danger.

(29) Mr. King talks of inaugurating an industrial revival for Canada.

It was under Mr. King's lax tariff policy that many Canadian factories were closed, including especially textile factories in different parts of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. Mr. Bennett's policies have opened these factories. They are running full time and Mr. King would close them again.

(30) Mr. King is going to place the federal treasury at the disposal of the dwindling number of unemployed.

This reminds us of his repeated statement in the House of Commons that he would not give a five-cent piece to any province in which the Conservatives held sway.

(31) Mr. King has repeatedly referred to the Conservative party as the party of the so-called Big Interests.

The Opposition leader knows that his successive election campaigns have been financed by the big interests and the contractors who had access to the federal coffers through his Government's huge expenditures on the Government railways. He is aware that the Bennett Government has treated the bankers, brokers and other branches of high finance more stiffly than any previous government.

(32) Mr. King has talked bravely of the high ideals of the Liberal party.

Our reply is to refer him to an editorial page article in the Toronto Star by Rev. Charles E. Huestis, exposing the Canadian Liberal party as futile and insincere.

(33) Mr. King intimates that he will do great things for the farmers.

What about the Empire Trade Treaties, the Federal Marketing Act, the Farm Loan Act, the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, the buttressing of the Winnipeg Wheat Market, etc.? In these measures the Bennett Government has done more for agriculture than any previous administration.

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Strictly Confidential.

(Not to be published until the morning after the broadcast.)

RADIO BROADCAST NO.I.

July 31, 1935 - 9 to 9.30 P.M. - E.D.S.T.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings. There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost, on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say over the radio, to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom, not for today only, nor for the coming year, but for the next five years, our country is to be governed.

You have had one experience of being deceived by promises at a general election. Are you prepared to risk another? You have seen how long a period of time five years is; what opportunity it affords a ministry, if the ministry be so inclined, altogether to ignore, and even to defy, your clearly expressed will, and your most evident wishes. You have reason to know how all important, in the administration of a nation's affairs, are a right attitude and sound policies. You have seen how a wrong attitude has made for bitterness of feeling, for unrest and discontent, for friction between governments, and for a divided Canada. You have seen, too, how wrong policies, despite vast expenditures of public monies, have only served to increase debt and taxation,

to augment unemployment, ad to prolong depression. Are you going to risk more in the way of bitterness, of unrest, of discontent, of conflict between governments? Are you prepared to take chances on policies which, over a period of another five years, will mean bankruptcy for yourself and the country, more in the way of unemployment, and further prolonged depression? These are questions you do well to ask yourselves, with respect, not only to a government which long since has lost the confidence of the electorate in all parts of Canada, and is now, shamefacedly, about to appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence; but also with respect to what is being promised and proposed by untried and newly created political parties.

Let me pause to say a word about political parties. To listen to what some people are saying, one would believe that there is something sinister, if not fundamentally wrong, about a political party as such. To see how absurd this is, one has only to ask oneself, what means is possible, other than the agency of a political party, for men and women who feel and think alike on great social, economic and political questions, to gain expression in legislation and administration for aims and ideals which they share in common. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the means whereby men and women, who hold similar views, are enabled so to augment and to consolidate their numbers as to gain a majority over all opposing forces. They thereby secure the power necessary to give effect to their views in matters of government. Even Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Stevens, who seek to create a prejudice in your minds against what they speak of as the "two old political parties", have found it necessary, in order to further the aims they have in view, to organize political parties of their own. Are their aims any the less genuine because they are being championed by a political party? Would these parties be any the less worthy of support if, in addition to their names, they had great traditions, and had fought from generation to generation for the ends they profess to be seeking to serve? You will do well, especially where there is a tendency to tear up everything by the roots, and to get aboard the last carry-all that comes along, to see that the vehicle to which, for the next five years, you intend to trust your individual fortunes, and the political and economic life of our country, is made of something more substantial than the banners pinned to its sides, and the volume of sound its musicians are capable of producing.

In Canada, we have long had the two parties known as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost

exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896 for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921, there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario, and in Alberta, and the Independent Labour party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C. C. F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction Party.

Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time, and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you, not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country. Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties - the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views, or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail, have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the

best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

Just as the great rivers of our land, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces, and deepen their channels, and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger and mightier tasks, as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of thought, and influence, and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part, rather than with the whole of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression, due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which discontent has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which

discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry, or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government, under Mr. Meighen, long after the Union Government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war, and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government, and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depression and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. My hope and expectation is that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations, than for the methods of big business, and of high finance, and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity; and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted. Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the members of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or withholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason. Such, however, is not the situation in Canada today. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the government which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has laboured for so long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms. I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any

month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures, which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada. Of this I am perfectly sure, that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people, will not have a ghost of a chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons. I ask you to

think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate, are to be made amenable to public opinion, and liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is "whither". Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain. It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself, as he has blazed a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the "whispers of death" were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not, will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to

see all that lies behind that one word, "whither".

I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustomed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom, and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government None of them wholly succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and prosperous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; an Italy with its free Parliament; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Then came the war.
~~What has happened since~~? War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the people of Russia, surrender the ambition of

remaining or of becoming democracies. It was not until some one began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and over-riding the constitution, that in Europe, parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

And what has come in the stead of Parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I intend to test all policies and all measures by the simple method of asking, whither they tend? If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favour of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment, or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible. I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubtedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason, and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system. Traced to its source - the source that is financing the present movement - it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain

persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs, and taxation, in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests. Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service, National Government would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbours in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such detail, as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems. My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of the Liberal party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these. What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government from the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighbourhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror. Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

(Not to be published until the morning after the broadcast.)

RADIO BROADCAST NO. 2.

By Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King.

Delivered at Ottawa, August 2, 1935.

9 to 9.30 P.M., E.D.S.T.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Liberal party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties, each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past five years. Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any one of these things ? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that, as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called

"New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be whole-heartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as a whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organizations representative of all classes and in all parts of the country; they must have the cordial support of the party's members in the country, and of its representatives in Parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his own hands to say what the party would do, what its programme was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfrid Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The Leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favourable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by a cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto specially suited to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines it policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett, and of the

Reconstruction party, under Mr. Stevens.

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in Parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the Cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the Cabinet or of Parliament. More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own Cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge either of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party, and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once questioned, not by the members of the Opposition alone, but by members of the Government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the Leader of the Senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? For days, the country was kept in a state of suspense, as Mr. Stevens, with scissors and paste in hand, was kept busy going through all the political programmes and platforms he could collect, and, piecing them together,

Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies, not the leader who creates both the party and the policies.

with as many excerpts from the report of the Price Spreads Commission, and as many platitudes of his own, as could be included in a document that would not be too long for publication. This document, too, we are told, is being given very wide circulation. But what guarantee is there that, if everyone in Canada receives a copy, he is going to be any better off?

As I speak to you over the radio, I have before me a statement of the Liberal party's position on some immediate problems. This statement was issued by the National Liberal Federation of Canada two and a half years ago. It sets forth the policies of the Liberal party as I was authorized to present them to the House of Commons by every Liberal member in the House, and, indeed, by the unanimous approval, in party caucus, of the Liberal members of both Houses of Parliament. I made it clear, when presenting the statement to Parliament, that it was not intended by the party to be all-inclusive; that there were other matters, than those referred to, as, for example, the party's attitude towards war veterans, towards the aged, and the blind; matters pertaining to health and housing; and such subjects as the Civil Service and reform of penitentiary administration; the granting of titles; and many more, all of which would have to be mentioned, if every important question was to be taken into account. I added that, on most of the matters not referred to in the statement, the party's position had already been made clear, either at the time of the general elections of 1930, or since, upon resolutions, or by speeches of leading members of the party in parliament. Allowing for all this, you will, I think, be surprised at how up-to-date, and inclusive of most matters of immediate concern, the statement is. Viewed as a whole, you will find, I believe, that the policies set forth constitute a sound basis for the reconstruction of the national life of our Dominion.

As I read from the statement of the party's position which is before me, there are four important relevant features which I should like you to keep in mind. The first is, the time at which it was given publicity in Parliament; the second is, the circumstances which called it into being at that particular time; the third is, the authority which lies behind the statement; the fourth is, the approval which the policies therein set forth have already received from the electors themselves.

A word as to the time. This statement of the party's position and policies, as I have already mentioned, was made in the House of Commons on February 27th,

1933. You will observe that February, 1933, stands almost exactly midway between the beginning of the first session of the seventeenth Parliament and the close of its last session. It was just a little over two and a half years after the present government assumed office, and a little less than two and a half years ago.

Now a word as to the circumstances which called the statement into being. No one will deny that, from the moment he assumed office, Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies, and those of the party, into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended an Imperial Conference in London a little later in the same year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the sessions of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation. To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year. From that time on, the party continued to press its point of view upon the government, and to advocate, both in and out of parliament, the policies as set forth.

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout

the country. The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort, and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal Organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published, the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings.

In 1933, a Liberal Summer Conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study. In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavour. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa Conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully discussed in relationship to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those of either of the government or of the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and,

thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general election.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

(1)

UNEMPLOYMENT OF FIRST CONCERN

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

(2)

LIBERATION OF EXTERNAL TRADE

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

The Lib Party.

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It will abolish the extravagant INCREASES IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting comsumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

(3)

LIBERATION OF INTERNAL TRADE

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed, before the Mass Buying and Price Spreads Committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

4.

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY INDUSTRIES

The Liberal party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistamce in the marketing of natural products.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal party is opposed to state assistamce, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor in Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representative of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations amd to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, amd to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements, namely, that the Act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, amd not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

5

CONTROL OF CREDIT

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, comsidered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce amd exchange.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading ecomomists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has thus been lost, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

CONTROL OF INVESTMENTS

The Liberal party believes the finamcial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent to all.

7

SAFEGUARDING OF NATIONAL RAILWAYS

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

This statement of policy will I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favouring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control, or of their countenancing either at the present time or in the next Parliament of Canada, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

8

DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

The Liberal party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

9

RESTORATION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of a FREE PARLIAMENT, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon once more subject the executive to the control of parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

10

RE-ASSERTION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitary deportations.

The Liberal party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

11

ELECTORAL REFORM.

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure a TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

12

A BALANCED BUDGET

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION and by INCREASED REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

13

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOOD-WILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

14

MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEEDS, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. Save their inability to persuade others of the party of the wisdom of measures they may propose, there is nothing to prevent the more advanced and venturesome members from making further substantial contributions to the party's programme. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, which will be the last of this series, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

To night,I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwamanted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There is none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

(Not to be published until the morning after the broadcast.)

RADIO BROADCAST No 3.

By Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Delivered at Ottawa, August 5th, 1935

9 to 9.30 P.M. E.D.S.T.

Ladies and Gentlemen:-

To night I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

I know that you do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago, when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to end unemployment":"I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles": "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages". Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governements"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times, if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a government does its duty".

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year, you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more, you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere, today, its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration. Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate

why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish, as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of a national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments, and municipalities, have, year by year, for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem, and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the Speeches from the Throne, with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, that that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is

also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift, and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed. This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons, in January 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage-earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labour organizations, and labour leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada today is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed, they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May 1932 to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May 1932, there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year, there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation, and want, by any yardstick, or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and

the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four, and, for some five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair?

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focusing attention upon problems of relief and unemployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children, in rural and isolated communities, are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products, as the wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress, has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office, until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the amount guaranteed in connection with the government's

wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Domihion of Canada in any years since Confederation up to the third year of the Great War.

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditure, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long". It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment". It was also in Regina that, for political purposes, the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behaviour when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with this nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated,

and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT OF FIRST CONCERN

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

It must be clear that expenditures for the purpose of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavour to regain markets which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; co-operation and good-will between the

federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures, however sound they may be. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavoured to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

You will recall that during the war there was established, under Act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the Fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-operated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of thich was audited under the supervision of the Auditor General of Canada.

You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment expressely for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it said it would deal with existing emergency conditions of unemployment through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved. Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe?

Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adapted to the existing situation.

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the expenditure of all monies. Similarly, in the endeavour to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the services of all departments of provincial governments will be made equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

Perhaps this will appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so

completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform, may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal than in having all governments of the one mind?

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of any one else.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignor the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assult upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no subtitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The truth is, there is no relation of cause and effect between reform and recovery. As respects cause and effect, the situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will

crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of employment, let me say t at once that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of air-way facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life. Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth. What I believe the country would welcome, above all else, would be a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists and to afford to the people fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great national beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites and monuments and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the

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its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

Especially would co-ordinated effort of the kind make its appeal to the single, homeless, unemployed, who, engaged thereon, at this time of distress and discouragement, would be made to feel that they were citizens in every sense of the word, and engaged upon the country's work. While, necessarily, there must be a difference in the rate of payment to persons dependent on the state from that paid to persons employed by private enterprise, so that there will always be an inducement for men to enter private occupations, as opportunities arise, wages should be paid for this class of service. The commission would be especially requested to consider the early transfer of the relief camps from the control of the Department of National Defence, and to enlist the co-operation of every possible agency likely to be of service in the permanent establishment of young unemployed men in the normal economic life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen: In my three radio broadcasts I have tried to place before you, in language both simple and direct, the situation in Canada, as it is viewed by the party which I have the honour to lead, and which has accorded me its fullest confidence and loyalty during a period of leadership approaching sixteen years. Towards myself, however, in other relationships, its confidence and loyalty has extended over a much longer period of time. I was a comparatively young man when I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to enter his Cabinet as Minister of Labour of Canada. For eight years before that time, I had held the position of Deputy Minister of Labour, having been appointed to that office on the recommendation of the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Right Honourable Sir William Mulock. That appointment was made, because of my special interest in, and study of social and economic problems, for years previous. To trace the sources of that interest, I should have to speak of matters too personal, and to which I would not be justified in referring at this time.

In seeking, however, from my fellow-countrymen, an expression of larger confidence than any thus accorded, I may perhaps be permitted to say that to my interest in the problems of Labour, more than to any

other single reason, is due, I believe, the confidence which, along life's way, I have been privileged to enjoy in increasing measure. To the working men and women of Canada I think I can say that, throughout my life, I have been true to the cause.

Unemployment is the hardest cross which a working-man is called upon to bear. Mr. Bennett has tried to solve that problem, but he has tried too late, and he has tried to do it too much alone. I think, too, that his methods and policies have been at fault. The problems of Labour cannot be solved by any one man; they require, more than any other problem, united effort. Their solution, moreover, will not be found in endless experimentation, but only in the application of principles and policies which have stood the test of experience and time. Even in a period of great emergency, such as the present, it is too much to hope to secure the united effort of all, but the effort of a political party, united in its aims and policies from one end of the country to the other, can go a long way towards effecting even that result.

Of this, at least, I am sure: the task which confronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart. "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke", is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country at this hour of its great need a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share in larger measure some of the burdens of their fellow-men, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "goodnight".

D 21180

Mr King
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Unemployment Seen As Foremost National Problem

Gov't Trade Policy Blamed For Losses By Mackenzie King

Liberal Chief Given Good Hearing At Meeting Here

(Continued from Page One)

most trading nations of the world and which the Liberal party stands pledged to continue and expand. Conservatives, he said, had strangled Canadian trade with tariff barriers and taxes. But, with return of a Liberal government, much could be accomplished by improving conditions—even without calling a session of parliament.

Behind all the trade decline—and figures and references were cited in the enumeration—Mr. King held that high tariff policies were to blame. Certain trade agreements and treaties had admittedly been negotiated by the present government but in contrast, Canada had been in active trade with every trading country in the world before the Conservatives assumed power in 1930.

Monetary reform along with unemployment was touched upon by the speaker in the latter stages of his address. So far as the present Central Bank is concerned, Mr. King suggested it had Canadian financial backing tied fast and tight to "private interests." The gold deposits on currency, security and rediscount were labeled as all being held, not by the Dominion but the "private" Bank of Canada.

Unemployment National Concern

Admitting that urban centres and municipalities had reached their limit, or over-reached it, the Liberal leader emphasized that unemployment is and must be a national concern.

To meet this problem the Liberals propose to immediately inaugurate a national unemployment commission to study proper projects and at the same time continue existing public works—"excepting those of a truly political nature to such extent as to warrant their discontinuance," Mr. King added as an afterthought.

Stating that he firmly believed very little could be accomplished without co-operation between provinces and the federal government—and at the same time remarking all but one (Alberta) boasted a provincial Liberal government—Mr. King pledged himself to immediately call a conference of premiers to iron out such subjects as interest, mortgage rates, debt, monetary reform and requirements.

As the closing gesture he extended to Prime Minister Bennett his sincere regard, as a man who had served the country faithfully and long. He had, he said, sincere respect for Mr. Bennett, who he believed had acted in what he considers the best interests of the country.

At the same time he asked listeners to carefully weigh and consider whether or not it was not a mistaken cause with five years in the balance which probably constitute the pivotal point in Canadian history.

TEXT OF ADDRESS

The text of the Liberal leader's address was as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

"I imagine the thought that is mostly in the mind of those who are assembled here tonight is what will be the result of these elections as determined two weeks from this evening. I confess that since I have come into this hall and looking into the faces of those who are on all sides of this building, the thought that is most in my own mind is not so much what is to be the result two weeks from tonight as to what is to be the result during the next five years."

"It is from that point of view that I wish to speak to you tonight and speak to you with all the sense of responsibility which rests on the shoulders of one who is the leader of the Liberal Party. Because as I see it the choice does seem to lie for the next five years between the return to power of the government which has been in office in the last five years and which is placing its record before the people of Canada in this general election and the return to power of a Liberal administration, an administration led by the same leader as was in office during the nine years of the previous Liberal administration."

friends feel that I was reflecting upon them when I said that the Social Credit candidates I believed were being financed elsewhere by the Conservative party. Now I hadn't any reference in my remark at all as to what was being done in the province of Alberta. It was Saskatchewan. I had in mind someone who would be a Social Credit candidate there and the the idea was pretty general that back of a movement of that kind, after all, men don't leave one province to go to another and travel a good many hundred miles to enter upon a political campaign unless somebody is helping them out financially in that campaign, and my friends had the impression that the Social Credit Party had more use for their funds than to waste them in that particular way and that they were at any rate, and it would not be until they began to get some of the dividends, that they were anxious to spend what money they now have on running candidates in other provinces. (Laughter and applause).

B'AMES TORIES FOR DIVIDING OPPOSITION

"And what was taking place in Prince Albert was mysteriously taking place in a number of other constituencies in the province of Saskatchewan and we have always known those of us who have had to do with the Tory parties in years past that the Tory party has certain methods of winning elections. (laughter) and one of them is, and it is a method that is common in many places, one of them is to divide the forces as largely as you can that are opposed to you and the way to divide the Liberal party today, of course, is to put in as many radical parties as you can because they know that we are the one radical party that is opposed to the Conservative party if there is any chance of carrying the country. That I want to make perfectly clear. (Laughter and applause).

"Now absolutely I want to make that perfectly clear because I should be very sorry if, particularly after the kindly way I was received by the premier of this province and by many of his supporters and friends, there should be an impression that I was seeking in any way to reflect upon the party led by him here. I was doing nothing of the kind, but I was stating exactly the position as I have put it here to you this evening.

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us come back to the concrete situation. You have as a possibility to govern Canada in the next five years, either one of the so-called old political parties. Now those old political parties will be aided by these other various groups that may return individual members or they will be hindered in their work. What I think Canada needs above everything else, for the next five years, is a party so strongly supported that there will be no doubt whatever that it will be able to put its policies into force.

"Now that is what I want to ask my friends in Alberta tonight, as I have been asking in the other provinces, when you come to vote two weeks from today, have your mind on the next five years, as far as you can. Don't allow it to be carried away by some immediate, or local influence, though I know no one knows better than myself how strong that feeling must be when men have been suffering over a period of years as the people of Canada have been suffering, but think of the next five years and the problems that we have, and ask ourselves then the question, 'Who is the one and what is the party that is most likely to be able to bring us out of this depression into a period of greater and real prosperity.'

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me say this, if I ought to have in the course of my public life, experience in public affairs, and experience which would lead me to believe, and on good grounds to believe, that certain policies will bring about certain results I wouldn't for one moment appear before you in this campaign and advocate any of those policies, but when I have known situations not unlike those which we have in Canada today and have seen the country pulled out of those situations and drawn out of the situations by the advocation of policies which are the complete opposite of those which have brought the country into a period of depression, then I feel that after all here is something that has been tried. Why can't we put our faith in the thing that has succeeded before and see if we cannot make it succeed once more?

"Now I believe we can do that very thing. In 1896, that goes back a good long way, after Conservative administration had been in power for some time and a good many reactionary policies were in force, this country was in a period of very great depression and the situation on which the whole difficulty turned was whether or not Canada was to continue along certain protectionate policies which has had the effect of strangling ence, I think, in this very city in 1932, and it had its program extended in 1933, and it has been extending its program ever since. That party didn't come into existence until during the period of unrest. That is one thing you will discover as you study the policies of our country; the third parties always seem to have their birth during hard times, and it is not surprising, because people in some way or another think they must look around for something new and something different, and they naturally fall for new groups and new associations, but it all has its effect when it comes to consider the question of government over a long period of time.

"Now the C.C.F. Party has a number of candidates running in different constituencies, but I am perfectly sure that even from the number of candidates that are being put into the field you will find they won't have a sufficient number if they elected them all to carry on government by a majority in the House of Commons. They may have some in some parts that are returned, but they won't have them generally.

"Take the maritime province, take the great province of Quebec, if it is, as I have listened to the discussions and the talke of people there, they hardly mention the name of that particular party. However, that is the first point that I wish to make.

"Now, then, let us take the next party; what is the next party that came into being? Well, it didn't come into being even during the period that the government was carrying on th ebusiness in Parliament. It didn't come into being until after Parliament itself rose. Then the other party, headed by Mr. Stevens, the Reconstruction Party, it is called, came into being. That party hadn't even a name, it hadn't an existence, it hadn't a program, nad do you think it at all likely that a party of that character is going to be able to carry on the government of Canada for the next five years?

"Well, as I say, there again you are forced to look at the way in which it came into being to see that it won't be running for the next five years. Well, then, we come a little closer home, and here I want to remind you that I am speaking now not of provincial politics at all. As a leader of the federal party I have always taken the position that the federal party should maintain the old Liberal doctrine of provincial rights.

"I noticed that one of the papers in Vancouver has taken issue with me since then. They say Mr. King is coming out again with that old doctrine of provincial rights. We don't think that that is progress; we think the time has now come when the Federal Government ought to begin to assert itself more strongly and not allow a lot of things to be done in the provinces that are being done. Now that is one thing I think the people of this province would do well to consider when they are viewing the situation for the next five years, is just how far you may expect interference from one party or the other at Ottawa with what you may be trying to do here.

"However, so far as the Liberal Party is concerned, our policy will continue to be with regard to matters that are of purely provincial concern, experiments being tried out in this province, for example, on monetary and other matters, 'Hands off Alberta, give Alberta every chance to work out what she is seeking to do under their policy.' (Applause).

"But we have, and today there have been, I believe, a number of Social Credit candidates nominated in the Province of Alberta, and there have been some nominated, I believe, in the adjoining province of Saskatchewan, and possibly elsewhere, but I think that outside of this very limited circle, there are no Social Credit candidates in the field anywhere in canada, and that being the case, it is hardly probable that anyone, even in Alberta itself, will expect to see a Social Credit government at Ottawa carrying on for the next few years.

"Now there is another party still. That party is even more remote than the ones that I have already mentioned. It is the party that is talked about as the National Government Party. But we don't know who the leader of that party is, it has not a leader yet. Nevertheless

Trade, Prosperity Promised By Leader of Liberal Forces



RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Marking his first visit to Calgary for some time, the leader of the Liberal Party in Canada was accorded a cordial reception when he brought to a large audience an outline of his party's trade policy to restore prosperity and terminate unemployment.

were many British goods that we in Canada would wish to buy, there were many things, particularly the people of Western Canada, would wish to buy at as reasonable a price possible, many of these things that couldn't be manufactured in Canada at all, others that could only be manufactured at great cost, and Sir Wilfrid saw growing up in Canada under the protective system monopolies of one kind or another in manufacture and in other directions which were artificially enhancing the price of commodities to the great body of consumers without bringing revenues into the public treasury to help to meet the situation in other respects. He said that he thought the first thing then was to begin to try and further trade by reducing duties against the country that was taking most of our products from us.

"Now he had this further reason. Sir Wilfrid knew, and the country is finding out how true it was, that a country can't go on trading one way all the time. You can't be sending your exports to other parts of the world and to other countries unless you are prepared to take their imports from them. So as to further the trade back and forth this policy of reducing the tariff within the Empire was adopted, and that policy once adopted worked so well that it was continued by even Conservative administrations that followed that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"Neither Sir Robert Borden nor Mr. Meighen tried in any way to do away with the policy of British preference perfected by lowering the duty on British goods coming into this country rather than by raising duties higher against other countries, but it remained for the present Prime Minister, for the first time, to adopt a new policy toward Great Britain. He adopted it when he called a special session of parliament in 1930, before he went over to the British conference, he raised the duties against Britain. In other words did away with the certain advantage of the preference, raised the duties against Britain as well as against other countries and made trade more difficult with Britain, and when he got to Britain he told the people of England unless they raised their duties against other countries they might look in vain for making any agreement with Canbecause other nations are doing that we ought to follow in a similar way.

FOLLOW GOOD EXAMPLE BUT CHANGE BAD ONE

"Now the Liberal point of view isn't that at all. We think if there is a good example to follow it, but if it is a bad example do not follow it but try to change it, and that is the position that we take in the matter of trade today. We believe that we could go to these countries to take down these walls of isolation. Canada has found it has only served to put up the cost of living and to increase its trade and to increase its unemployment, and say look here, 'You have made a mistake, the world has been making a mistake in its trade policies, let us sit down like reasonable people and see if we can't end these mistakes and take a more excellent way which would serve to bring trade between us, and with trade increased friendly relations and increased prosperity to the world.'

"Now that is the difference between a Liberal policy in this present campaign and the Conservative policy. We believe that we ought to go out after markets, not try to blast our way into other countries, but try to persuade other countries that it is reasonable that we should meet together and exchange goods inasmuch as trade is not economic war, but trade is exchange which means mutual benefits to those countries concerned.

"But, as I say, that chance went by in 1932. I know there are some today who say trade has improved in all parts of the world and we have shared in that general improvement, but you have only to take this fact into account: we have no agreement with the United States, notwithstanding we have these agreements with Ottawa, trade between Canada and the United States has increased more rapidly since the Ottawa agreements than has trade between Canada and Great Britain, so it is due to some other cause. When you begin to look into the causes you will find that there are such factors as the relations between Ireland and England which closed the market to Ireland for some things which have helped us temporarily, you will find that trade was measured in terms of the dollar worth a hundred cents, in 1930, whereas today it is being valued at a dollar's worth sixty cents or something like in the great basic industries, and he reduced duties considerably during the time he was in office on many of the necessaries of life.

"Now you will remember that he had a committee of the cabinet that went about the country and took evidence in different places, and where he found it was possible to make a reduction that was going to help the people, he sought to have it brought about. Now what was the result? The result was that during the 15 years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, Canada went ahead and increased in prosperity by leaps and bounds. Now you all know that that is true and it was true more, due more to basic policy of trade than to any other single cause.

"Now what happened after that? What was the last thing of all that Sir Wilfrid Laurier tried to do? Following out consistently his desire for more and more in the way of trade with other countries, he started the very day that he went into office to see if he could not negotiate a reciprocal agreement with the United States. He didn't leave it to correspondence. He and his ministers went to Washington and they discussed matters in Washington, at first, and with the government there, but they found that the United States was not in a mood to make a reciprocal agreement, the protectionate element was so strong in that country that the government at that time couldn't succeed.

"Previous Conservative governments of Canada had sought to do the same thing but when one after the other had failed, then having made the best attempt Sir Wilfrid Laurier said 'no more trips to Washington; we will wait now until Washington comes to us.' Now Washington did come and before 1911 overtures were made to Canada by the United States government to effect a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and what was the result?

"The result was not correspondence laid on the table during a period of a general election, correspondence given to the press and saying, 'Look at this, and see what we are ready to do with the United States?' What was placed before the people of Canada was a concrete agreement giving definite advantages to the great producers of this country in the American market, giving advantage to every man and woman and child in this great province of Alberta and every province throughout the west. (Loud and prolonged applause).

"And advantages that were very large indeed, advantages in all the basic industries, advantages to agriculture, to lumbering, to mining, the fishing industries of Canada, to many of our other products, getting into that great market under the most favorable terms possible.

"Now what happened at that time? You may remember the agreement was proposed, opposition sprang up to that agreement and where did it spring from? Now this is something I hope my good friends in Calgary will rectify; they have a chance to do it two weeks from tonight.

"No one in Canada was more strenuous and bitter in his opposition to that reciprocity agreement than the present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. R. B. Bennett (applause). There was one other who was equally strong in his opposition and who did all he possibly could to defeat that agreement and that is Mr. Stevens, who subsequently became minister of trade and commerce in Mr. Bennett's government and who along with Mr. Bennett, more than anyone else, has been responsible for putting the tariffs up to the high heights, to the enormous heights that they are at the

BENNETT OPPOSED RECIPROCITY WITH U.S.

"Now don't forget, I ask you not to forget that fact because Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself felt very keenly at the time; Sir Wilfrid, as you well know, had a love for these western provinces that couldn't have been greater than it was. He was the one who created his government, the one who created these province of Alberta and Saskatchewan. He had a special interest in them; every visit that he paid to Western Canada he was more and more impressed with the fact that the prosperity of all Canada depended on the prosperity of Western Canada, and here was the great grain markets, not only of the Dominion, but of the world. We were capable of producing a quality of wheat that couldn't be equalled in any other country, and that all we had to do to make Canada prosperous was to make the west prosperous, that money would flow in here as we sold the exports of the western provinces, and with that money we would have a home market for the manufacturers of Canada. That is the way that he presented the case and as it truly was.

"Now, as I say, that because he was so keen on that, he felt very, very deeply, that the opposition

Hands Off Alberta, Liberal Leader's Announced Policy

Permit Province To Work Out Own Experiment

is rather interesting (shouts and loud talking). My friend over there says, 'It was in 1910. This was in 1910. Give us something that is more recent.' Now may I tell him, first of all, that it wasn't 1910; it was 1911 when the reciprocity agreement was defeated (applause) and this was after 1911. But, ladies and gentlemen, may I point this out, an interruption of this kind displays clearly beyond words that it is purely an interruption when a man tells you you are talking about 1910, and he is wrong in that, then you know he is wrong in everything else. (Cheers and applause).

"Now what I want to point out to my friends is this, that had the mistake not been made in 1910 and 1911 this country would be in a very different position than it is today. (Applause and cheers). **And I don't want that mistaken. I don't want that mistake to be repeated in 1935 to the detriment of this great part of Canada for another 25 years. There is a point, my friends, to keep in mind. You can make a mistake today and its effect will be all over tomorrow. Well and good, but if you make a mistake today that is going to be injurious to your country for the next quarter of a century, then you are making a mistake that it is advisable to provide against if you possibly can.**

WARNS AGAINST MAKING SAME MISTAKE TWICE

"Now we are just at that point tonight. We are just at that point that—in the history of our country today, that a mistake made on the 14th of October again will probably determine whether or not we have let go by for all times this chance of getting again into the American market, of getting a wider market in Britain, of restoring our trade with Japan, of having trade negotiations with other countries of the world.

"Now I don't want the people to make that mistake and I don't want it to be made a second time as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said it was being made due in large part to what may have been said by one of the citizens of this great city. (Interruptions). Now may I read (applause and cheers), let me now read what Sir Wilfrid Laurier says and ask you (more interruption) and ask you to listen to these words.

"Sometimes there are words that come to us from the past which are much more meaningful than anything that can be said in the present, and I think these words coming from this great leader of Liberalism in Canada will impress everyone who is within the sound of my voice tonight.

"'Sometimes,' says Sir Wfrid, 'I realize that I have reached the allotted span of three score years and ten; I may not live to see it, but the time will come, my friends, when my fellow countrymen will wonder, if, after all, Fielding and Laurier were not right in seeking freer trade in natural products with our neighbors while increasing our trade with England through British preference. Even my brilliant young friend from Calgary, Mr. Bennett, may concede it some time. I cannot pierce the mists of the future, none of us can, but I am confident that coming years will vindicate our course.' (Applause and cheers).

"Now, I ask you, my friends, this is a province that is attracting a good deal of importance to prophecy, but I think one can see from this (applause and laughter) that prophets do not all belong to Old Testament days. There is a true prophecy, if ever there was one, that even the brilliant young friend from Calgary, as Sir Wilfrid was speaking of on that occasion, and to whom he attributed in a larger measure than to anyone else, the defeat of reciprocity, would come to see that he had made a mistake and would change his course. Well, he has admitted that. He is telling us today that he is ready to go on and negotiate a treaty. He is asking you to return him to power for what? In order that he may get the very thing that he prevented Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government from getting 25 years ago (Applause and cheers).

"I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I think a party that was about a revival of prosperity, the congress of the United States gave to the President 'or a period of a few years—only for a period of a few years—the right to himself by executive order to lower duties with respect to commodities coming into the United States from certain countries if those countries would lower their duties against the products of the United States going to them. It could be done without any act of Congress whatever, simply under an executive order, and we have standing on our statutes the law which authorizes our government not to raise tariffs, but where it comes to a lessening of taxation to lower tariffs with regard to commodities coming into this country from other countries if, as a result of so doing, we can get an entrance into the market of countries. So that's the position today if Mr. Bennett were in earnest in the desire for reciprocity.

"I can't see for the life of me why he should have had to wait until this time of general election to say to the people, 'Let me come back and then I'll negotiate and settle this thing. He has had that chance, he has had it for five years or more, and if in five years or more he hasn't been able to do it under these circumstances (applause and cheers), **he will not be able to do it at all.**

REGINA MARKETS IN BRITAIN, U.S., JAPAN

"Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, that is where I think a beginning could be made at the present time to get these markets in Britain if we can, get this market in the United States if we can, to get the market we just lost in Japan if we can, and get them immediately, not wait for any length of time, not waiting another couple of years. This power that the President of the United States has expires within a year or two. This agreement can only be made for a limited period of years, so if we had the advantage of it in these last two years, would it have meant nothing to Alberta, would it have meant nothing to Saskatchewan and Manitoba, to have had a great reciprocal greement with the United States, admitting our cattle and admitting our wheat, and admitting our lumber, and admitting other commodities to the United States on favorable terms?

"That chance has gone for the present, but there is no reason why the opportunity shouldn't be availed of and a successful agreement made before this year is out, and I believe that if the Liberal Party is returned to power that is one of the achievements that will be to its credit in this very year. (Applause).

"And here now I come to what I was saying a moment ago about the success of trade policies. When we came into office, I spoke to you about the earlier period of Liberal rule, I come now to the period when the Liberals came into office in 1920-21, what was the position of Canada then? There was unemployment throughout this country on a great ecale, the Dominion was assisting the provinces and the provinces were assisting the municipalities, money was being spent from the treasury to help to provide relief and to furnish employment, as it did for the unemployed. Our factories were in a distressed condition, our industry generally, and our sales were down to a low point. How did we go about it?

"We went about it directly the opposite way to what Mr. Bennett went about affairs in 1931, when he came into office. Instead of putting up tariffs we began to try and make it possible for the producers of our country to compete in the markets of the world at a lower cost of production by reducing duties on the implements of production. We tried to help them further by reducing duties on the necessaries of life, we tried to help the consumers of the country by taking off duties on many of the commodities that entered into the cost of living, and we sought also to relieve the great body of consumers on taxes, by lessening the sales tax and other taxes as well.

"And you know what the result was. The result of our tariff policies, the result of the action which we took was to increase trade by leaps and bounds until we reached a point in Canada where Canada's trade was greater under the late Liberal administration than it has been at any time in the history of Canada itself. (Cheers and applause).

"Now in order that there may be no question, I don't want to trouble you with statistics at any length, but as to the position of trade fig-

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Behind all the trade decline—and figures and references were cited in the enumeration—Mr. King held that high tariff policies were to blame. Certain trade agreements and treaties had admittedly been negotiated by the present government but in contrast, Canada had been in active trade with every trading country in the world before the Conservatives assumed power in 1930.

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Ladies and Gentlemen:

"I imagine the thought that is mostly in the mind of those who are assembled here tonight is what will be the result of these elections as determined two weeks from this evening. I confess that since I have come into this hall and looking into the faces of those who are on all sides of this building, the thought that is most in my own mind is not so much what is to be the result two weeks from tonight as to what is to be the result during the next five years."

"It is from that point of view that I wish to speak to you tonight and speak to you with all the sense of responsibility which rests on the shoulders of one who is the leader of the Liberal Party. Because as I see it the choice does seem to lie for the next five years between the return to power of the government which has been in office in the last five years and which is placing its record before the people of Canada in this general election and the return to power of a Liberal administration, an administration led by the same leader as was in office during the nine years of the previous Liberal administration."

"After going from one end of Canada to the other, as I have intended to go in this campaign, sizing up the situation in the different provinces, it does seem to me that there is no other alternative so far as government is concerned and the government for the next five years and I think, therefore, that you would do well to weigh very carefully just as to which of these political parties you feel the Government of Canada can be best entrusted.

"Now I want to go a step further at once, and at least bring to your minds why I say that I think the choice lies between the two. It seems rather singular for one to say there are only two when there are so many political parties in the field, but after all, ladies and gentlemen, the number of political parties in the field doesn't determine what particular government may carry on the business of Canada because a government must have behind it a majority in the House of Commons, and unless the political party can have behind it a majority in the House of Commons it cannot carry on the government.

"Now ask yourselves a question just while we are all thinking calmly and quietly about the situation for the next five years. Ask yourself the question, 'Can any of the other parties possibly hope to have a majority in the House of Commons?' 'What are the other parties?' Well the first party that came into existence since the election of 1930, other than the two that were before you at that time, was the C.C.F. party. Now this is interesting to stop and reflect upon for a moment, ladies and gentlemen. The other parties that are in the field today are all of them parties that have come in through the field since the last general election, all of them are parties that have come into existence as the result of discontent with the present administration and its administration of affairs. There was no C.C.F. party in 1930.

CALGARY BIRTHPLACE OF C.C.F. PARTY

"There were other parties, but no C.C.F. party. It came into existence in the province of Alberta, in the city of Calgary, and it came into existence as the result of the discontent of the people of Alberta with the administration of affairs in this province and with the administration of affairs by the government over a long period of time.

"Now the C.C.F. Party has a number of candidates running in different constituencies, but I am perfectly sure that even from the number of candidates that are being put into the field you will find they won't have a sufficient number if they elected them all to carry on government by a majority in the House of Commons. They may have some in some parts that are returned, but they won't have them generally.

"Take the maritime province, take the great province of Quebec, if it is, as I have listened to the discussions and the talks of people there, they hardly mention the name of that particular party. However, that is the first point that I wish to make.

"Now, then, let us take the next party; what is the next party that came into being? Well, it didn't come into being even during the period that the government was carrying on th ebusiness in Parliament. It didn't come into being until after Parliament itself rose. Then the other party, headed by Mr. Stevens, the Reconstruction Party, it is called, came into being. That party hadn't even a name, it hadn't an existence, it hadn't a program, nad do you think it at all likely that a party of that character is going to be able to carry on the government of Canada for the next five years?

"Well, as I say, there again you are forced to look at the way in which it came into being to see that it won't be running for the next five years. Well, then, we come a little closer home, and here I want to remind you that I am speaking now not of provincial politics at all. As a leader of the federal party I have always taken the position that the federal party should maintain the old Liberal doctrine of provincial rights.

"I noticed that one of the papers in Vancouver has taken issue with me since then. They say Mr. King is coming out again with that old doctrine of provincial rights. We don't think that that is progress; we think the time has now come when the Federal Government ought to begin to assert itself more strongly and not allow a lot of things to be done in the provinces that are being done. Now that is one thing I think the people of this province would do well to consider when they are viewing the situation for the next five years, is just how far you may expect interference from one party or the other at Ottawa with what you may be trying to do here.

"However, so far as the Liberal Party is concerned, our policy will continue to be with regard to matters that are of purely provincial concern, experiments being tried out in this province, for example, on monetary and other matters, 'Hands off Alberta, give Alberta every chance to work out what she is seeking to do under their policy.' (Applause).

"But we have, and today there have been, I believe, a number of Social Credit candidates nominated in the Province of Alberta, and there have been some nominated, I believe, in the adjoining province of Saskatchewan, and possibly elsewhere, but I think that outside of this very limited circle, there are no Social Credit candidates in the field anywhere in canada, and that being the case, it is hardly probable that anyone, even in Alberta itself, will expect to see a Social Credit government at Ottawa carrying on for the next few years.

"Now there is another party still. That party is even more remote than the ones that I have already mentioned. It is the party that is talked about as the National Government Party. But we don't know who the leader of that party is, it has not a leader yet. Nevertheless it has got its supporters all over the country, it shows you what an extraordinary condition of mind the people have got into in Canada, that we should actually have in this campaign candidates on the public platform of some other parties saying that they are prepared to support a national government party once the elections are over.

PREPARED TO SUPPORT UNKNOWN POLICIES

"Now, what does that mean? It means that they are prepared to support certain policies that they don't know yet what the actual direction of these are to be, but nevertheless, for the sake of winning votes or something of the kind they will stand for this thing that they call National Government, which I see the situation at the moment simply means the party is prepared to do after election certain things that it would be unwilling to bring before the electorate at the time of the general election.

"Now, if I am correct in what I have said, the situation does narrow itself down pretty well to the point of view of the government of Canada for the next five years as to indicating whether you are going to make it possible for the present administration to be returned to power for five years more or whether you are going to make it possible for a Liberal administration to be returned, and when I say possible I mean not merely to be returned but to be in such a position that it can carry on during the next five years. Not merely (that ladies and gentlemen, is only the photographer seeking to let a little more light in on the subject)." (Laughter and applause).

"Now there is one impression, however, before I go a step further, I want to correct immediately. It has been pointed out to me that a remark I made the other evening, speaking at Edmonton, appears to have been misunderstood. At any rate, I may not have expressed myself in terms that I had in mind when I was speaking, but which if it has been misunderstood I greatly regret. I understand that our Social Credit constituencies in the province of Saskatchewan and we have always known those of us who have had to do with the Tory parties in years past that the Tory party has certain methods of winning elections. (laughter) and one of them is, and it is a method that is common in many places, one of them is to divide the forces as largely as you can that are opposed to you and the way to divide the Liberal party today, of course, is to put in as many radical parties as you can because they know that we are the one radical party that is opposed to the Conservative party if there is any chance of carrying the country. That I want to make perfectly clear. (Laughter and applause).

"Now absolutely I want to make that perfectly clear because I should be very sorry if, particularly after the kindly way I was received by the premier of this province and by many of his supporters and friends, there should be an impression that I was seeking in any way to reflect upon the party led by him here. I was doing nothing of the kind, but I was stating exactly the position as I have put it here to you this evening.

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us come back to the concrete situation. You have as a possibility to govern Canada in the next five years, either one of the so-called old political parties, now those old political parties will be aided by these other various groups that may return individual members or they will be hindered in their work. What I think Canada needs above everything else, for the next five years, is a party so strongly supported that there will be no doubt whatever that it will be able to put its policies into force.

"Now that is what I want to ask my friends in Alberta tonight, as I have been asking in the other provinces, when you come to vote two weeks from today, have your mind on the next five years, as far as you can. Don't allow it to be carried away by some immediate, or local influence, though I know no one knows better than myself how strong that feeling must be when men have been suffering over a period of years as the people of Canada have been suffering, but think of the next five years and the problems that we have, and ask ourselves then the question, 'Who is the one and what is the party that is most likely to be able to bring us out of this depression into a period of greater and real prosperity.'

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me say this, if I ought to have in the course of my public life, experience in public affairs, and experience which would lead me to believe, and on good grounds to believe, that certain policies will bring about certain results I wouldn't for one moment appear before you in this campaign and advocate any of those policies, but when I have known situations not unlike those which we have in Canada today and have seen the country pulled out of those situations and drawn out of the situations by the advocation of policies which are the complete opposite of those which have brought the country into a period of depression, then I feel that after all here is something that has been tried. Why can't we put our faith in the thing that has succeeded before and see if we cannot make it succeed once more?

"Now I believe we can do that very thing. In 1896, that goes back a good long way, after Conservative administration had been in power for some time and a good many reactionary policies were in force, this country was in a period of very great depression and the situation on which the whole difficulty turned was whether or not Canada was to continue along certain protectionate policies which has had the effect of strangling trade and by strangling trade increasing our employment in Canada, or whether this country should start a different line and seek by reducing tariffs by cutting the cords that had been strangling the trade of our country, and by further trade generally to relieve unemployment in that way, along, of course, with other policies that might accompany it.

"Now Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was as wise a public man as ever led the affairs of any country, Sir Wilfrid Laurier (applause) believed that the first thing to do was to seek to develop trade between Britain and Canada as much as was possible, and it was Sir Wilfrid and his government that devised the policy of having a special preference for trade with Britain.

PREFERENCE STARTED IN LAURIER'S DAY

"Now why was that preference introduced? It was introduced for this reason; Sir Wilfrid felt there were many British goods that we in Canada would wish to buy, there were many things, particularly the people of Western Canada, would wish to buy at as reasonable a price possible, many of these things that couldn't be manufactured in Canada at all, others that could only be manufactured at great cost, and Sir Wilfrid saw growing up in Canada under the protective system monopolies of one kind or another in manufacture and in other directions which were artificially enhancing the price of commodities to the great body of consumers without bringing revenues into the public treasury to help to meet the situation in other respects. He said that he thought the first thing then was to begin to try and further trade by reducing duties against the country that was taking most of our products from us.

"Now he had this further reason. Sir Wilfrid knew, and the country is finding out how true it was, that a country can't go on trading one way all the time. You can't be sending your exports to other parts of the world and to other countries unless you are prepared to take their imports from them. So as to further the trade back and forth this policy of reducing the tariff within the Empire was adopted, and that policy once adopted worked so well that it was continued by even Conservative administrations that followed that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"Neither Sir Robert Borden nor Mr. Meighen tried in any way to do away with the policy of British preference perfected by lowering the duty on British goods coming into this country rather than by raising duties higher against other countries, but it remained for the present Prime Minister, for the first time, to adopt a new policy toward Great Britain. He adopted it when he called a special session of parliament in 1930, before he went even over to the British conference, he raised the duties against Britain. In other words did away with the certain advantage of the preference, raised the duties against Britain as well as against other countries and made trade more difficult with Britain, and when he got to Britain he told the people of England unless they raised their duties against other countries they might look in vain for making any agreement with Canada in the matter of trade because his preferences were going to be based on raising tariffs higher against other countries, not on lowering them between the different parts of the British Empire.

"Now you know what was the result of that conference of 1930. It was a complete failure, and we lost then a great chance of developing trade in a way which would have helped the whole of Canada. When it came to the Imperial Conference of 1932, which was held at Ottawa, Mr. Baldwin and the British delegates came out and they stated it was their belief that if Canada would only follow the old policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier—they didn't use those words, but they used the reference to the policy, namely grants of preference within the Empire, not by raising tariffs against other countries, but by lowering them as against different parts of the Empire—that trade would revive in a very real and immediate way and that we would be in a more prosperous condition all over. But they went further; they said other countries were going to watch and see what the British Empire does, and if we take a step along that line it will have far-reaching effect on other countries, and it may be the very means whereby so far as trades of the Empire is concerned, that all of us will find trade between different parts of the countries of the world increasing materially as a result of reducing duties, as well as a result of putting them up higher against other countries.

"Now I think that is where the great opportunity was lost, but Bennett refused to accept the point of view that was presented by the British delegates. It was the point of view which the Liberal Party of Canada had always had, but not the point of view to which the present Prime Minister has.

"He believes that in the last few years the tendency has been for nations to isolate themselves economically, to try to become self-sufficing, to try to do everything within their own boundary, and he has said because other nations are doing that we ought to follow in a similar way.

FOLLOW GOOD EXAMPLE BUT CHANGE BAD ONE

"Now the Liberal point of view isn't that at all. We think if there is a good example to follow it, but if it is a bad example do not follow it but try to change it, and that is the position that we take in the matter of trade today. We believe that we could go to these countries to take down these walls of isolation. Canada has found it has only served to put up the cost of living and to increase its trade and to increase its unemployment, and say look here, 'You have made a mistake, the world has been making a mistake in its trade policies, let us sit down like reasonable people and see if we can't end these raising tariffs and take a more excellent way which would serve to bring trade between us, and with tradee increased friendly relations and increased prosperity to the world.'

"Now that is the difference between a Liberal policy in this present campaign and the Conservative policy. We believe that we ought to go out after markets, not try to blast our way into other countries, but try to persuade other countries that it is reasonable that we should meet together and exchange goods in asmuch as trade is not economic war, but trade is exchange which means mutual bencfits to those countries concerned.

"But, as I say, that chance went by in 1932. I know there are some today who say trade has improved in all parts of the world and we have shared in that general improvement, but you have only to take this fact into account: we have no agreement with the United States, notwithstanding we have these agreements with Ottawa, trade between Canada and the United States has increased more rapidly since the Ottawa agreements than has trade between Canada and Great Britain, so it is due to some other cause. When you begin to look into the causes you will find that there are such factors as the relations between Ireland and England which closed the market to Ireland for some things which have helped us temporarily, you will find that trade was measured in terms of the dollar worth a hundred cents, in 1930, whereas today it is being valued at a dollar's worth sixty cents or something like that. These are the factors that account for the apparent increase, but what has been in the way of slight increase is as nothing compared to what there would have been if trade had the proportions that it should be having at the present time.

"Now I am stressing this question of trade, ladies and gentlemen, for this reason, as I believe that during the next five years, while we may go on trying to deal with our different problems, by means of taking money out of the public treasury to help unemployment by means of seeking, through voluntary means of dealing with tsese questions. While all of these things may or not be helpful, I am not trying to argue the case for or against any one thing. What I am pointing out is this, that the one fundamental thing which would determine more than anything else the success, the successful overcoming of the unemployment problem, the successful outcome of experiments in the different ways will be whether or not Canada's trade is increased.

CONSISTENTLY URGED LOWERING TARIFFS

"Now the Liberal Party is the only party that during the past five years has consistently and persistently advocated lower tariffs and increased trade with other countries as its basic policy, and I am here tonight, not to announce something new, not to announce something that hasn't been tried, but to announce something that has been tried before and has worked successfully before, but which has not been put in operation during this past five years, and asking for you to give it a chance for the next five and see if it doesn't bring about the results desired. (Applause.)

"Now, I have started to say what Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy was on preference. Not only did Sir Wilfrid Laurier give the British preference in that way but he reduced duties very materially, especially on those things that enter into the cost of production



RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Marking his first visit to Calgary for some time, the leader of the Liberal Party in Canada was accorded a cordial reception when he brought to a large audience an outline of his party's trade policy to restore prosperity and terminate unemployment.

matters in Washington, and with the government there, but they found that the United States was not in a mood to make a reciprocal agreement, the protectionate element was so strong in that country that the government at that time couldn't succeed.

"Previous Conservative governments of Canada had sought to do the same thing but when one after the other had failed, then having made the best attempt Sir Wilfrid Laurier said 'no more trips to Washington; we will wait now until Washington comes to us.' Now Washington did come and before 1911 overtures were made to Canada by the United States government to effect a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and what was the result?

"The result was not correspondence laid on the table during a period of a general election, correspondence given to the press and saying, 'Look at this, and see what we are ready to do with the United States?' What was placed before the people of Canada was a concrete agreement giving definite advantages to the great producers of this country in the American market, giving advantage to every man and woman and child in this great province of Alberta and every province throughout the west. (Loud and prolonged applause).

"And advantages that were very large indeed, advantages in all the basic industries, advantages to agriculture, to lumbering, to mining, the fishing industries of Canada, to many of our other products, getting into that great market under the most favorable terms possible.

"Now what happened at that time? You may remember the agreement was proposed, opposition sprang up to that agreement and where did it spring from? Now this is something I hope my good friends in Calgary will rectify; they have a chance to do it two weeks from tonight.

"No one in Canada was more strenuous and bitter in his opposition to that reciprocity agreement than the present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. R. B. Bennett (applause). There was one other who was equally strong in his opposition and who did all he possibly could to defeat that agreement and that is Mr. Stevens, who subsequently became minister of trade and commerce in Mr. Bennett's government and who along with Mr. Bennett, more than anyone else, has been responsible for putting the tariffs up to the high heights, to the enormous heights that they are at the

BENNETT OPPOSED RECIPROCITY WITH U.S.

"Now don't forget, I ask you not to forget that fact because Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself felt very keenly at the time; Sir Wilfrid, as you well know, had a love for these western provinces that couldn't have been greater than it was. He was the one who created his government, the one who created these province of Alberta and Saskatchewan. He had a special interest in them; every visit that he paid to Western Canada he was more and more impressed with the fact that the prosperity of all Canada depended on the prosperity of Western Canada, and here was the great grain markets, not only of the Dominion, but of the world. We were capable of producing a quality of wheat that couldn't be equalled in any other country, and that all we had to do to make Canada prosperous was to make the west prosperous, that money would flow in here as we sold the exports of the western provinces, and with that money we would have a home market for the manufacturers of Canada. That is the way that he presented the case and as it truly was.

"Now, as I say, that because he was so keen on that, he felt very, very deeply that the opposition that helped to defeat that measure should have come from a citizen of Western Canada. And that there may be no mistake in that, let me read you what Sir Wilfrid said, that I have in my hands here, a speech that he made shortly after the defeat of reciprocity. It words that it is purely an interruption when a man tells you you are talking about 1910, and he is wrong in that, then you know he is wrong in everything else. (Cheers and applause).

"Now what I want to point out to my friends is this, that had the mistake not been made in 1910 and 1911 this country would be in a very different position than it is today. (Applause and cheers). And I don't want that mistaken. I don't want that mistake to be repeated in 1935 to the detriment of this great part of Canada for another 25 years. There is a point, my friends, to keep in mind. You can make a mistake today and its effect will be all over tomorrow. Well and good, but if you make a mistake today that is going to be injurious to your country for the next quarter of a century, then you are making a mistake that it is advisable to provide against if you possibly can.

WARNS AGAINST MAKING SAME MISTAKE TWICE

"Now we are just at that point tonight. We are just at that point that—in the history of our country today, that a mistake made on the 14th of October again will probably determine whether or not we have let go by for all times this chance of getting again into the American market, of getting a wider market in Britain, of restoring our trade with Japan, of having trade negotiations with other countries of the world.

"Now I don't want the people to make that mistake and I don't want it to be made a second time as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said it was being made due in large part to what may have been said by one of the citizens of this great city. (Interruptions). Now may I read (applause and cheers), let me now read what Sir Wilfrid Laurier says and ask you (more interruption) and ask you to listen to these words.

"Sometimes there are words that come to us from the past which are much more meaningful than anything that can be said in the present, and I think these words coming from this great leader of Liberalism in Canada will impress everyone who is within the sound of my voice tonight.

"'Sometimes,' says Sir Wilfrid, 'I realize that I have reached the allotted span of three score years and ten; I may not live to see it, but the time will come, my friends, when my fellow countrymen will wonder, if, after all, Fielding and Laurier were not right in seeking freer trade in natural products with our neighbors while increasing our trade with England through British preference. Even my brilliant young friend from Calgary, Mr. Bennett, may concede it some time. I cannot pierce the mists of the future, none of us can, but I am confident that coming years will vindicate our course.' (Applause and cheers).

"Now, I ask you, my friends, this is a province that is attracting a good deal of importance to prophecy, but I think one can see from this (applause and laughter) that prophets do not all belong to Old Testament days. There is a true prophecy, if ever there was one, that even the brilliant young friend from Calgary, as Sir Wilfrid was speaking of on that occasion, and to whom he attributed in a larger measure than to anyone else, the defeat of reciprocity would come to see that he had made a mistake and would change his course. Well, he has admitted that. He is telling us today that he is ready to go on and negotiate a treaty. He is asking you to return him to power for what? In order that he may get the very thing that he prevented Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government from getting 25 years ago (Applause and cheers).

"I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I think a party that was prepared to stake its political existence on getting a treaty like this is the better party to entrust with negotiaions to make it a success. (Applause and cheers). It is a proud circumstance in my life that I can say to this audience that at the time of that reciprocal agreement I had been for a couple of years a member of the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and along with my great leader and my party I went down to defeat by fighting for more in the way of freer trade with the great country to the south for the people of western Canada. And may I say this, I have never lowered my colors in that particular direction. And may I point out this further fact, that if between now and the day of election itself it should be possible for Mr. Bennett to conclude these negotiations without even parliament sitting, that will be due to a measure which was passed in parliament when I myself was Prime Minister of this country, a measure brought in by the Honorable Mr. Fielding, which gave to the Governor-in-Council power without parliament itself being in office to lower duties with respect to commodities coming into this country from other countries who would make a reciprocal agreement with us.

"Now I cannot understand for the life of me why with the powers that exist in the government hands at Ottawa and the powers which we know that exist in the hands of the government of the United States, that we have had to wait at all for this length of time for an agreement if our own government were in earnest about a reciprocal agreement.

"Notice the position. There never was a chance such as there has been in the last two years, but the difficulty in negotiating an agreement with the United States heretofore has always been that measures have had to pass both Houses of Congress. It has had to pass our houses of parliament, and to get the members in agreement in both countries over matters of that kind has been exceedingly difficult, but in these strenuous times, realizing that trade was necessary to bring

gard to commodities coming into this country from other countries if, as a result of so doing, we can get an entrance into the market of countries. So that's the position today if Mr. Bennett were in earnest in the desire for reciprocity.

"I can't see for the life of me why he should have had to wait until this time of general election to say to the people, 'Let me come back and then I'll negotiate and settle this thing. He has had that chance, he has had it for five years or more, and if in five years or more he hasn't been able to do it under these circumstances (applause and cheers), he will not be able to do it at all.

REGINA MARKETS IN BRITAIN, U.S., JAPAN

"Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, that is where I think a beginning could be made at the present time to get these markets in Britain if we can, get this market in the United States if we can, to get the market we just lost in Japan if we can, and get them immediately, not wait for any length of time, not waiting another couple of years. This power that the President of the United States has expires within a year or two. This agreement can only be made for a limited period of years, so if we had the advantage of it in these lest two years, would it have meant nothing to Alberta, would it have meant nothing to Saskatchewan and Manitoba, to have had a great reciprocal greement with the United States, admitting our cattle and admitting our wheat, and admitting our lumber, and admitting other commodities to the United States on favorable terms?

"That chance has gone for the present, but there is no reason why the opportunity shouldn't be availed of and a successful agreement made before this year is out, and I believe that if the Liberal Party is returned to power that is one of the achievements that will be to its credit in this very year. (Applause).

"And here now I come to what I was saying a moment ago about the success of trade policies. When we came into office, I spoke to you about the earlier period of Liberal rule, I come now to the period when the Liberals came into office in 1920-21, what was the position of Canada then? There was unemployment throughout this country on a great ecale, the Dominion was assisting the provinces and the provinces were assisting the municipalities, money was being spent from the treasury to help to provide relief and to furnish employment, as it did for the unemployed. Our factories were in a distressed condition, our industry generally, and our sales were down to a low point. How did we go about it?

"We went about it directly the opposite way to what Mr. Bennett went about affairs in 1931, when he came into office. Instead of putting up tariffs we began to try and make it possible for the producers of our country to compete in the markets of the world at a lower cost of production by reducing duties on the implements of production. We tried to help them further by reducing duties on the necessaries of life, we tried to help the consumers of the country by taking off duties on many of the commodities that entered into the cost of living, and we sought also to relieve the great body of consumers on taxes, by lessening the sales tax and other taxes as well.

"And you know what the result was. The result of our tariff policies, the result of the action which we took was to increase trade by leaps and bounds until we reached a point in Canada where Canada's trade was greater under the late Liberal administration than it has been at any time in the history of Canada itself. (Cheers and applause).

"Now in order that there may be no question, I don't want to trouble you with statistics at any length, but as to the position of trade figures, just let me just quote one or two figures to you. They are important because I noticed that our Conservative friends—and no one more than Mr. Bennett, are citing figures today to indicate that Canada's position in the matter of trade is really not so bad after all, that our export trade has increased, and so forth, but we are not being told by Mr. Bennett that the figures on which export trade is being reckoned today is a dollar's worth sixty cents as against a dollar's worth one hundred, in terms of gold, and also we are not being given the total trade. We are being given only trade in one particular direction.

MILLIONS SPENT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

"Now I want to just give you these figures because they indicate a comparison which is significant and they tell the story more emphatically than anything else, why we have the extent of unemployment that we have today and why we haven't been able to remedy that situation despite the millions of dollars that are being spent out of the public treasury. Take the five years, 1925 to 1930, the last five years of the Liberal administration. I take them to compare them with the five years of the present administration. The imports into Canada in that time, look how it bears on railways, and bears on all railways and all transportation; look how it bears on our warehouses, our wholesale houses and retail houses, look how it bears on employment generally.

"Imports into Canada in the Liberal five years that I have mentioned were over five billion. Under Conservative administration they have been two billion, eight hundred some odd millions. The total exports under the Liberal administration for five years were over six billion. The total exports under the last five years have been three billion. The total trade, that is both exports and imports under the last five years of Liberal administration was eleven

(Continued on Page Seventeen)

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Propose to Regain and Extend Canada's Export Trade

Would Reorganize National Bank to Give Gov't Control

Present Set-Up Not To Best Advantage Of Canada

(Continued from Page Sixteen)

billion, eight hundred and sixty million of dollars. The total trade under the Conservative last five years has been not eleven billion eight hundred millions, but five billion nine hundred and fifty-four million.

"The average total trade in the last five years of the Liberal administration was two billion three hundred and seventy-two million. The average total trade under the Conservative administration was one billion one hundred and ninety million. Now there is the story of our depression told more concretely and emphatically than can be told in any other way. In other words Canadian trade has fallen off by one-half in the last five years.

"Now this decline has made your taxes more burdensome than they otherwise would be; they have to as there have been fewer goods exchanged and what is worse than even that, a burden has been put upon the future which is incomparably heavy. Remember that this increase in trade under Liberal administration was accompanied by a decrease of taxation by the bringing of the sales tax down from 6 per cent to 1 per cent, by bringing the postage from three cents back to two, by getting rid of all these nuisance taxes, by getting rid of the stamp duties for the most part, by exempting a larger number of incomes and making taxes bear lighter on small incomes.

"All this because trade was increasing. It was done because our trade policies made possible that increase, but in addition to that every dollar was expended during the Liberal administration of nine years and more was spent out of current revenue, not out of capital. There was no burden left on the backs of the people.

"You heard in some places that we were extravagant. Well, we may have been extravagant. If we were, well we paid it out of current revenue; we didn't tax the next generation for it. But more than that, not only were all expenditures made out of current revenue and nothing out of capital account, but the public debt itself was lowered by over two hundred millions of dollars. The public debt itself was lowered (applause), lowered by over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Now then what is the position today? You have found that 1 per cent sales tax go up to six again, you have found your postage go up from two to three, you find the stamp and nuisance duties coming on again, income taxes are heavier than they were, the indirect taxes, all these tariffs higher, your taxes higher than they were, and still unable to get the revenue that it needs, having to put fresh taxes on; women in their homes finding sugar tax, finding soap tax, finding one thing after the other that enters into my family budget, taxes that hadn't been taxed before, just because the trade has been so restricted and so strangled that the industry generally and commerce have felt the results in the way that I have indicated.

"And on top of all that decrease of taxation what has come? Well the public debt has not been kept where it was, not lowered as it was by two and a half millions under the Liberal administration, but has been increased by over eight hundred millions of dollars (interruptions.) So that the audience that may be listening in may get the force of the language at the moment after I had stated that the public debt had increased five hundred millions some good Tory in the audience shouted out 'good' (more laughter.) Evidently indicating (more cheers) the point of view that some people have come to have about the affairs of this country.

800,000,000

ADDED TO BURDEN

"Ladies and gentlemen, is it good? Is it good? May I just ask you that question, are we better off today having, are you better off, or the people of Canada, having on your back and contending with the situation that is before us a burden of over eight hundred millions of dollars, which you hadn't five years ago? Are those who are seeking to work out the experiment of Social Credit in a better position to work that experiment out with a burden of eight hundred million dollars on the back of this country which wasn't there before? (Interruptions.) Is any one in Canada

CANDIDATE IN CALGARY EAST



J. T. SHAW, K.C.

Liberals offer the only solution to end unemployment according to the standard bearer in Calgary East. "Shall it be King or chaos?, the answer rests with voters," Mr. Shaw told a large gathering at Victoria Pavilion, Monday evening.

countries in the world, and here is a statement from the official figures on the basis of the gold dollars given by the League of Nations review of world trade for 1934, at pages 26-29.

CANADA'S TRADE PERCENTAGE DOWN

"Canada's percentage of the world's trade in 1929 was 3.68 per cent. Canada's percentage of world total trade 1934 was 3.22 per cent, or 30.5 per cent of what it was in 1929. Now it is total trade that is important, and our total trade was 30.5 per cent in 1934 of what it was in 1929. Now here is a point to listen to. Of 86 nations, no less than 46 had in 1934 a larger share of world trade than in 1929. We are told by Mr. Bennett that Canada is holding her own in the matter of trade among the different nations. Well, in 1934, out of 86 nations, no less than 46 had a larger share of world trade than in 1929. Canada is listed as one which has had a smaller share.

"Among the British nations all but Australia and Canada increased their share. Australia's decrease was only nominal, from 1.89 per cent to 1.87 per cent. Canada's decrease was very large, from 3.68 per cent to 3.27 per cent or a loss of one-ninth in a list of all the nations showing a larger share of world trade in 1934 as compared with 1929. Canada is at the tail end of the British nations and stands almost sixtieth among the 86.

Now that I think ought to make us consider pretty carefully the position of our trade. I am giving you these figures tonight because these statements are being repeated over and over again by Conservative speakers, and I want to put the exact statement, which cannot be challenged, before the people of this country. We have not held our own in matters of trade with other nations. Other nations have been getting into markets and have a foothold there today which we ought to have had if we had had a government in Ottawa which believed that thare was a matter of exchange of mutual advantage to the countries rather than a government that believed that trade was a matter of economic war and that we ought to fight in matters of trade like we would in matters of international conflict.

"Now I have spoken of the general trade and the question of trade agreements. Let me just give you a statement or two with regard to agreements. Mr. Bennett says it is very difficult to make agreements with other countries. They all have this doctrine of economic isolation, they don't want to trade. How can you trade with a country that won't trade with you? Well, he got into office. We were trading with all the countries in the world when the Liberal administration was in office. (Applause and cheers).

"Now I just want to say to any further interrupters if they interrupt for goodness sake don't give yourself away at the same time. (Laughter). Then I come to the United States. While Canada made no agreement with the United States, it hasn't been because the United States hasn't been willing to make agreements with other countries. The United States has made agreements with Brazil, has made an agreement with Belgium, with Cuba, with Luxembourg, Haiti, Czecho Slovakia, with Sweden, all since June 12, 1934. And may I point out that Cuba, there is a point, that may seem small, a small country, but Cuba is one of the best markets that Canada had, one of the best markets for our potato growers in Eastern Canada, in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island in particular. We had a splendid market there. We were taking from Cuba sugar to this country, but under Conservative administration, over the conflict which took place between Cuba and Canada in the matter of imposition of tariffs and the way in which valuations were being artificially made at Ottawa, the relations between Cuba and Canada became strained and we lost our trade with Cuba, with the result that we lost a market that we had for our potato producers in that country, and we had an increase in the price of sugar to the people of Canada here.

"What was worse than that, while we lost that market, the United States got it and got their chance to sell to Cuba what formerly Cuba had been buying from Canada. That is the serious part, for everything that we lose in another market, another country gets a foothold which we ought to have. While we have been here and there negotiating to no effect, these countries that I have mentioned, take a country like Brazil, which produces many things that we produce here, it has got a foothold in the United States market, a foothold that we ought to be having at the present time.

"Now take our agreements that have been negotiated. There was an exchange of notes with Austria and Germany which didn't vitally affect anything; a revision of the French agreement which we previously had, and a reciprocal agreement with Poland passed on the last day of this session, and which wouldn't have been passed excepting for the fact that we have in Ottawa a very active consular general for Poland who has been urging us for goodness sake to reduce the duty and to let us sell you something so that we can buy a little more from you.

TRADE WITH JAPAN ECONOMIC WARFARE

"Well, surely if we could have made an agreement with Poland, surely we could have made an agreement with many other countries as well. But take the position in regard to one matter and it is very near my mind at this moment because I have just come from British Columbia. Take the position of Japan. Japan was the fourth best customer of Canada during the last few years. During the years the Liberals were in office, during the years that the present government has been in office, it has either been the third or the fourth or the fifth best customer of Canada. On an average it has been the fourth best customer of our country.

"Now what has happened? Canada has been putting up her duties against Japan; Japan undoubtedly has been putting up her duties against Canada, too. Nevertheless, we have been able to trade to a very considerable extent. But here is in addition to the duty this system of administering custom affairs at Ottawa whereby arbitrary valuations are fixed from time to time, and those valutions with respect to matters of currency. Depreciated currencies and the like are all based upon the duty that is already in existence. If you have a duty of 25 per cent and you begin to base your valuation on a 25 per cent duty, it doesn't affect matters very considerably, but if your duties are 200 per cent and your valuations based on a 200 per cent duty then the effect of an additional valuation may be very serious.

"Now all the trouble that has arisen between Canada and Japan according to the correspondence that we already have is—or has arisen out of these super-taxes, the surtaxes that have been placed on top of the high tariffs as between the countries. It is a matter of economic warfare. And what has been the result? The result has been that with the surtaxes added the trade between the two countries has been strangled almost completely, with the result that it is already seriously affecting not only the business and commerce of British Columbia particularly, but there are numbers of other points. Here is where you see the

Highlights in Address Of Liberal Leader

OUR viewpoint is that trade is not economic war but that it should be an exchange of goods for mutual advantage.

The Liberal policy as regards the experiment you in this province are undertaking will be "Hands off Alberta," and we will continue to treat Alberta on the same basis as any other province.



Rt Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

The number of political parties does not determine who shall carry on government for the next five years. There was no C.C.F. in 1930. All the smaller parties combined could not elect enough members to secure a majority in the House.

Mr. Bennett has had his chance for five years. If he has not fulfilled his promises in that time, will he do better now?

This province has been paying a good deal of attention to prophecy. Possibly all prophecies do not pertain to Old Testament days.

A MISTAKE at the polls on October 14 may jeopardize for all time our chances of getting into the American market with our products.

More equal distribution of wealth has to come and will come, but it will not come through sitting on the sidelines and shouting, but by supporting the party that will effect it.

Our first object will be to increase our trade with Great Britain, United States and Japan, to regain the trade we have lost and seek further markets.

Present tariffs on many of our requirements are not protectionist; they are prohibitive. The family is the unit that seems to have been forgotten in today's taxation.

If the Liberal administration is returned it is our intention to make drastic reductions in the tariffs on the implements of production required in farming, fishing, mining and lumbering, in many items in the family budget and in the sales tax.

The question of a minimum price for wheat was never spoken of until Liberal members of the House said they would insist on it.

Mr. Bennett has things turned around. Recovery is necessary to make reforms permanent and of any value.

THE present government has never recognized unemployment as a great national problem. Cannot we organize this country as well in times of peace as during war. Here, surely, is an opportunity for social service.

If mere passing of laws would cure our ills, we should be the happiest and healthiest people in the world.

So far as this province is concerned, I believe the premier is desirous of meeting us fairly on his problems and ours.

If Mr. Bennett has failed, I believe it is not because he is insincere, but because he has been mistaken.

til after, as I said, the negotiations between the two countries had completely failed. Now that doesn't affect British Columbia only. Wheat and flour from these provinces is being effected and other commodities as well, and while I have it in my mind, let me indicate to you just wherein insofar as Japan is concerned it is not surprising that some objection might have been made by that country to what was being done by our government.

"Japan has said, 'We are not prepared to go on with rising tariffs against us forever,' and Mr. Bennett, he says he is not going to submit to the dictation of another country, particularly an Oriental country like Japan. Well, is that an unreasonable request for another country to make, not to go on raising duties against us forever? It is a thing that we certainly would have thought was a perfectly reasonable attitude to be taken if we were concerned ourselves, but what I want to point out is this, that in international affairs everything depends upon the approach, upon the way in which you deal with questions, and I am perfectly sure that had a Liberal administration been in office which believed in trade between countries, who believed it is its duty to exchange that which is mutually beneficial, instead of the present administration which views trade as a matter of economic warfare, we would have been able to settle the differences in Japan in a manner which would have protected all our own industries as far as they needed protection, and which would have kept and secured and increased the trade which has existed between this country and that part of the Orient (applause), and, may I say, if we are returned to office, as I believe we will be, one of the first things we will do will be to take up first the question of trade with the United States and the trade issue with Japan, and seek to get the markets we have lost, and then press on to newer and wider markets with great rapidity. (Applause).

"Now just to indicate the effect of these high tariffs upon the cost of living, and here may I say I am glad to see so many ladies in the audience, because women will appreciate this more than anybody else, because they are the ones who have to buy the goods, and no person would think of purchasing them at that particular price.

"But because there is between these great mountains these valleys that run along the river courses, it is possible to bring goods in on a more or less of a level course, expensive to a certain extent, yes, because all transportation is expensive, but nevertheless not so expensive or costly that those living on the prairies can't purchase very many of the commodities that come from the Pacific coast.

"Then I having asked myself that question and having seen the picture so clearly I asked myself this, 'Is there with respect to commodities coming into a country any difference insofar as the consumer is concerned between those commodities being brought over mountains at a great additional cost or being brought into the country and having to pay a great tax before they get in? Isn't a tax put on at the frontier which has to be paid just an additional price which has to be added on to those commodities and come out of the pockets of the consumers? Well now that is all that tariff is. But a tariff simply means that when you are bringing goods into the country before you get them into the country the law says that you must pay a sum of money into the treasury and that money goes into the treasury and then the goods come in, but they—when the man who has brought them in wants to sell them he wants to get back what he pays into the treasury, he adds it on to the price of the goods and that is why commodities are so high when they are subject to an impost of that kind before they come in.

"But there is one thing even more serious than that, and that is this that your impost may be so high, just as your mountain may be so high that the commodities won't come in at all, and if they don't come in at all then the people that are producing something at the same kind are in the happy position of where all they have to do is to get together and say, now we won't sell anything at a lower price than the price which would be the one existing on goods which began to come in, and so prices go up and up and the consumer pays all of these things. One is a physical handicap, the other is a great financial handicap. But the effect of

continuously since he came into power. He started it in the first session, increased them in the second, increased them in the third, has increased them at the different sessions and has increased them by all kinds of artificial valuations, added one restriction after the other in the matter of trade coming into the country.

"Someone was telling me tonight that a speech that I had made at Halifax had been interpreted in this province as meaning that if we were returned to power that we would very gradually reduce the additional taxation tariff which Mr. Bennett has put on since he came into office. I don't know in what form the report may have come through, but I can't believe that a report to that effect could have found its way to this part of the country from anyone who heard what I said in Halifax. Because I was particularly careful to point out that there are two strata, as I may put it, so, of tariff taxation of which account has to be taken. There were the tariffs that were existing at the time that the Bennett government came into administration, and I pointed out in Halifax, as I pointed out all through the campaign of 1930, that there wasn't a manufacturing industry in this country of Canada that was being adversely affected by those tariffs as they existed at that time. We hadn't any tariff issue in the last general election.

"I remember saying that very thing in this building, that so far as the Liberal's handling of the tariffs was concerned, its affect upon the manufacturers, though we had lower duties on the implements of production, though we had lower duties on the necessaries of life, though we had lower duties on motor cars, though we had taken the duties off many commodities, there wasn't a single legitimate industry in Canada that was suffering at that time as a consequence of our action, because we had acted in a sensible way.

"Now that was the position there and at Halifax I cited that position, and I made it perfectly clear that so far as that strata was concerned it remained there as an example to the people of Canada of how a Liberal government had proceeded in the past; how it would proceed in the future. When I pointed this out, that over and above that level there had been these enormous increases of taxation put in by the Bennett administration, there had been arbitrary valuations and methods of restricting trade still further inaugurated by the government under this system of doing things by order-in-council. I said with regard to all of that, that there would be an immediate and drastic reduction of taxation once the Liberal party was in power. (Applause.)

"I want to make that very clear here and to all parts of Canada with regard to these additional taxes that Mr. Bennett has put on, there is going to be a very speedy reduction with respect to the things that he has increased in the way in which he has. You don't need to wait for the assembling of parliament to do it. There is enough there that can be done in the way of changing the administration of the customs laws as to cause the people to feel the benefit of relief inside of a week once the administration gets into office. (Applause).

"I hope I am making that clear, that our policy is one of immediate and drastic reductions of taxation, of the tariffs, because, as I said, tariffs are a form of taxation, those things particularly on which the duties have been increased during the time that this Bennett administration has been in office.

"BENNETT TALKING PERFECT NONSENSE"

"I am speaking with reference to the entire tariff structure to make perfectly clear that when Mr. Bennett talks about the effect of that action being to allow the depreciated goods of other countries to come in and destroy the standards of Canada, to allow the invaders of other lands to come in and ruin all our industrial life of Canada, he is talking perfect nonsense; the Liberal government will follow when it comes back into office the same methods with regard to dealing, having the concern for all legitimate industries in this country which it had when it was in office before, but it will have very much more to do with reducing taxation than it ever had to do in the past. Much more in the way of immediate drastic reduction.

"Look at these, take these figures. I haven't time to go into very many, but as I say, the women are interested particularly in these things as they affect the cost of living. Here are some commodities that we get from Britain. Now remember what we are going to be able to sell to Britain is going to depend in a large way on what we buy from her, and when we purpose to change tariffs we are not changing them for the advantage of another country. We are changing them to our own advantage and as consumers we want to benefit. Why should we tax

Closer Agreement Between Dominion, Provinces Urged

SEEKS SUPPORT CALGARY WEST



P. L. HYDE

Liberal opponent to the prime minister in Calgary west, Mr. Hyde Monday evening urged supporters to cast a solid vote to end "five fateful years of farce, folly and failures.

Canada-Wide Scheme Of Constructive Work Proposed

Prime Minister, than Mr. Bennett has. He has had that opportunity, but it was left to the last minute. Why did he do that? There is only one answer that I can see that is at all satisfactory and that is this: Mr. Bennett wanted to have some issue in a general campaign which he thought would influence the electors of western Canada.

"Now what I want to ask (applause) the people of this part of Canada to think of with respect to Mr. Bennett's action in this regard is, not how his policies, framed on the eve of a general election, and just how when any policy framed on the eve of a general election could affect them, but what has been the effect of his policies during the last five years? That is the point to consider, and now come to the Bill itself. Mr. Bennett is claiming credit today for having given to the western producers of wheat a minimum price. Well, now I happen to have in my hand, two bills each of which were before parliament, and each of which relates to the subject of the Canadian Wheat Boards. The first is called an Act to provide for the constitutional powers of the Canadian Grain Board, and its first reading was on June 10, 1935. The other is the same title, an Act to provide for the constitutional powers of the Canadian Wheat Board, but it isn't as introduced on June 10, 1935. It was passed by the House of Commons on the 4th of July, 1935

"Now these two bills indicate what took place in parliament. The first one introduced June 10, 1935, is in the name of the Prime Minister. That's the bill that Mr. Bennett introduced into parliament, that's the bill for the constitution of the Grain Board and contains all the powers that were to be given to the Grain Board by the government's Bill, I want you to notice this. The government had years, it had not months but years to prepare this bill, but this represents what the government itself had decided to do to get through a Bill in parliament in that last couple of days, that bill in that form.

"When that bill was introduced, I met the Liberal members of the House of Commons in our party caucus and discussed with them the provisions of that bill. I said to our party caucus at large: I think we ought to allow our western members to meet together and review that bill carefully, come back and report to us their views in respect to it. If they are satisfied with the bill, well, there isn't much use of the rest of us discussing it. If they are not satisfied with the bill then it is up to us to see if we can't meet them in respect to the situation in the west so as to help if possible to make things as united as we can for all parts of our country. Our western members examined that bill and reported to us that it was not satisfactory to them. It was not satisfactory for this reason, that the bill provided for a Grain Board to which the producers would have to sell all of their grain. That was the only source through which the grain of Western Canada could be sold. Not only included wheat, but all grain, it was to be sold through the Grain Board. When the producers sold to the Grain Board they were to get participating certificates, they were to be paid, given an initial payment and as the grain was sold then they would receive payment, less the cost of the sale and the matters connected therewith.

WESTERN LIBERALS URGED MINIMUM PRICE

Our Liberal western members said that would not be satisfactory to western Canada and wasn't fair. There was first of all an objection of having all grain sold to one Board for the simple reason that the other countries would view that as a monopoly on the part of Canada, and the minute that other countries began to think in terms of Canada monopolizing her entire markets that moment there would be an adverse feeling grow up against Canada.

They thought it was a desirable thing to have a Grain Board and to give that Board power, the power to help the producer, but they thought that the producer ought to have a chance to help himself if he wished, and if he could do better by selling his grain anywhere rather than to

is the country that we get most of our silk from? We get it from Japan. On artificial silk and cotton fabric from Great Britain there is a laid down cost of 73½ per cent. Coming from Japan the same thing has to pay a laid down cost of 244½ per cent. Do you wonder at the Japanese saying that they hope Mr. Bennett won't go on raising the taxes against us forever? Two hundred and forty-four per cent on the thing that they are able to produce and which they have special facilities for producing, but not commodities which we have got the exceptional facilities for producing that we have for some other things.

"Now take in the matter of instruments of production and see what has happened there. Under the Borden and Meighen administration, this is illustrative of the difference between the Conservative and Liberal administrations; under Borden and Meighen the duties on mowers and binders in effect from the United States in particular was 12½ per cent. Under the administration of which I was the leader, those duties were reduced to six per cent. Under Mr. Bennett they have been raised to 25 per cent. Cultivators, harrows under Sir Robert Borden 20 and under Mr. Meighen 15, under the King administration 7½ per cent, under Mr. Bennett 25 per cent, and the Conservative preference 28.75 per cent. Plows under Borden 20, under Meighen 17½ and under King 10; under Bennett 25. Cream separators were free as against all countries during the previous administration. Mr. Bennett put a duty of 28.75 per cent in connection with the preference; the same way with barbed wire he put a duty of 19.90 per cent, whereas before the previous administration hadn't had any duty against any country on barbed wire.

PROMISES DRASTIC TARIFF REDUCTIONS

"These things are only examples as I have pointed out. What I want to make clear to this audience in Western Canada tonight is this: if the Liberal administration is returned to power we intend to make immediate and drastic reduction of duties on the instruments of production in the great basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumber, fishing. We propose to reduce the duties substantially on such commodities as those that I have alluded to, the things that affect the cost of living, the things that enter into the family budget. We purpose in addition also to remove the tariff tax from a large number of commodities that affect the cost of living in the homes, and we hope thereby to bring about a better opportunity for our producers who have to produce in foreign markets, but buy in home markets.

"We hope to bring about a real benefit to the consumer particularly to families because the

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hundred and seventy-two million. The average total trade under the Conservative administration was one billion one hundred and ninety million. Now there is the story of our depression told more concretely and emphatically than can be told in any other way. In other words Canadian trade has fallen off by one-half in the last five years.

"Now this decline has made your taxes more burdensome than they otherwise would be; they have to as there have been fewer goods exchanged and what is worse than even that, a burden has been put upon the future which is incomparably heavy. Remember that this increase in trade under Liberal administration was accompanied by a decrease of taxation by the bringing of the sales tax down from 6 per cent to 1 per cent, by bringing the postage from three cents back to two, by getting rid of all these nuisance taxes, by getting rid of the stamp duties for the most part, by exempting a larger number of incomes and making taxes bear lighter on small incomes.

"All this because trade was increasing. It was done because our trade policies made possible that increase, but in addition to that every dollar was expended during the Liberal administration of nine years and more was spent out of current revenue, not out of capital. There was no burden left on the backs of the people.

"You heard in some places that we were extravagant. Well, we may have been extravagant. If we were, well we paid it out of current revenue; we didn't tax the next generation for it. But more than that, not only were all expenditures made out of current revenue and nothing out of capital account, but the public debt itself was lowered by over two hundred millions of dollars. The public debt itself was lowered (applause), lowered by over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Now then what is the position today? You have found that 1 per cent sales tax go up to six again, you have found your postage go up from two to three, you find the stamp and nuisance duties coming on again, income taxes are heavier than they were, the indirect taxes, all these tariffs higher, your taxes higher than they were, and still unable to get the revenue that it needs, having to put fresh taxes on; women in their homes finding sugar tax, finding soap tax, finding one thing after the other that enters into family budget, taxes that hadn't been taxed before, just because the trade has been so restricted and so strangled that the industry has felt the results in the way that I have indicated.

"And on top of all that decrease of taxation what has come? Well the public debt has not been kept where it was, not lowered as it was by two and a half millions under the Liberal administration, but has been increased by over eight hundred millions of dollars (interruptions.) So that the audience that may be listening in may get the force of the language at the moment after I had staied that the public debt had increased five hundred millions some good Tory in the audience shouted out 'good' (more laughter.) Evidently indicating (more cheers) the point of view that some people have come to have about the affairs of this country.

$800,000,000 ADDED TO BURDEN

"Ladies and gentlemen, is it good? Is it good? May I just ask you that question, are we better off today having, are you better off, or the people of Canada, having on your back and contending with the situation that is before us a burden of over eight hundred millions of dollars, which you hadn't five years ago? Are those who are seeking to work out the experiment of Social Credit in a better position to work that experiment out with a burden of eight hundred million dollars on the back of this country which wasn't there before? (Interruptions.) Is any one in Canada with respect to anything in which he is really vitally interested whether it be with respect to the lowering of his interest rate, getting freed of a mortgage debt and the like, are they in a better position to do so in view of the fact that over eight hundred millions of dollars of debt has to be met or the interest on it has to be met out of the public treasury as the years go if we are going to keep the country itself out of bankruptcy?

A voice: "Take it off Sir Herbert Holt." (Remarks and laughter).

"And may I say this, ladies and gentlemen (more interruptions), may I say this, that when you come to deal with these questions so far as large incomes are concerned, they can be taxed to any point that the government of Canada and the people of Canada wish to tax them. (Interruptions). If a man has got a very large income, if a man has got a vast income, his income can be taxed just to the extent that parliament may wish to tax it. It is for the people themselves to say what they want to have done by their own parliament, but what I mean to tell you is this, that if you take the handful of the ultra-wealthy men that are being subjected to criticism today, I say take the wealth that they have got, it is a mere drop in the bucket compared to what you have got to meet in the vast expenditures of this country. I am just as strong as any one else in this country for more equitable distribution of wealth, it has got to come and it will come, and it has come under the Liberal administration. (Laughter and applause). But it won't be brought about in the future by sitting on the sidelines and shouting, it will be done by coming along and helping the party that is out to effect that thing. (Cheers and applause).

"Now let me give you these further figures in the matter of trade. Take Canada's total. We are told by Mr. Bennett that our country is holding its own in the matter of world trade. Well now it so happens that at the League of Nations they keep a record of world trade, and we get from that authoritative source the position of the different



J. T. SHAW, K.C.

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"Among the British nations all but Australia and Canada increased their share. Australia's decrease was only nominal, from 1.89 per cent to 1.87 per cent. Canada's decrease was very large, from 3.68 per cent to 3.27 per cent or a loss of one-ninth in a list of all the nations showing a larger share of world trade in 1934 as compared with 1929. Canada is at the tail end of the British nations and stands almost sixtieth among the 86.

Now that I think ought to make us consider pretty carefully the position of our trade. I am giving you these figures tonight because these statements are being repeated over and over again by Conservative speakers, and I want to put the exact statement, which cannot be challenged, before the people of this country. We have not held our own in matters of trade with other nations. Other nations have been getting into markets and have a foothold there today which we ought to have had if we had had a government in Ottawa which believed that thare was a matter of exchange of mutual advantage to the countries rather than a government that believed that trade was a matter of economic war and that we ought to fight in matters of trade like we would in matters of international conflict.

"Now I have spoken of the general trade and the question of trade agreements. Let me just give you a statement or two with regard to agreements. Mr. Bennett says it is very difficult to make agreements with other countries. They all have this doctrine of economic isolation, they don't want to trade. How can you trade with a country that won't trade with you? Well, my answer to that is other countries that have wanted to trade have found it possible to make agreements. Here is what England has done since August, 1932. She has made agreements with the following countries. Trade agreements of mutual benefit to both, she has lowered tariffs, they have lowered tariffs, they have lowered theirs, they have given each advantage in their own market and helped them to develop trade between the two. Agreements with Argentine, Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, Esthonia, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay and Yemen.

"Now if England could make agreements with those countries why shouldn't we have. We have got great natural resources, vaster than anything Great Britain has got, and countries seeking to get the kind of articles that we are in a particular position to produce in any quantity. France has made agreements with Finland, Germany, with Italy, with Portugal, Russia, Spain and with the United Kingdom. The Argentine has made agreements with Brazil, Chile, with Netherlands, with Switzerland. In Brazil, which is a country surely not comparable with Canada in its resources, and what it could give in the way of exchange and trade agreements. It has made agreements with the Argentine, Austria, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, British India, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Syria, South Africa the United Kingdom, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. So why hasn't Canada been doing the same kind of thing that these countries have been doing?"

HAD AGREEMENTS WITH 40 COUNTRIES

Interruption: "Why didn't you?"

Mr. King: "Why didn't we? There again my friend displays his ignorance. We had agreements with some forty countries and Mr. Bennett said he was going to put an end to that when valuations were being artificially made at Ottawa, the relations between Cuba and Canada became strained and we lost our trade with Cuba, with the result that we lost a market that we had for our potato producers in that country, and we had an increase in the price of sugar to the people of Canada here.

"What was worse than that, while we lost that market, the United States got it and got their chance to sell to Cuba what formerly Cuba had been buying from Canada. That is the serious part, for everything that we lose in another market, another country gets a foothold which we ought to have. While we have been here and there negotiating to no effect, these countries that I have mentioned, take a country like Brazil, which produces many things that we produce here, it has got a foothold in the United States market, a foothold that we ought to be having at the present time.

"Now take our agreements that have been negotiated. There was an exchange of notes with Austria and Germany which didn't vitally affect anything; a revision of the French agreement which we previously had, and a reciprocal agreement with Poland passed on the last day of this session, and which wouldn't have been passed excepting for the fact that we have in Ottawa a very active consular general for Poland who has been urging us for goodness sake to reduce the duty and to let us sell you something so that we can buy a little more from you.

TRADE WITH JAPAN ECONOMIC WARFARE

"Well, surely if we could have made an agreement with Poland, surely we could have made an agreement with many other countries as well. But take the position in regard to one matter and it is very near my mind at this moment because I have just come from British Columbia. Take the position of Japan. Japan was the fourth best customer of Canada during the last few years. During the years the Liberals were in office, during the years that the present government has been in office, it has either been the third or the fourth or the fifth best customer of Canada. On an average it has been the fourth best customer of our country.

"Now what has happened? Canada has been putting up her duties against Japan; Japan undoubtedly has been putting up her duties against Canada, too. Nevertheless, we have been able to trade to a very considerable extent. But there is in addition to the duty this system of administering custom affairs at Ottawa whereby arbitrary valuations are fixed from time to time, and those valutions with respect to matters of currency. Depreciated currencies and the like are all based upon the duty that is already in existence. If you have a duty of 25 per cent and you begin to base your valuation on a 25 per cent duty, it doesn't affect matters very considerably, but if your duties are 200 per cent and your valuations based on a 200 per cent duty then the effect of an additional valuation may be very serious.

"Now all the trouble that has arisen between Canada and Japan according to the correspondence that we already have is—or has arisen out of these super-taxes, the surtaxes that have been placed on top of the high tariffs as between the countries. It is a matter of economic warfare. And what has been the result? The result has been that with the surtaxes added the trade between the two countries has been strangled almost completely, with the result that it is already seriously affecting not only the business and commerce of British Columbia particularly, but there are numbers of other points. Here is where you see the relation between trade and unemployment.

"Lumber was giving employment to large numbers of men. The lumber that was being sent to Japan, when the trade in lumber was cut off there has been within this last few weeks an additional 5,000 men thrown out of employment in British Columbia as a consequence of the loss of that trade. But what is more serious, the United States has been able to get into that market and sell the lumber in Japan which we had been formerly selling.

"There have been differences between Japan and India over questions of tariff. They were able to settle them satisfactorily. There have been questions between the United States and Japan. They were able to settle them satisfactorily. Why wasn't Canada able to do the same thing?

"After listening to what Mr. Bennett has been saying on the coast and particularly what he said about myself, that I was making matters more difficult between Japan and Canada, I began to think that he has been trying to raise an issue on that very matter that he has allowed this thing to get into the position in which it did so that he might have some issue that he could raise for the general election and say, 'Well, now Mr. King is out for letting the goods come in from the Orient and invade our country, and he is talking in a way which is helping Japan and the like.' I made no statement whatever in reference to the Japanese trade until after Mr. Bennett had announced early in August these surcharges that were making trade impossible; then I pointed out, as it was my duty to point out to the Canadian people, not only did we need to have trade, but we needed to have a different method in negotiating between countries otherwise we would not only not have more trade, but we would lose all the trade that we already had.

"My statement wasn't made until after, as I said, the negotiations between the two countries had completely failed. Now that doesn't affect British Columbia only. Wheat and flour from these provinces is being effected and other commodities as well, and while I have it in my mind, let me indicate to you just wherein insofar as Japan is concerned it is not surprising that some objection might have been made by that country to what was being done by our government.

"Japan has said, 'We are not prepared to go on with rising tariffs against us forever,' and Mr. Bennett, he says he is not going to submit to the dictation of another country, particularly an Oriental country like Japan. Well, is that an unreasonable request for another country to make, not to go on raising duties against us forever? It is a thing that we certainly would have thought was a perfectly reasonable attitude to be taken if we were concerned ourselves, but what I want to point out is this, that in international affairs everything depends upon the approach, upon the way in which you deal with questions, and I am perfectly sure that had a Liberal administration been in office which believed in trade between countries, who believed it is a duty to exchange that which is mutually beneficial, instead of the present administration which views trade as a matter of economic warfare, we would have been able to settle the differences in Japan in a manner which would have protected all our own industries as far as they needed protection, and which would have kept and secured and increased the trade which has existed between this country and that part of the Orient (applause), and, may I say, if we are returned to office, as I believe we will be, one of the first things we will do will be to take up first the question of trade with the United States and the trade issue with Japan, and seek to get the markets we have lost, and then press on to newer and wider markets with great rapidity. (Applause).

"Now just to indicate the effect of these high tariffs upon the cost of living, and here may I say I am glad to see so many ladies in the audience, because women will appreciate the importance of prices of commodities in determining what can be done with your income. There are two ways in which purchasing power can be increased. One can be by what is spoken of as going more in the way of purchasing power, the other can be by making what purchasing power you have go twice as far as it does, or much further.

PRICES KEPT UP ARTIFICIALLY

"Now the Liberal party believes that the surer, truer way to improve the cost of living is to enable whatever money you have to go a good deal further than it otherwise goes, at least, you have to have it go so much further. And we believe that the effect of these duties is to keep up prices, artificially, not in a way which helps producers, but in a way which injures consumers, not in a way which brings money into the public treasury, but the way which keeps money out of the public treasury and only enables monopolies to be formed to the advantage of some few who may have their capital invested in a particular industry.

"Now may I put it in this way, so that it will be clear. Coming today from Vancouver to Calgary, like every traveler through the great mountain passes, I was impressed by the enormous height of the mountains on either side of the railway as we traveled along. And I asked myself this question: "Supposing it were not for these rivers that flowed through here what would be the way in which goods could be brought into this country? How would the people of the prairie be able to get anything from the Pacific coast. Would it be an impossibility? Or would they be able to get them? Well, the answer would be: 'No, it wouldn't be an impossibility, but it would be well nigh and impossibility, if everything had to be hauled over the top of these mountains, driven up one side and then brought down the other. The cost of that would be so enormous that by the time the commodities reached the plains no person would think of purchasing them at that particular price.

"But because there is between these great mountains these valleys that run along the river courses, it is possible to bring goods in on a more or less of a level course, expensive to a certain extent, yes, because all transportation is expensive, but nevertheless not so expensive or costly that those living on the prairies can't purchase very many of the commodities that come from the Pacific coast.

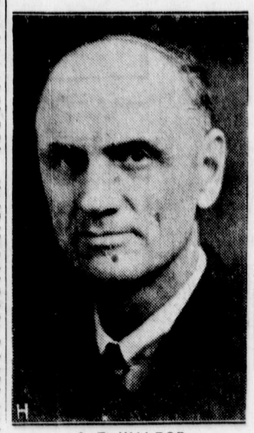
"Then I having asked myself that question and having seen the picture so clearly I asked myself this, 'Is there with respect to commodities coming into a country any difference insofar as the consumer is concerned between those commodities being brought over mountains at a great additional cost or being brought into the country and having to pay a great tax before they get in? Isn't a tax put on at the frontier which has to be paid just an additional price which has to be added on to those commodities and come out of the pockets of the consumers? Well now that is all that tariff is. But a tariff simply means that when you are bringing goods into the country before you get them into the country the law says that you must pay a sum of money into the treasury and that money goes into the treasury and then the goods come in, but they—when the man who has brought them in wants to sell them he wants to get back what he pays into the treasury, he adds it on to the price of the goods and that is why commodities are so high when they are subject to an impost of that kind before they come in.

"But there is one thing even more serious than that, and that is this that your impost may be so high, just as your mountain may be so high that the commodities won't come in at all, and if they don't come in at all then the people that are producing something at the same kind are in the happy position of where all they have to do is to get together and say, now we won't sell anything at a lower price than the price which would be the one existing on goods which began to come in, and so prices go up and up and the consumer pays all of these things. One is a physical handicap, the other is a great financial handicap. But the effect of both upon the consumer is the same.

LIBERAL POLICY FREEDOM NOT MORE HANDICAPS

"Now, Liberalism doesn't believe in handicaps, it believes in greater freedom. (Applause.) Now what Mr. Bennett has done, and let me make this clear for the moment, what Mr. Bennett has done has been to increase these handicaps

IN CONTEST IN BOW RIVER



C. R. WALROD

Prominent business man and for several years mayor of Rockyford, C. R. Walrod is seeking election in Bow River riding under Liberal colors.

Mackenzie King

A MISTAKE at the polls on October 14 may jeopardize for all time our chances of getting into the American market with our products.

More equal distribution of wealth has to come and will come, but it will not come through sitting on the sidelines and shouting, but by supporting the party that will effect it.

Our first object will be to increase our trade with Great Britain, United States and Japan, to regain the trade we have lost and seek further markets.

Present tariffs on many of our requirements are not protectionist; they are prohibitive. The family is the unit that seems to have been forgotten in today's taxation.

If the Liberal administration is returned it is our intention to make drastic reductions in the tariffs on the implements of production required in farming, fishing, mining and lumbering, in many items in the family budget and in the sales tax.

The question of a minimum price for wheat was never spoken of until Liberal members of the House said they would insist on it.

Mr. Bennett has things turned around. Recovery is necessary to make reforms permanent and of any value.

THE present government has never recognized unemployment as a great national problem. Cannot we organize this country as well in times of peace as during war. Here, surely, is an opportunity for social service.

If mere passing of laws would cure our ills, we should be the happiest and healthiest people in the world.

So far as this province is concerned, I believe the premier is desirous of meeting us fairly on his problems and ours.

If Mr. Bennett has failed, I believe it is not because he is insincere, but because he has been mistaken.



P. L. HYDE

Liberal opponent to the prime minister in Calgary west, Mr. Hyde Monday evening urged supporters to cast a solid vote to end "five fateful years of farce, folly and failures.

is the country that we get most of our silk from? We get it from Japan. On artificial silk and cotton fabric from Great Britain there is a laid down cost of 73½ per cent. Coming from Japan the same thing has to pay a laid down cost of 244½ per cent. Do you wonder at the Japanese saying that they hope Mr. Bennett won't go on raising the taxes against us forever? Two hundred and forty-four per cent on the thing that they are able to produce and which they have special facilities for producing, but not commodities which we have got the exceptional facilities for producing that we have for some other things.

"Now take in the matter of instruments of production and see what has happened there. Under the Borden and Meighen administration, this is illustrative of the difference between the Conservative and Liberal administrations; under Borden and Meighen the duties on mowers and binders in effect from the United States in particular was 12½ per cent. Under the administration of which I was the leader, those duties were reduced to six per cent. Under Mr. Bennett they have been raised to 25 per cent. Cultivators, harrows under Sir Robert Borden 20 and under Mr. Meighen 15, under the King administration 7½ per cent, under Mr. Bennett 25 per cent, and the Conservative preference 28.75 per cent. Plows under Borden 20, under Meighen 17½ and under King 10; under Bennett 25. Cream separators were free as against all countries during the previous administration. Mr. Bennett put a duty of 28.75 per cent in connection with the preference; the same way with barbed wire he put a duty of 19.90 per cent, whereas before the previous administration hadn't had any duty against any country on barbed wire.

PROMISES DRASTIC TARIFF REDUCTIONS

"These things are only examples as I have pointed out. What I want to make clear to this audience in Western Canada tonight is this: if the Liberal administration is returned to power we intend to make immediate and drastic reduction of duties on the instruments of production in the great basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumber, fishing. We propose to reduce the duties substantially on such commodities as those that I have alluded to, the things that affect the cost of living, the things that enter into the family budget. We purpose in addition also to remove the tariff tax from a large number of commodities that affect the cost of living in the homes, and we hope thereby to bring about a better opportunity for our producers who have to produce in foreign markets, but buy in home markets.

"We hope to bring about a real benefit to the consumer particularly to families because the family seems to be the one who seems to be forgotten today; for every single producer there is on an average four or five who are consumers in the different families. We purpose to frame our budget, our taxes in a way which will bring, as I say, relief to every family and to every individual, in this country. (Applause).

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, I must hurry to a conclusion because I know there are two or three things you want me to refer to, and I am glad to leave the trade matter at that point. I have been stressing trade because I believe and the Liberal Party believes, that the basis of recovery depends on what we could do in the way of reviving trade, and it is all important that we keep it very much to the front. But of all the commodities in the sale of which western Canada is interested, that of wheat is the most important of any. And you have recently been told a good deal about legislation that was passed at the last session of parliament fixing a minimum price for wheat that is being produced in the three western provinces.

QUESTIONS DELAY IN WHEAT LEGISLATION

"Now the first thing that I want to ask you is this: If this question is so all important, and it has been all important for many years past, why was it that it was left not only until the last session of parliament to be dealt with, not only to the last month of parliament to be dealt with, but to the very last days of parliament to be dealt with.

"There is only one reason that I could think of and that is this: It wasn't that Mr. Bennett and his government hadn't power and opportunity to deal with it before; it wasn't that Mr. Bennett had not a free hand to fix the minimum price if he wished to, for the producers of grain in western Canada at any time since he has been in office, because there is no man that has been given a freer hand in his policies, no

"Now what I want to ask (applause) the people of this part of Canada to think of with respect to Mr. Bennett's action in this regard is, not how his policies, framed on the eve of a general election, and just how when any policy framed on the eve of a general election could affect them, but what has been the effect of his policies during the last five years? That is the point to consider, and now come to the Bill itself. Mr. Bennett is claiming credit today for having given to the western producers of wheat a minimum price. Well, now I happen to have in my hand, two bills each of which were before parliament, and each of which relates to the subject of the Canadian Wheat Boards. The first is called an Act to provide for the constitutional powers of the Canadian Grain Board, and its first reading was on June 10, 1935. The other is the same title, an Act to provide for the constitutional powers of the Canadian Wheat Board, but it isn't as introduced on June 10, 1935. It was passed by the House of Commons on the 4th of July, 1935

"Now these two bills indicate what took place in parliament. The first one introduced June 10, 1935, is in the name of the Prime Minister. That's the bill that Mr. Bennett introduced into parliament, that's the bill for the constitution of the Grain Board and contains all the powers that were to be given to the Grain Board by the government's Bill. I want you to notice this. The government had years, it had not months but years to prepare this bill, but this represents what the government itself had decided to do to get through a Bill in parliament in that last couple of days, that bill in that form.

"When that bill was introduced, I met the Liberal members of the House of Commons in our party caucus and discussed with them the provisions of that bill. I said to our party caucus at large: I think we ought to allow our western members to meet together and review that bill carefully, come back and report us their views in respect to it. If they are satisfied with the bill, well, there isn't much use of the rest of us discussing it. If they are not satisfied with the bill then it is up to us to see if we can't meet them in respect to the situation in the west so as to help if possible to make things as united as we can for all parts of our country. Our western members examined that bill and reported to us that it was not satisfactory to them. It was not satisfactory for this reason, that the bill provided for a Grain Board to which the producers would have to sell all of their grain. That was the only source through which the grain of Western Canada could be sold. Not only included wheat, but all grain, it was to be sold through the Grain Board. When the producers sold to the Grain Board they were to get participating certificates, they were to be paid, given an initial payment and as the grain was sold then they would receive payment, less the cost of the sale and the matters connected therewith.

WESTERN LIBERALS URGED MINIMUM PRICE

Our Liberal western members said that would not be satisfactory to western Canada and wasn't fair. There was first of all an objection of having all grain sold to one Board for the simple reason that the other countries would view that as a monopoly on the part of Canada, and the minute that other countries began to think in terms of Canada monopolizing her entire markets that moment there would be an adverse feeling grow up against Canada.

They thought it was a desirable thing to have a Grain Board and to give that Board power, the power to help the producer, but they thought that the producer ought to have a chance to help himself if he wished, and if he could do better by selling his grain anywhere rather than to the Board, he should be given that opportunity. That was the first position that they took.

The next position they took was this, that they thought that there ought to be a minimum price fixed to be paid the producer. Now I want you to note this, read that bill through from beginning to end, you won't see the word "minimum price" in it in any single page or any single clause. It isn't there. The question of a minimum price to Western Producers for the wheat was never spoken of until the Liberal members of the House of Commons said that they were going to insist on having that particular clause put into the bill.

Now when we had our meeting and that position was taken we all agreed, from all parts of Canada, personally I was fortunate in being in the position of being the representative of a Western constituency and was able to rather emphasize perhaps more than some of the others, I was interested in seeing that what was done should be in accordance with the wishes of the people of this part of Canada, and I joined heartily with my other friends from Western Canada in taking the position that I have just indicated to you should be taken.

"I went to Mr. Bennett when the second reading of the bill was about to be called, and I said to him as leader of the Opposition, that I did not think this bill could get through Parliament without a very long discussion. It was late in the session. I knew he was anxious to get away, get through; but, nevertheless, that bill would not be satisfactory and that our members were going to oppose it very strongly, and I said I think what should be done is this: that bill ought to be sent to a committee of the House of Commons, on which there will be representatives of all parties, the Liberal party, Conservative party, and the group in the corner, as they call themselves, the mixture there of Progressives and Labor and C.C.F.'s and all the rest (laughter). Let

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

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Drastic Tariff Cuts Promised to Aid Farm and Home

Gov't Trade Policy Blamed For Losses By Mackenzie King

(Continued from Page Seventeen)

them have their own representatives on the committee (interruption), and let that committee try to work out a bill that will be satisfactory. If they can agree on a bill that will be satisfactory, bring it in to the House of Commons and, I think, so far as debate is concerned, I can undertake to say that we will have no discussion at all.

"This question of the western producer is a most serious one. Can't we try in our last act of Parliament to get unanimity so far as possible with respect to the measures to be introduced? So I not only said that to Mr. Bennett privately, speaking as I went into the House, but I said it publicly and, if you read the debates in the House, you will see that Mr. Bennett repeated exactly what I have just said; said that I had spoken to him about it previously; that he would think it over and would take it into consideration as to whether we would have a committee.

"We were in this position: We didn't know what position the western grain problem was in. No information had been given to Parliament previously with respect to the amount of grain which was being held. Our members had a feeling that what should have been done in Canada was what was being done in Argentine; that a year or two ago a fixed price should have been guaranteed and that the grain should have been put on the market and not held; that it should have been sold continuously, the state absorbing, if need be, the loss for the time being. If that policy had been carried out there wouldn't have been the carry-over to the extent to which there is, and grain would be at a much higher figure than it is today to the western producer of this country (applause).

"That was the position taken by Australia, and by Argentine and our men were advocating that position. And, as I said, Mr. Bennett, then in Parliament, made perfectly clear that he wanted a day or two to think the matter over. Then he agreed to have the bill go to a committee, and the committee was named and that committee worked day and night. My friend, Mr. Stewart, from his province, was one member of it. There were others from western provinces. Mr. Wallace, I think, was another, and on the Liberal party, Colonel Rawlston from the east, and there was another representative from this province, I think, also on that committee.

"At any rate they were altogether there and they worked very hard day and night for a couple of days, and they finally agreed upon a bill and the bill they agreed upon was this bill, not the one that was introduced by the Prime Minister on June 5, but this one which came into the House of Commons in the month of July, and in this bill you found clauses which were not in the previous bill at all.

"Now I will read you one clause which was inserted at the instance of the members of that committee. It is as follows:

"The Board shall among other things have the following powers:

"(e) This is Section 7. 'To pay to producers who deliver wheat at the time of delivery or at any time thereafter that may be agreed upon, such fixed price per bushel according to grade or quality or place of delivery that may be determined by the board with the approval of the Governor-in-Council.'

"Now this is the first time that the words 'fixed price per bushel' appeared in the bill at all and if the western producers today are rejoicing over the fact that they are getting a fixed price and also with the fact that they haven't had to sell to this board and let the board do all the marketing and getting merely an initial payment they can thank the Liberal members on that committee. (Applause).

CLAIMS BENNETT TOOK UNDESERVED CREDIT

"Now may I go a step further and say this, when this bill came into the House of Commons there was no amendment proposed to it, there was no division. It passed exactly as I said to Mr. Bennett it would pass—with no opposition of any kind at all. When Mr. Bennett began to take credit to himself in the speech for having drafted the bill I reminded him that the bill was very different, this bill than the other, and he said he thought about what the committee said during the recess and had gone on and drafted it in accordance with what had been said to him. But that is a very different thing and that is the result of the work of the committee.

"What I want to bring out is this, that the western producer is not concerned, but I say that everything that is being done for labor and having labor assisted by the state should be done in equal measure fifty-fifty for the farmers of the country and other producers.

"But may I go one step further and say this that what can be done for Labor or what can be done for the farmers depends upon what you have in your public treasury. You cannot go on year in and year out going into the public treasury and taking out millions of dollars for the purpose of providing public works, millions of dollars for the purpose of fixing the minimum price and millions of dollars for other purposes. You cannot do that unless millions of dollars are rolling in to the public treasury at the same time, because your country will go bankrupt if you do it.

"What I say is this, Bennett tells you that reforms are necessary in order to effect recovery. I say Mr. Bennett has got the thing turned round the wrong way. Recovery is necessary in order to make the reform, permanent or of any value. If we get recovery that we need we will be able to make these reforms which are in the interests of labor and in the interests of producers and for the benefit of consumers and make them enduring. But if we do not this country is going ahead towards bankruptcy and the last state is going to be worse than the first.

ALBERTA EXPERIMENT IN MONETARY REFORM

"Let me say this further to my friends who are here, you are all vitally interested and anxiously interested in seeing the great experiment in monetary reform worked out in this particular province. Will that experiment work out as well if times in this Dominion continue to go from bad to worse or will that experiment have its better chance if while you are working on it in Alberta other parts of Canada begin to respond along with this province to the effect of better trade policies throughout the whole Dominion. (Applause).

"That is what I want my friends to remember. In order to get the best results for any reform here or anywhere throughout Canada we have got to have something in the nature of a policy of trade which will help to revive industry itself.

"Now, I am just going to say one word on the monetary situation and a word on employment and then I have concluded. In regard to the question of monetary reform, as I say, I am leaving to this province itself to deal with the question which was uppermost in your last provincial election. So far as the Liberal party is concerned as I have indicated our attitude towards Alberta will be to treat this province the same as we treat all other provinces, and with respect to any individual experiment to allow that experiment the freest opportunity that it can possibly have within the confines of our constitution.

"But may I say this, that it wasn't within the last couple of months or the last couple of years even that the Liberal party saw the necessity of some far-reaching reform in the matter of social credit. We pointed out, shortly after the present government came into office, credit was a matter of concern to the people just as much as trade and if there were barriers to the flow of credit we should seek to get rid of those just as we were seeking to get rid of the barriers of the flow of trade. In other words, Liberalism, true to itself, turning from one phase of the economic situation to another, carries the same vital principle in the way of freedom into positive action. What we saw with regard to the financial situation in Canada was this, that so far as the money power was concerned it was concentrated largely in the hands of the banks, and banks that were privately owned. We did not take the position that our banking system had been iniquitous, we didn't take the position that the banking system was wrong; what we did say however, was this, that the banking system may have served its day up to recent years, but that times were moving on, and that something of the nature of a revision of the banking system was required and particularly what was needed was the emphasis placed upon public need in dealing with financial matters rather than upon private desires or private requirements, and that what was essential was that so far as our banks were concerned there should be a government bank which would have a controlling interest over private banks.

"What we saw with regard to the regulation, equally on the other hand when there was restriction in the measure of credit when times were difficult and hard, when it was obvious that the public need would be better met by the extension of credit.

"Then the government policy, if it were one of extension of credit, would be in a position to put that policy into effect through having a central bank which would give more in the way of credit at the time of the need for more in the credit was uppermost. It would regulate credit in a manner which would serve the needs of the country, prevent excessive speculation on the one hand, and on the other hand help serve to increase the currency and the facilities for credit when need for increased currency and increased credit facilities were required. Well, now, I think it does not require any emphasis to point out that that aim could not have been effected by establishing another privately-owned bank.

"But what did Mr. Bennett do? He took the name of a National Bank, said we also then will go in for a National Bank, a National Central Bank, and he brought a bill into parliament, after having had an inquiry into the matter, in which he provided for the establishment of the Bank of Canada, as it is called; a Canadian National Bank, but what was the nature of that bank when it was constituted?

That bank turned out to be another privately owned bank; a bank that would be, that was formed through shares not owned by the government, the bank itself not owned by the government, but shares which were privately owned and the direction and the control of that bank was to be at the instance of directors appointed from the shareholders; in other words, what we have got today is a privately owned National bank.

Well, now if it all stopped there it would not perhaps be so bad, but consider what powers have been given that bank; that bank has been given the powers of the issue of currency; that bank has been given the power to rediscount, and to increase or decrease the credit that is to go to the banks of this country; in other words, the private banking system has been built up more strongly than ever and there is less in the way of government control than there was before Mr. Bennett brought in his bill. Bennett tells the people of Canada what we need at this time is intervention; government control, and he is emphasing that in regard to social policies and the like, but the one place where government control is needed more than anywhere else, namely the control of the money interests of this country, Mr. Bennett has put this bank beyond the control of government all together and into the control of banking concerns. (Applause.)

"Now, let me point this out to you; during the period of the war, it was recognized among other things that the government of Canada should have an increased control over currency and over matters of that kind, and exchange, and provision would be right in the department of finance itself, which gives the government something in the way of additional control, but under this act all the powers which the government itself had at that time in these matters have been taken away from the government and have been handed over to this privately owned national bank.

ISSUE OF CURRENCY IMPORTANT FUNCTION

"What is the most important of all the great functions of government in the matter of money? It is the issue of currency, the determination of the amount of currency in the light of the reserves which are to be held against it. Now there was in the vaults of Canada of the government of this country, owned by the people of Canada, gold to the amount of $69,000,000. That was the gold which was held as security against the moneys which were issued for currency purposes and then given to the banks.

"There were in the vaults of Canada as well securities which had been sent from the banks to the central, to Ottawa itself, to be held there as security against the rediscounting which was taking place to increase further facilities to the private banks themselves; this was all a part of the property of Canada, part of your property, part of mine. Under this act all this gold, all these securities, have been turned over to the ownership and the control of this private bank. Today that $69,000,000 of gold is part of the property of the Bank of Canada, which is a privately owned and controlled bank.

"These securities are part of the property of this bank which is a privately owned and privately controlled bank and there is not on the board of directors of that bank a single director that is appointed by the government of Canada or the people of Canada.

"Now, I say, my friends, there is a question which is large enough for the people of this country to consider as a whole very carefully. I ask those of you who are interested in monetary reform to see where this situation is likely to lead in working out any local experiment which you may have. Is it not the first step of all others, to a effective control of the money situation in Canada to get back into the possession of the people of Canada the gold and the securities which have been transferred over to this privately owned bank, or the control over them, and see that so far as this bank is concerned, in its control over private banks that that control will be exercised in accordance with the will and the policies of the government of the day which represents the will of the people, that have put that government into office. (Applause.)

"Now that is what the Liberal party is interested in in this campaign, our first step is to get that bank, get back in the possession of the people of Canada, what has been passed out of its possession in the way, and to get the control in matters of their policy in the hands of the administration that may be in power, and for this reason among many others that you are helping to create a power which is greater so far as the administration of national affairs are concerned in the nature of money power than would be the case of the power of the government itself.

"Now I do not think, ladies and gentlemen, I need go much further into that question tonight. I spoke on it at considerable length at Edmonton the other evening and as I say I want to conclude with a reference to unemployment so I just leave you with this thought.

"We have in the federal field the great issue of monetary reform, have merely indicated what I have thought was the first step and if that first is not won then all our efforts at further financial reform so far as the federal field is concerned will be materially impaired.

"Equally if they are materially impaired it will have a very serious effect as far as I see it upon the efforts of any province to improve financial conditions there, so I hope when Monday fortnight comes you will think not only what is important to you locally and in a provincial way, but that you will think even more deeply of what is going to be of vital concern to our country with respect to our policy during the next five years.

"Now just let me conclude as far as the question of unemployed. I would like first of all to say that unemployment from the Liberal point of view prevails today as we stated in this statement I made in parliament in 1933 as the first of all the problems in Canada. Unemployment is of first concern. That is what we stated as our view of things in 1933 after we saw that Mr. Bennett's policies were likely to fail and we put it in these words,

CANADA'S MOST URGENT NATIONAL PROBLEM

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem . We would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commission which would cooperate with the provinces and the municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. As permanent measures, the Liberal policy is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment for reviving industry and trade and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.'

"What I want to point out there is this: we realize that there are only two ways, that we must make a distinction between what is a temporary problem and what is a permanent one. We will have to devise means to deal with this temporary situation, and we believe it can only be dealt with effectively as a result not as a temporary expediency, but a long range policy which worked out over a period of months will bring about a revival of industry and a wave of prosperity which we think lies at the base of everything else.

"So what we lay our efforts along mostly is this, the improvement of conditions generally, through the increase of trade and in the meantime the devising of methods whereby employment can be provided through state agencies of one kind and another, until all our unemployed find it possible to get back into normal industry again.

"Now, what we feel has been the great difficulty in the last few years is this, that since the present government went into office, they have never viewed the unemployed question as a great national question. They have left it to be dealt with by municipalities in one way, by provinces in another way, and the Dominion assisting in yet another way. The result has been that for the last five years, while millions of dollars and hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent there has been over-lapping, there has been waste, there has been confusion; municipalities have had to do things they otherwise would not have done, and have got into bankruptcy as a result; provinces have had to do things that they otherwise would not have done, with the hope of getting some of the Federal money, and they have become financially embarrassed, and the Federal government itself has been spending money without having it properly audited or the different efforts properly supervised.

"Now we say that the first step to take today to meet that situation is to deal with the problem as one great national problem and to appoint a committee, a commission, that will be representative of all parts of Canada. Have on that commission men belonging to the ranks of labor; belonging to the ranks of capital; women who have to do with such great agencies as the National Council of Women, the Salvation Army, and other bodies that have to do with the great questions of relief and other matters, and understanding the problems of the home and the like; a truly representative commission, and give that body the power and the other means to review the entire situation with a view of coordinating it in an effective way, in a way which will serve to throw light upon it, to municipalities, to provinces and to the Dominions.

"Now let me make this clear, we don't propose to take off of the shoulders of the Dominion or off the shoulders of the provinces or the municipalities, any duty which they may have towards the problem of the unemployed; what we purpose to do is this, so far as we are Federally concerned, to carry on those public works that are already in process of being carried out, unless there may be something of a purely political nature, of which account must be taken, but broadly speaking these great projects of construction of necessary public buildings, of the great highway through Canada, of the clearance of slums, of the proper housing program and the like, all of these things will be carried on by the Liberal administration out of funds which have been provided for the purpose, but while we are carrying on in that way we will hope this commission will find it possible to give to the provinces and to the Dominion and the municipalities a bird's-eye view of the entire situation, pointing out where some work could be done that is not being done, where some work is being done that could perhaps be better done some other way, so that the whole situation can be made effective from every point of view.

"Let me illustrate just with regard to this province. Here you have these large parks attracting multitudes of tourists, coming from other countries that find the approaches to the parks not as serviceable as many of them would wish to have them. The arteries are not as clear as they should be, the approaches to them.

"The result is much of the tourist trade is not what one would expect it to be. On the other hand, money is being spent in the provinces for clearing up this site and that site here and there. The commission that viewed the whole situation carefully might easily take the point of view that it is a mistake to think that these national parks, the roads leading to them, should only be considered as a provincial matter. Let us view the whole situation as a great national situation, and if the province itself is not able to do the thing that should be done in the matter of roads, let the Dominion itself, if it is going to help furnish serviceable employment undertake that obligation in accordance with the contribution that might be given to parliament.

BELIEVES COMMISSION WOULD BE EFFECTIVE

"I want to make clear I am not in the position of a dictator. I cannot say what particular project is to be done or what is not to be done, but what I say is this, that a representative commission of that kind could make its findings, give them to the Parliament of Canada, and on those findings, on the recommendation of a body of this kind parliament would know what to do, and it would do it in a most effective way, and the government would certainly be guided by the recommendations of the commission in furthering work of that kind. We do not propose to leave it until this commission gets underway with its work going on with the effective relief of providing employment for the unemployed.

"We will continue to do the best that we can, then we can get our other policies under way. We hope to have the thing so effectively worked out and co-ordinated once this body is successfully at work for us to be able to bring about a vast change in a very short time.

"Now, may I put this word, put it just in a word, one of the greatest misfortunes I think in our national life has been this, and here I want to speak particularly about the position of the young people, because after all they are the ones who are most vitally affected in this, their lives in the future depend upon what may be done for them in the present; there is far too much of a feeling today that, because a man or a woman is unemployed, that in some way they have lost a part of their citizenship in the Dominion; they begin to feel that they are not wanted as part of the Dominion, that in other words they must be put off, segregated in some camps that are being supervised by the Department of National Defence; giving them a feeling that there is something in the nature of the whole business that savors of or some other species of an unnatural social life.

MISTAKEN POLICIES OF LAST GOV'T

"Now, what we would, as Liberals, do is this: What there is of unemployment today is due, let me put it first of all in regard to, if you wish, in some phases of our industrial social condition that we want changed and which will be changed; let me put it again in this other way, that it is due in large part to the mistaken policies of the government which has been in office for the last few years.

"Now whatever the reason may be we feel that the people who are out of employment for the most part are out of employment through no fault of their own, and instead of being looked upon as parriahs and outcasts, we should seek to draw them to our heart, as those who have been suffering at the hands of society. (Applause.)

"We should try, like everything else, to make them feel that what they are going through is something which we understand, that we sympathize with and that we are going to be determined to see to it so far as it is in our power to do it, that their future, as well as their present, is not going to be adversely affected; why should these young people not be receiving instruction in schools; why should they not be receiving instruction, as was done during the period of the Great War by a large number of those who were serving in the war while they were not at the front. Cannot we organize this country as well in times of peace, as it was organized overseas in times of the war. (Applause.)

"If Mr. Bennett was in earnest in this matter, surely here is an opportunity for social service, the like of which has never come to our country before. What we should make every one of these young people feel is this, that what they are doing when they are getting employment by the state, is performing a social service and we should seek to show that the employment which they are given is employment in the nature of social service.

"Do you mean to tell me that a body of young men who are helping to beautify the approaches to the parks, helping to make highways that are going to be a source of delight to those who go along them, will not feel an element of pride if they are told that this is part of the work which you are doing, not for purposes of unemployment relief, but as a citizen of Canada, helping to make your country more beautiful—(applause) —and worth living in.

"And may I say this, and this is where the work of a great commission such as I have pointed out comes in, a commission of that kind can point out what are these great social needs which can be met at the present time by the state, so that when they are met they will be in the nature of social assets. These parks are the greatest asset that this country has got in some respects in bringing to our country the tourist trade. They belong to the people; they are a social asset as against private assets, which the individual may own.

WORK SHOULD BE ASSET TO SOCIETY

"Well, why should not all the work which is being done at the present time by those that are being furnished employment through the state be of a character which will be in the nature of a social asset to society, and if it is so why should not those who are put to work on that work be paid for the work which they are doing. (Applause.)

"I feel that we should choose carefully the work that is to be done; we must always distinguish between a payment that is being made out of the public treasury if we have to meet an emergency and what is being paid for by private enterprise. I would not say that the state would pay the same wages. It cannot in cases of this kind pay the same amount that would be paid by private enterprise. Otherwise you people would be living on the state all the time. You cannot do that, as I have already said, unless the state has got the revenues, the means to carry them.

"But you would be able at least to increase pride, increase the feeling of manhood, preserve the feeling of manhood and of womanhood to those who need state assistance if it is viewed broadly in that way.

"I have given that picture because I feel the needs of our time are of a character which require all the thought and care which can be the opposition I have realized that he has had a great problem on his hands, and the experience that I have had in the past has shown me and taught me that the business of carrying on government is not an easy business. I would like to say to his fellow-citizens here, that as leader of the opposition, from the day that I went into the House of Commons to the day that I left it at the time Mr. Bennett has been prime minister, I have done all in my power to try and give him so far as I can the freest possible hand in putting his policies into force. I have opposed him where I have seen him adopting methods that I did not think were in accordance with the British parliamentary system.

"I have never thought it right that any government should have a blank cheque. I have never thought it right that any government should have the right to legislate generally by Order-in-Council under the heading of peace, order, good government or anything of the kind. I have never thought it right that any government should have the power by Order-in-Council to restrict the trade of our country and to prohibit the export or prohibit the import of a great mass of commodities that go in and out of our Dominion.

"I have as my duty compelled me along with my fellow Liberals opposed those measures as strongly as I could where I felt that liberty itself was at stake, where I have felt that our system of government in Canada was being gradually changed from one of parliamentary control in the name of the people as a whole in a true democracy to one of dictatorship. But apart from that I have not only personally tried to do what I could to allow him the greatest freedom there, but among my fellow-Liberals in the House in the last caucus I have asked them to be careful not to oppose anything that the government might be seeking to do which was likely to be of service to the people of the country.

"Well now, if after five years of that kind of opportunity Mr. Bennett has failed, it is not because I have been insincere in what he has sought to do, it is because I believe he has been mistaken in the policies which he has adopted. Those policies he has tried and he has failed in them, and if I am here tonight to oppose him as strongly as I can oppose him, it is not because I am opposing a man who has done, so far as his mind is concerned, the best he can by his fellow-citizens, if he will, but because I feel that it would be a misfortune for our country were these policies to be continued over another five years to come. (Hear, hear).

"And I want to say this closing word. I want to say this further word. Mr. Bennett was kind enough in his first broadcast address to say a few kindly words of appreciation of my attitude toward him during the part of the time he was indisposed and unable to be present in the House of Commons. In that regard, ladies and gentlemen, I was only doing what each and every one of you, as fellow-citizens of Mr. Bennett, would have done, but I would like, here in his city, to express my appreciation of his acknowledgement of that attitude on my part and publicly to thank him for it.

COMPARES RECORDS OF ADMINISTRATIONS

"There I think I have stated where each of us stand. We are both public men who have served the people of Canada for many years; we have served them, I believe, each of us to the best of our ability, but I ask you, in judging between us, to look over the record of the years during which the Liberal policies were in office and see what they served to bring in the way of prosperity to Canada, and the years during which these mistaken Conservative policies have been put into force, and what they have served to bring to Canada at this time. Let me say this further, that the problems of Canada in the last five years have become more intricate and difficult and involved than they have at any time, and one reason of it is this, not merely this unrest and the bad social conditions and the industrial conditions, but the amount of legislation which there has been, the amount of legislation, both Federal and provincial. If the mere passing of laws would cure anything and make the people happy, we ought to be the healthiest and happiest people in the world." (Applause and laughter.)

"But the effect of the multitude, the mass of the legislation we have had in Canada in the last five years has been to leave everything in a very unsettled and complicated state, with the result that people do not know today with respect to most of the laws on the statute book which have been passed for purposes of improving conditions, whether they are constitutional or unconstitutional, whether the moment they are put into force they are not going to be held up by some procedure in the courts or the like. That is a thing which has helped to make difficult the solution of these questions of unemployment and the like; that we do not know where we are at with regard to the laws which have been passed.

"Now, then, there is only one way I think that that can be solved, and that is by the Dominion government and the provincial governments meeting together just as soon as is possible, and sitting down and coming to an agreement with respect to what is to be done with respect to these great questions of interest rates; with respect to mortgages; with respect to debt; with respect to further financial outlays and the like. We must get together and discuss these things and try and arrive at some kind of uniformity of action between the different provinces of Canada and the Dominion government.

"Now are we not in a very happy position as the Liberal party to perform that very act? Mr. Bennett has had during the last five years opportunities to call the provinces into conference with himself. He has called them on different occasions, but on each occasion the conference has broken up without anything effective being accomplished.

"It has been my privilege in this campaign, speaking in the different provinces of Canada, to be welcomed to every one of them, with the exception of this province, by a Liberal premier who has held out the hand of good-will—(loud applause)—who has held out the hand of good-will and promised the cooperation of himself and his government in helping to solve any questions which may come before the Federal government once we get into office, and so far as this province is concerned, I have no reason to believe that the attitude of the present prime minister will be other than one of desire of being helpful to us as we are desirous of being helpful to this great province of which he is the head.

CALL CONFERENCE OF PROVINCES AT OTTAWA

"So I say we are in a very fortunate position. Now if we are returned to power, what we will do immediately is this, call a conference of the provinces at Ottawa, the heads of the governments, the prime minister and the ministers, and see if we cannot immediately check up these various issues that there are, and arrive at a course of common action and concerted action, so that each can go back to his province and indicate what is being done by the other provinces, and what is being done by the Dominion.

"Then, in addition to that, in the matter of trade we will immediately take up the question of trade with Britain, with the United States, with Japan, and with other countries, and see if we cannot get that trade immediately under way, even without waiting for parliament to come into being. Then, in the third place, so far as this commission on unemployment is concerned, we will get that commission immediately established to go on as effectively as we can with the work that is already under way, have the commission make its report just as quickly as it possibly can, and then have parliament called, and with material put before parliament which will be threefold—first, material relating to these different problems of the provinces in the Dominion that need to be worked out in a satisfactory way; secondly, this whole question of trade and what is necessary to further that trade most effectively; and thirdly, the work of this commission and what is essential for dealing with the unemployment problems in a national way. We are going to be prepared, therefore, for parliament to be called just as soon as those preliminaries can be satisfactorily worked out. I believe that it won't be very long. Ladies and gentlemen, before once again you will see in Canada what you saw after a Liberal administration came into power in 1896, what you saw after a Liberal administration came into power in 1921. You will see once again this country brought out of the depression which it has been wallowing in for the last few years into a period of prosperity which we have not had for many a long day. (Cheers and applause.)

GANGLAND MURDER

BROOKLYN, N.Y., Oct. 1 (A.P.)—Three men, dressed in mechanics' clothes, shot and killed Joseph Amberg, 35, and his chauffeur today in a garage after standing their victims against a wall.

COLLECT TARTAR BOOKS

ASTRAKHAN, Russia, (C.P.)—Two hundred manuscripts in ancient Tartar, Arabian, Turkish and Persian, collected here for the Academy of Sciences, included Turkish work on mathematics written in 1542.

when you have a house or a room vacant . . . .

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went into the House, but I said it publicly and, if you read the debates in the House, you will see that Mr. Bennett repeated exactly what I have just said; said that I had spoken to him about it previously; that he would think it over and would take it into consideration as to whether we would have a committee.

"We were in this position: We didn't know what position the western grain problem was in. No information had been given to Parliament previously with respect to the amount of grain which was being held. Our members had a feeling that what should have been done in Canada was what was being done in Argentine; that a year or two ago a fixed price should have been guaranteed and that the grain should have been put on the market and not held; that it should have been sold continuously, the state absorbing, if need be, the loss for the time being. If that policy had been carried out there wouldn't have been the carry-over to the extent to which there is, and grain would be at a much higher figure than it is today to the western producer of this country (applause).

"That was the position taken by Australia, and by Argentine and our men were advocating that position. And, as I said, Mr. Bennett, then in Parliament, made perfectly clear that he wanted a day or two to think the matter over. Then he agreed to have the bill go to a committee, and the committee was named and that committee worked day and night. My friend, Mr. Stewart, from his province, was one member of it. There were others from western provinces. Mr. Wallace, I think, was another, and on the Liberal party, Colonel Rawlston from the east, and there was another representative from this province, I think, also on that committee.

"At any rate they were altogether there and they worked very hard day and night for a couple of days, and they finally agreed upon a bill and the bill they agreed upon was this bill, not the one that was introduced by the Prime Minister on June 5, but this one which came into the House of Commons in the month of July, and in this bill you found clauses which were not in the previous bill at all.

"Now I will read you one clause which was inserted at the instance of the members of that committee. It is as follows:

"The Board shall among other things have the following powers:

"(e) This is Section 7. 'To pay to producers who deliver wheat at the time of delivery or at any time thereafter that may be agreed upon, such fixed price per bushel according to grade or quality or place of delivery that may be determined by the board with the approval of the Governor-in-Council.'

"Now this is the first time that the words 'fixed price per bushel' appeared in the bill at all and if the western producers today are rejoicing over the fact that they are getting a fixed price and also with the fact that they haven't had to sell to this board and let the board do all the marketing and getting merely an initial payment they can thank the Liberal members on that committee. (Applause).

CLAIMS BENNETT TOOK UNDESERVED CREDIT

"Now may I go a step further and say this, when this bill came into the House of Commons there was no amendment proposed to it, there was no division. It passed exactly as I said to Mr. Bennett it would pass—with no opposition of any kind at all. When Mr. Bennett began to take credit to himself in the speech for having drafted the bill I reminded him that the bill was very different, this bill than the other, and he said he thought about what the committee said during the recess and had gone on and drafted it in accordance with what had been said to him. But that is a very different thing and that is the result of the work of the committee.

"What I want to bring out is this, I thought at the time that we were getting matters so saisfactorily worked out there would be no necessity for political discussion over this great question at all but what would be said with regard to the minimum price, with regard to all the prases of this bill was that parliament was unanimous with regard to it. Could anything more be desired than that? If I have to say anything more tonight it is because Mr. Bennett has been taking credit to himself, where I think credit should have gone to others. I think we have got to the time, ladies and gentlemen, in Canada, where some gentlemen are taking far too much credit to themselves, and to themselves alone, and giving far too little praise to the Liberal representatives in parliament." (Applause).

"You know I do not think I need go further than that, I have dealt with that part in a way that I hope will silence all reports that are being circulated to the effect that there was any lack of sympathy with any features of the bill on the part of the Liberal members in the House.

"Our members took the position, our actions are there, and actions speak louder than words. If you have got any doubts in your mind, I ask you to get from the clerk of the House of Commons a copy of the bill that was introduced and a copy of the bill that was passed, read the Hansard debates for yourself and you will see the difference between the two measures. The ones that I pointed out and the difference was because of the Liberal action in that regard.

"So, as I say, I think there is just as much justification, particularly in times of great distress such as this country has been passing through, for fixing a minimum price for producers for their commodity as there is for fixing a minimum wage for labor, or maximum hours for labor. I favor these laws that will help to preserve certain standards so far as labor is concerned, but I say that unless millions of dollars are rolling in to the public treasury at the same time, because your country will go bankrupt if you do it.

"What I say is this, Bennett tells you that reforms are necessary in order to effect recovery. I say Mr. Bennett has got the thing turned round the wrong way. Recovery is necessary in order to make the reform, permanent or of any value. If we get recovery that we need we will be able to make these reforms which are in the interests of labor and in the interests of producers and for the benefit of consumers and make them enduring. But if we do not this country is going ahead towards bankruptcy and the last state is going to be worse than the first.

ALBERTA EXPERIMENT IN MONETARY REFORM

"Let me say this further to my friends who are here, you are all vitally interested and anxiously interested in seeing the great experiment in monetary reform worked out in this particular province. Will that experiment work out as well if times in this Dominion continue to go from bad to worse or will that experiment have its better chance if while you are working on it in Alberta other parts of Canada begin to respond along with this province to the effect of better trade policies throughout the whole Dominion. (Applause).

"That is what I want my friends to remember. In order to get the best results for any reform here or anywhere throughout Canada we have got to have something in the nature of a policy of trade which will help to revive industry itiself.

"Now, I am just going to say one word on the monetary situation and a word on employment and then I have concluded. In regard to the question of monetary reform, as I say, I am leaving to this province itself to deal with the question which was uppermost in your last provincial election. So far as the Liberal party is concerned as I have indicated our attitude towards Alberta will be to treat this province the same as we treat all other provinces, and with respect to any individual experiment to allow that experiment the freest opportunity that it can possibly have within the confines of our constitution.

"But may I say this, that it wasn't within the last couple of months or the last couple of years even that the Liberal party saw the necessity of some far-reaching reform in the matter of social credit. We pointed out, shortly after the present government came into office, credit was a matter of concern to the people just as much as trade and if there were barriers to the flow of credit we should seek to get rid of those just as we were seeking to get rid of the barriers of the flow of trade. In other words, Liberalism, true to itself, turning from one phase of the economic situation to another, carries the same vital principle in the way of freedom into positive action. What we saw with regard to the financial situation in Canada was this, that so far as the money power was concerned it was concentrated largely in the hands of the banks, and banks that were privately owned. We did not take the position that our banking system had been iniquitous, we didn't take the position that the banking system was wrong; what we did say however, was this, that the banking system may have served its day up to recent years, but that times were moving on, and that something of the nature of a revision of the banking system was required and particularly what was needed was the emphasis placed upon public need in dealing with financial matters rather than upon private desires or private requirements, and that what was essential was that so far as our banks were concerned there should be a government bank which would have a controlling interest over private banks.

"Now we came out with the policy for the establishment of a Central Bank. So there can be no mistake as to what our position was, let me read you the exact statement as I gave it in parliament on February 27, 1933. And this represented what we had been advocating for some time prior to that.

"The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted national central bank, to perform the functions of re-discount and the control of currency issue considered in terms of publicly, (now can you get any more emphatic words than that), for the purpose of re-discount and the control of currency issue considered in terms of public needs.

CONSIDER CREDIT FROM PUBLIC NEED

"A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange. That was a clear statement that what we wanted at Ottawa was a Central Bank, or wanted in Canada, was a central national bank which would enable private banks to be controlled by the central institution in a manner which would make credit be considered more from the point of public need, domestic requirements, social requirements, and the like, there from the point of view of the interests of capital investors and private bankers only.

"That was a vital first step, and what we felt was this, if we had a Central Bank which would respond to government policies then in times when it was evident that there was too much in the way of speculation going on the control could be exercised in a manner which would restrict credit and prevent undue speculation as far as the administration of national affairs are concerned in the nature of money power than would be the case of the power of the government itself.

"Now I do not think, ladies and gentlemen, I need go much further into that question tonight. I spoke on it at considerable length at Edmonton the other evening and as I say I want to conclude with a reference to unemployment so I just leave you with this thought.

"We have in the federal field the great issue of monetary reform. I have merely indicated what I have thought was the first step and if that first is not won then all our efforts at further financial reform so far as the federal field is concerned will be materially impaired.

"Equally if they are materially impaired it will have a very serious effect as far as I see it upon the efforts of any province to improve financial conditions there, so I hope when Monday fortnight comes you will think not only what is important to you locally and in a provincial way, but that you will think even more deeply of what is going to be of vital concern to our country with respect to our policy during the next five years.

"Now just let me conclude as far as the question of unemployed. I would like first of all to say that unemployment from the Liberal point of view prevails today as we stated in this statement I made in parliament in 1933 as the first of all the problems in Canada. Unemployment is of first concern. That is what we stated as our view of things in 1933 after we saw that Mr. Bennett's policies were likely to fail and we put it in these words,

CANADA'S MOST URGENT NATIONAL PROBLEM

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem . We would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commission which would co-operate with the provinces and the municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed. As permanent measures, the Liberal policy is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.'

"What I want to point out there is this: we realize that there are only two ways, that we must make a distinction between what is a temporary problem and what is a permanent one. We will have to devise means to deal with this temporary situation, and we believe it can only be dealt with effectively as a result not as a temporary expediency, but a long range policy which worked out over a period of months will bring about a revival of industry and a wave of prosperity which we think lies at the base of everything else.

"So what we lay our efforts along mostly is this, the improvement of conditions generally, through the increase of trade and in the meantime the devising of methods whereby employment can be provided through state agencies of one kind and another, until all our unemployed find it possible to get back into normal industry again.

"Now, what we feel has been the great difficulty in the last few years is this, that since the present government went into office, they have never viewed the unemployed question as a great national question. They have left it to be dealt with by municipalities in one way, by provinces in another way, and the Dominion assisting in yet another way. The result has been that for the last five years, while many others that you are helping, to create a power which is greater so far as the administration of national affairs are concerned in the nature of money power than would be the case of the power of the government itself.

"Now I do not think, ladies and gentlemen, I need go much further into that question tonight. I spoke on it at considerable length at Edmonton the other evening and as I say I want to conclude with a reference to unemployment so I just leave you with this thought.

"We have in the federal field the great issue of monetary reform. I have merely indicated what I have thought was the first step and if that first is not won then all our efforts at further financial reform so far as the federal field is concerned will be materially impaired.

"Equally if they are materially impaired it will have a very serious effect as far as I see it upon the efforts of any province to improve financial conditions there, so I hope when Monday fortnight comes you will think not only what is important to you locally and in a provincial way, but that you will think even more deeply of what is going to be of vital concern to our country with respect to our policy during the next five years.

"Now just let me conclude as far as the question of unemployed. I would like first of all to say that unemployment from the Liberal point of view prevails today as we stated in this statement I made in parliament in 1933 as the first of all the problems in Canada. Unemployment is of first concern. That is what we stated as our view of things in 1933 after we saw that Mr. Bennett's policies were likely to fail and we put it in these words,

CANADA'S MOST URGENT NATIONAL PROBLEM

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"What I want to point out there is this: we realize that there are only two ways, that we must make a distinction between what is a temporary problem and what is a permanent one. We will have to devise means to deal with this temporary situation, and we believe it can only be dealt with effectively as a result not as a temporary expediency, but a long range policy which worked out over a period of months will bring about a revival of industry and a wave of prosperity which we think lies at the base of everything else.

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ISSUE OF CURRENCY IMPORTANT FUNCTION

"What is the most important of all the great functions of government in the matter of money? It is the issue of currency, the determination of the amount of currency in the light of the reserves which are to be held against it. Now there was in the vaults of Canada of the government of this country, owned by the people of Canada, gold to the amount of $69,000,000. That was the gold which was held as security against the moneys which were issued for currency purposes and then given to the banks.

"There were in the vaults of Canada as well securities which had been sent from the banks to the central, to Ottawa itself, to be held there as security against the rediscounting which was taking place to increase further facilities to the private banks themselves; this was all a part of the property of Canada, part of your property, part of mine. Under this act all this gold, all these securities, have been turned over to the ownership and the control of this private bank. Today that $69,000,000 of gold is part of the property of the Bank of Canada, which is a privately owned and controlled bank.

"These securities are part of the property of this bank which is a privately owned and privately controlled bank and there is not on the board of directors of that bank a single director that is appointed by which he provided for the establishment of the Bank of Canada, as it is called; a Canadian National Bank, but what was the nature of that bank when it was constituted?

That bank turned out to be another privately owned bank; a bank that would be, that was formed through shares not owned by the government, the bank itself not owned by the government, but shares which were privately owned and the direction and the control of that bank was to be at the instance of directors appointed from the shareholders; in other words, what we have got today is a privately owned National bank.

Well, now if it all stopped there it would not perhaps be so bad, but consider what powers have been given that bank; that bank has been given the powers of the issue of currency; that bank has been given the power to rediscount, and to increase or decrease the credit that is to go to the banks of this country; in other words, the private banking system has been built up more strongly than ever and there is less in the way of government control than there was before Mr. Bennett brought in his bill. Bennett tells the people of Canada what we need at this time is intervention; government control, and he is emphasing that in regard to social policies and the like, but the one place where government control is needed more than anywhere else, namely the control of the money interests of this country, Mr. Bennett has put this bank beyond the control of government all together and into the control of banking concerns. (Applause.)

"Now, let me point this out to you; during the period of the war, it was recognized among other things that the government of Canada should have an increased control over currency and over matters of that kind, and exchange, and provision would be right in the department of finance itself, which gives the government something in the way of additional control, but under this act all the powers which the government itself had at that time in these matters have been taken away from the government and have been handed over to this privately owned national bank.

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ordinating it in an effective way, in a way which will serve to throw light upon it, to municipalities, to provinces and to the Dominions.

"Now let me make this clear, we don't propose to take off of the shoulders of the Dominion or off the shouldders of the provinces or the municipalities, any duty which they may have towards the problem of the unemployed; what we purpose to do is this, so far as we are Federally concerned, to carry on those public works that are already in process of being carried out, unless there may be something of a purely political nature, of which account must be taken, but broadly speaking these great projects of construction of necessary public buildings, of the great highway through Canada, of the clearance of slums, of the proper housing program and the like, all of these things will be carried on by the Liberal administration out of funds which have been provided for the purpose, but while we are carrying on in that way we will hope this commission will find it possible to give to the provinces and to the Dominion and the municipalities a bird's-eye view of the entire situation, pointing out where some work could be done that is not being done, where some work is being done that could perhaps be better done some other way, so that the whole situation can be made effective from every point of view.

"Let me illustrate just with regard to this province. Here you have these large parks attracting multitudes of tourists, coming from other countries that find the approaches to the parks not as serviceable as many of them would wish to have them. The arteries are not as clear as they should be, the approaches to them.

"The result is much of the tourist trade is not what one would expect it to be. On the other hand, money is being spent in the provinces for clearing up this site and that site here and there. The commission that viewed the whole situation carefully might easily take the point of view that it is a mistake to think that these national parks, the roads leading to them, should only be considered as a provincial matter. Let us view the whole situation as a great national situation, and if the province itself is not able to do the thing that should be done in the matter of roads, let the Dominion itself, if it is going to help furnish serviceable employment undertake that obligation in accordance with the contribution that might be given to parliament.

BELIEVES COMMISSION WOULD BE EFFECTIVE

"I want to make clear I am not in the position of a dictator. I cannot say what particular project is to be done or what is not to be done, but what I say is this, that a representative commission of that kind could make its findings, give them to the Parliament of Canada, and on those findings, on the recommendation of a body of this kind parliament would know what to do, and it would do it in a most effective way, and the government would certainly be guided by the recommendations of the commission in furthering work of that kind. We do not propose to leave it until this commission gets underway with its work going on with the effective relief of providing employment for the unemployed.

"We will continue to do the best that we can, then we can get our other policies under way. We hope to have the thing so effectively worked out and co-ordinated once this body is successfully at work for us to be able to bring about a vast change in a very short time.

"Now, may I put this word, put it just in a word, one of the greatest misfortunes I think in our national life has been this, and here I want

be we feel that the people who are out of employment for the most part are out of employment through no fault of their own, and instead of being looked upon as parriahs and outcasts, we should seek to draw them to our heart, as those who have been suffering at the hands of society. (Applause.)

"We should try, like everything else, to make them feel that what they are going through is something which we understand, that we sympathize with and that we are going to be determined to see that so far as it is in our power to do it, that their future, as well as their present, is not going to be adversely affected; why should these young people not be receiving instruction in schools; why should they not be receiving instruction, as was done during the period of the Great War by a large number of those who were serving in the war while they were not at the front. Cannot we organize this country as well in times of peace, as it was organized overseas in times of the war. (Applause.)

"If Mr. Bennett was in earnest in this matter, surely here is an opportunity for social service, the like of which has never come to our country before. What we should make every one of these young people feel is this, that what they are doing when they are getting employment by the state, is performing a social service and we should seek to show that the employment which they are given is employment in the nature of social service.

"Do you mean to tell me that a body of young men who are helping to beautify the approaches to the parks, or helping to make highways that are going to be a source of delight to those who go along them, will not feel an element of pride if they are told that this is part of the work which you are doing, not for purposes of unemployment relief, but as a citizen of Canada, helping to make your country more beautiful—(applause) —and worth living in.

"And may I say this, and this is where the work of a great commission such as I have pointed out comes in, a commission of that kind can point out what are these great social needs which can be met at the present time by the state, so that when they are met they will be in the nature of social assets. These parks are the greatest asset that this country has got in some respects in bringing to our country the tourist trade. They belong to the people; they are a social asset as against private assets, which the individual may own.

WORK SHOULD BE ASSET TO SOCIETY

"Well, why should not all the work which is being done at the present time by those that are being furnished employment through the state be of a character which will be in the nature of a social asset to society, and if it is so why should not those who are put to work on that work be paid for the work which they are doing. (Applause.)

"I feel that we should choose carefully the work that is to be done; we must always distinguish between a payment that is being made out of the public treasury if we have to meet an emergency and what is being paid for by private enterprise. I would not say that the state would pay the same wages. It cannot in cases of this kind pay the same amount that would be paid by private enterprise. Otherwise you people would be living on the state all the time. You cannot do that, as I have already said, unless the state has got the revenues, the means to carry them.

"But you would be able at least to increase pride, increase the feeling of manhood, preserve the feeling of manhood and of womanhood to those who need state assistance if it is viewed broadly in that way.

"I have given that picture because I feel the needs of our time are of a character which require all the thought and care which can be bestowed upon them and particularly in dealing with human lives. We have got to remember that whatever is being worn by any one of our fellow-citizens there beats the heart and nature very similar to our own, and he have to treat every man and every woman when we come to deal with these great social problems as we would wish to be treated ourselves if we were in a similar position. (Applause).

"When I was speaking the other evening in Vancouver and Victoria I had been told a great deal about the trouble there had been for public speakers to be heard and the amount of discontent and the rest of it there. Well, there must be a cause for all that. While I don't sympathize for one moment with unnecessary disturbances of any sort I have asked myself over and over again the question, 'If I had been walking the streets for months and for years, and seeing around me the great resources that I see on all sides and I could not get food and I could not get clothing and I could not get shelter and fuel that is needed to keep body and soul together, what would I be doing at a time like this?'

"I began to say to my friends, 'let us all keep that thought in mind. Once the more unfortunate members of society begin to realize the hand of others is not out against them but it is out to clasp theirs in friendly fellowship we will have an end of our social problems and not until then, and be prepared to share in these things as best we can.'

PAYS TRIBUTE TO PRIME MINISTER

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I say one work, speaking in this city which has sent the prime minister of Canada for so many years, the word that I haven't had a chance to say elsewhere, but I would like just in conclusion to say it here tonight. During the time Mr. Bennett has been prime minister of this country, as leader of

along with my fellow Liberals opposed those measures as strongly as I could where I felt that liberty itself was at stake, where I have felt that our system of government in Canada was being gradually changed from one of parliamentary control in the name of the people as a whole in a true democracy to one of dictatorship. But apart from that I have not only personally tried to do what I could to allow him the greatest freedom there, but among my fellow-Liberals in the House in the last caucus I have asked them to be careful not to oppose anything that the government might be seeking to do which was likely to be of service to the people of the country.

"Well now, if after five years of that kind of opportunity Mr. Bennett has failed, it is not because I have been insincere in what he has sought to do, it is because I believe he has been mistaken in the policies which he has adopted. Those policies he has tried and he has failed in them, and if I am here tonight to oppose him as strongly as I can oppose him, it is not because I am opposing a man who has done, so far as his mind is concerned, the best he can by his fellow-citizens, if he will, but because I feel that it would be a misfortune for our country were these policies to be continued over another five years to come. (Hear, hear).

"And I want to say this closing word. I want to say this further word. Mr. Bennett was kind enough in his first broadcast address to say a few kindly words of appreciation of my attitude toward him during the part of the time he was indisposed and unable to be present in the House of Commons. In that regard, ladies and gentlemen, I was only doing what each and every one of you, as fellow-citizens of Mr. Bennett, would have done, but I would like, here in his city, to express my appreciation of his acknowledgement of that attitude on my part and publicly to thank him for it.

COMPARES RECORDS OF ADMINISTRATIONS

"There I think I have stated where each of us stand. We are both public men who have served the people of Canada for many years; we have served them, I believe, each of us to the best of our ability, but I ask you, in judging between us, to look over the record of the years during which the Liberal policies were in office and see what they served to bring in the way of prosperity to Canada, and the years during which these mistaken Conservative policies have been put into force, and what they have served to bring to Canada at this time. Let me say this further, that the problems of Canada in the last five years have become more intricate and difficult and involved than they have at any time, and one reason of it is this, not merely this unrest and the bad social conditions and the industrial conditions, but the amount of legislation which there has been, the amount of legislation, both Federal and provincial. If the mere passing of laws would cure anything and make the people happy, we ought to be the healthiest and happiest people in the world." (Applause and laughter.)

"But the effect of the multitude, the mass of the legislation we have had in Canada in the last five years has been to leave everything in a very unsettled and complicated state, with the result that people do not know today with respect to most of the laws on the statute book which have been passed for purposes of improving conditions, whether they are constitutional or

"It has been my privilege in this campaign, speaking in the different provinces of Canada, to be welcomed to every one of them, with the exception of this province, by a Liberal premier who has held out the hand of good-will—(loud applause)—who has held out the hand of good-will and promised the cooperation of himself and his government in helping to solve any questions which may come before the Federal government once we get into office, and so far as this province is concerned, I have no reason to believe that the attitude of the present prime minister will be other than one of desire of being helpful to us as we are desirous of being helpful to this great province of which he is the head.

CALL CONFERENCE OF PROVINCES AT OTTAWA

"So I say we are in a very fortunate position. Now if we are returned to power, what we will do immediately is this, call a conference of the provinces at Ottawa, the heads of the governments, the prime minister and the ministers, and see if we cannot immediately check up these various issues that there are, and arrive at a course of common action and concerted action, so that each can go back to his province and indicate what is being done by the other provinces, and what is being done by the Dominion.

"Then, in addition to that, in the matter of trade we will immediately take up the question of trade with Britain, with the United States, with Japan, and with other countries, and see if we cannot get that trade immediately under way, even without waiting for parliament to come into being. Then, in the third place, so far as this commission on unemployment is concerned, we will get that commission immediately established to go on as effectively as we can with the work that is already under way, have the commission make its report just as quickly as it possibly can, and then have parliament called, and with material put before parliament which will be threefold—first, material relating to these different problems of the provinces in the Dominion that need to be worked out in a satisfactory way; secondly, this whole question of trade and what is necessary to further that trade most effectively; and thirdly, the work of this commission and what is essential for dealing with the unemployment problems in a national way. We are going to be prepared, therefore, for parliament to be called just as soon as those preliminaries can be satisfactorily worked out. I believe that it won't be very long. Ladies and gentlemen, before once again you will see in Canada what you saw after a Liberal administration came into power in 1896, what you saw after a Liberal administration came into power in 1921. You will see once again this country brought out of the depression which it has been wallowing in for the last few years into a period of prosperity which we have not had for many a long day. (Cheers and applause.)

GANGLAND MURDER

BROOKLYN, N.Y., Oct. 1 (A.P.)—Three men, dressed in mechanics' clothes, shot and killed Joseph Amberg, 35, and his chauffeur today in a garage after standing their victims against a wall.

COLLECT TARTAR BOOKS

ASTRAKHAN, Russia, (C.P.)—Two hundred manuscripts in ancient Tartar, Arabian, Turkish and Persian, collected here for the Academy of Sciences, included Turkish work on mathematics written in 1542.



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2 of/de 2

GOVERNMENT BLAMED FOR TRADE LOSSES

Big Calgary Audience Hears Liberal Chief Rap Conservatives

FREE HAND FOR SOCIAL CREDIT

Charges Mountainous Tariffs Strangled Canada Trade

Displaying drafts of governmental bills to an audience which packed Victoria Pavilion to capacity, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, last evening claimed all factions had co-operated in producing the present act establishing a Canadian Grain Board. Liberal opposition to the original draft, he said, had been responsible for inclusion of the minimum price clause in the adopted measure.

Appearing hale and hearty, the Liberal leader commenced his address at 8.45. At 11.05 he terminated with an appeal to voting citizens to carefully weigh what swayed in the balance regarding the future of their country under a continued Conservative policy or that advocated by Liberals.

Early in his talk he stated, and demonstrated that the entire Canadian political situation boil-

VERBATIM REPORT

A verbatim report of Liberal Leader Mackenzie King's address last night in the Victoria Pavilion appears on pages 16, 17 and 18.

ed down to two major factors—the two old line parties. Even if any other elected all their candidates no one could hold a majority in the next house.

Reiterating previous statements made during his western tour, Mr. King advocated a straight "hands off Alberta" policy so far as the Dominion government is concerned. The majority of Alberta citizens having given social credit sponsors a mandate, he thought every opportunity should be provided to allow them to succeed or otherwise.

Regarding an Edmonton statement, Mr. King said the charges he leveled claiming Conservative money was backing certain social credit candidates did not apply to Alberta in any part or person. In Saskatchewan—and his home riding was mentioned—he could not quite understand true social credit bringing in candidates from another province. "But," he remarked, "the Tory party has certain methods of winning an election and to divide the forces against them is one."

For almost an hour and a half Mr. King dwelt on trade and trade policies; both those introduced by the Conservative government and the ones in force when the Liberal government went down to defeat in 1930.

"Strangled Canada's Trade"

He turned back parliamentary history to the time of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the policies he advocated. Policies which he claimed had placed Canada among the fore-

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

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MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

Issued by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

D21186

MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

A reprint of the series of Radio broadcasts delivered by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal party, to the people of Canada.

Printed exactly as delivered except that the titles and the headings between paragraphs have been added.

Issued by the National Liberal Publicity Committee. Room 1689, King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.

D21187

Political Parties and Tendencies

Democracy versus Dictatorship

First radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on July 31, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings. There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost, on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say over the radio, to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom,

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not for today only, nor for the coming year, but for the next five years, our country is to be governed.

You have had one experience of being deceived by promises at a general election. Are you prepared to risk another? You have seen how long a period of time five years is; what opportunity it affords a ministry, if the ministry be so inclined, altogether to ignore, and even to defy, your clearly expressed will, and your most evident wishes. You have reason to know how all important, in the administration of a nation's affairs, are a right attitude and sound policies. You have seen how a wrong attitude has made for bitterness of feeling, for unrest and discontent, for friction between governments, and for a divided Canada. You have seen, too, how wrong policies, despite vast expenditures of public monies, have only served to increase debt and taxation, to augment unemployment, and to prolong depression. Are you going to risk more in the way of bitterness, of unrest, of discontent, of conflict between governments? Are you prepared to take chances on policies which, over a period of another five years, will mean bankruptcy for yourself and the country, more in the way of unemployment, and further prolonged depression? These are questions you do well to ask yourselves, with respect, not only to a government which long since has lost the confidence of the electorate in all parts of Canada, and is now, shamefacedly, about to appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence; but also with respect to what is being promised and proposed by untried and newly created political parties.

Need a Substantial Political Party

Let me pause to say a word about political parties. To listen to what some people are saying, one would believe that there is something sinister, if not fundamentally wrong, about a political party as such. To see how absurd this is, one has only to ask oneself, what means is possible, other than the agency of a political party, for men and women who feel and think alike on great social, economic and political questions, to gain expression in legislation and administration for aims and ideals which they share in common. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the means whereby men and women, who hold similar views, are enabled so to augment and to consolidate their numbers as to gain a majority over all opposing forces. They thereby secure the power necessary to give effect to their views in matters of government. Even Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Stevens, who seek to create a prejudice in your minds against what they speak of as the "two old political parties," have found it necessary, in order to further the aims they have in view, to organize political parties of their own. Are their aims any the less genuine because they are being championed by a political party? Would these parties be any the less worthy of support if, in addition to their names, they had great traditions, and had fought from generation to generation for the ends they profess to be seeking to serve? You will do well, especially where there is a tendency to tear up everything by the roots, and to get aboard the last carry-all that comes along, to see that the vehicle to which, for the next five years, you intend to trust your individual fortunes, and the political and economic life of our country, is made of something more substantial than the banners pinned to its sides, and the volume of sound its musicians are capable of producing.

In Canada, we have long had the two parties known

as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896 for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921, there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario and in Alberta, and the Independent Labour party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C.C.F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction Party.

Third Parties Always Disappear

Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time, and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you, not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country.

Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may

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be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties—the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views, or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail, have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

Just as the great rivers of our lands, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces, and deepen their channels, and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger and mightier tasks, as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of

thought, and influence, and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

Conservative Years of Depression

It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part, rather than with the whole, of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression, due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which dis-

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content has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry, or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

Liberal Period of Prosperity

The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government, under Mr. Meighen, long after the Union Government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war, and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government, and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought

the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depressio and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. My hope and expectation is that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations, than for the methods of big business, and of high finance, and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity; and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted. Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the mem-

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bers of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

Need a Government with Confidence

There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or witholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason. Such, however, is not the situation in Canada today. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the goverment which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has laboured for so

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long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms. I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures, which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada. Of this I am perfectly sure, that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people, will not have a ghost of a

chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

Must Avoid a Tory Dictatorship

If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons. I ask you to think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate, are to be made amenable to public opinion, and liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is "whither." Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain. It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself, as he has blazed

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a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

Self-Government in the Balance

Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the "whispers of death" were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not, will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to see all that lies behind that one word, "whither."

I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustom-

ed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom, and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government. None of them succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and properous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; and Italy with its free Parliament; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Hitlerism, Fascism and Bennettism

Then came the war. War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the

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peoples of Russia, surrender the ambition of remaining or of becoming democracies. It was not until someone began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and over-riding the constitution, that in Europe,parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

And what has come in the stead of Parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I intend to test all policies and all measures by the simple method of asking, whither they tend? If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

National Government for Plutocracy

That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favour

of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment, or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible. I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason, and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system. Traced to its source—the source that is financing the present movement—it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs, and taxation, in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests. Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service National Government would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbours in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such details, as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems. My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of

the Liberal party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these. What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government from the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighbourhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror. Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need.

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Principles and Policies
versus
Platforms and Promises

The Liberal Party's Position
on
Present Day Problems

Second radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 2, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Liberal party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties,

each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past five years. Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any one of these things? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that, as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called "New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be whole-heartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as a whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organiza-

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tions representative of all classes and in all parts of the country; they must have the cordial support of the party's members in the country, and of its representatives in Parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Bennett a One-Man Government

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his own hands to say what the party would do, what its program was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfred Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The Leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favorable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That

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work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto suited specially to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines its policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett, and of the Reconstruction party under Mr. Stevens.

Tory Make-believe Platform

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in Parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the Cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the Cabinet or of Parliament. More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own Cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge either of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party,

and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once quetioned, not by the members of the Opposition alone, but by members of the Government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the Leader of the Senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

Stevens Gets His Policy with Scissors

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies; not the leader

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year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the session of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation. To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year.

Liberal Platform Unanimously Endorsed

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently

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advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout the country. The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort, and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal Organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published, the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings. In 1933, a Liberal Summer Conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study.

In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavour. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

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Nine By-elections Go Liberal

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully presented and discussed in relation to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those of either the government or the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and, thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general

election. It is fortunate, after all, that we have a constitution with some provisions that cannot too readily be set aside. Otherwise, we would have no general election.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

Liberation of External Trade

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will abolish the extravagant INCREASES IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

Liberation of Internal Trade

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements re-

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strict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed before the Mass Buying and Price Spreads Committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

Development of Primary Industries

The Liberal party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal pary is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor in Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representatives of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own

hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements. It is that the Act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

Control of Credit

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

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As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has been lost and to secure a properly constituted National Central Bank, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

Control of Investments

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent to all.

Safeguarding of National Railways

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

This statement of policy will I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favouring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control; or, of their countenancing, either at the present time or in the next Parliament, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

Democratization of Industry

The Liberal party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

Restoration of Responsible Government

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament, and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of a FREE PARLIAMENT,

and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon, once more, subject the executive to the control of parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitary deportations.

The Liberal party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those

D 21204

who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

Electoral Reform

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A Balanced Budget

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT, by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION, and by INCREASED REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

International Relations

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOOD-WILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between

them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEEDS, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

To night, I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwarranted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There are none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

D21205

Unemployment—Canada's Most Urgent National Problem

A Statement of Liberal Policy

Third radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 5, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Tonight I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

You do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago, when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to *end* unemployment": "I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles": "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages." Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times, if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a government does its duty."

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even

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stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year, you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more, you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere, today, its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration.

Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish, as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

Tried to Conceal the Problem

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments, and municipalities, have, year by year, for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under

the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem, and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the Speeches from the Throne, with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, and that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift, and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

Unemployment Quadruples under Bennett

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed.

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This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons, in January 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage-earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labour organizations, and labour leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada today is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May 1932 to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May 1932,

there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation, and want, by any yardstick, or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four, and, for some, five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair.

Rural Families Face a Problem

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focusing attention upon problems of relief and unemployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children, in rural and isolated communities, are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products, as the

wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment, there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress, has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office, until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the additional amount guaranteed in connection with the government's wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Dominion of Canada in any year since Confederation, up to the third year of the Great War.

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Youths Are Sent to The Camps

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditures, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find, in addition, young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long." It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment." It was also in Regina that, for political purposes,

the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behaviour, and of inevitable sequences, when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with the nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated, and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

> The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.
>
> As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range

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policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

It must be clear that expenditures for purposes of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavour to regain markets, which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; co-operation and good-will between the federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time, however, is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavoured to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

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National Unemployment Commission

You will recall that, during the war, there was established, under Act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the Fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-oprated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of which was audited under the supervision of the Auditor General of Canada.

You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, expressly for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it urged that the existing emergency conditions of unemployment be dealt with through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved? Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe? Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adapted to the existing situation.

Liberals Would Get Provincial Co-operation

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the

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expenditure of all monies. Similarly, in the endeavour to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the service of all departments of provincial governments will be equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

Perhaps this will make its appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform,

may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal, that in having all governments of the one mind?

Words No Substitute for Wages

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of any one else.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignore the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no substitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and

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only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of providing employment, let me say, at once, that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. For what it pays out, the state should receive an adequate return. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

Work and National Improvements

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: essential public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of air-way facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life. Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we

now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth.

I believe the country would welcome, above all else, a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists, and to afford to the people as a whole fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great natural beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites, residences and monuments, and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the country as distinct from its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

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fronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart.

"To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke", is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that, as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country, at this hour of its great need, a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share, in larger measure, some of the burdens of their fellow-men, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "good-night".

control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditures of any kind.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty.

The Liberal Party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitrary deportation.

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The Liberal Party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to REDUCE THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

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The Liberal Party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION and by INCREASING REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

International Relations.

The Liberal party will seek to further wherever possible those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOODWILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal Party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEED, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

NOTE: The paragraphs above have been extracted from the official report of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933.

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The Liberal Party's Position on Some Immediate Problems

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21216

THE policies of the Liberal Party of Canada in relation to some immediate outstanding problems were set forth by its leader, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933, as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal Party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Liberation of External Trade.

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will ABOLISH the extravagant INCREASE IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

Liberation of Internal Trade.

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

Development of Primary Industries.

The Liberal Party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

Control of Credit.

The Liberal Party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

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To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

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The Liberal Party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

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The Liberal Party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the Government of industry.

Restoration of Responsible Government.

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of A FREE PARLIAMENT, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its

D21217

control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditures of any kind.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty.

The Liberal Party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitrary deportation.

Electoral Reform.

The Liberal Party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to REDUCE THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A Balanced Budget.

The Liberal Party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION and by INCREASING REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

International Relations.

The Liberal party will seek to further wherever possible those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOODWILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal Party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEED, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

NOTE: The paragraphs above have been extracted from the official report of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933.

Additional Copies of this Leaflet May be Obtained at a Cost of 35 Cents per Hundred.

PRINTED BY THE DAWSON-MERRILL PRESS LIMITED, OTTAWA, CANADA.

The Liberal Party's Position on Some Immediate Problems

Issued by the

National Liberal Federation of Canada

114 Wellington St. - - Ottawa

LEAFLET No. 3A

21218

THE policies of the Liberal Party of Canada in relation to some immediate outstanding problems were set forth by its leader, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933, as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal Party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Liberation of External Trade.

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will ABOLISH the extravagant INCREASE IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

Liberation of Internal Trade.

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

Development of Primary Industries.

The Liberal Party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

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The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of A FREE PARLIAMENT, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its

D 21219

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D21221

PUBLICATION Saskatoon Star-Phoenix DATE February 4, 1936

Mr. King's Statement

Just a few days before the Federal election of October last year, three textile manufacturers in Ontario made the public announcement that if the Bennett Government was defeated and a Liberal Government were elected they would close down their factories. This, of course, was an effort to intimidate voters into marking their ballots as factory owners wished.

On that occasion Mr. King said:

"This is a display of money power, the most arrogant form of power. It is a display of power begotten of special privilege. It is not moral power or intellectual power, but an attempt to browbeat the workmen of Ontario. Who is going to govern this country—the elected representatives of the people or the money powers related to international finance? . . . That kind of thing is a violation of the laws of Canada and a criminal offence, and I want to tell these gentlemen they will find out whether this law has value or not after election day. I want to say to Mr. O'Brien and to employers generally that if the threat is carried out I will get in touch with Premier Hepburn of Ontario and endeavor to make arrangements to take over Mr. O'Brien's plant and have it operated under government auspices."

"I have said we will cut down these high tariffs of Mr. Bennett. Make no mistake; we intend to consider the needs of the consumer and of the farmer, the primary producer, and of export trade. You cannot have your trade all one way. We will abolish extravagant tariff increases, but we will take care to see that what we do we do as reasonable men. We are not out to wreck industry, to close factories to create unemployment; we are out to build up industry and to cure unemployment."

In the constituencies where these factories were located the Liberals made substantial gains in the subsequent elections.

Since the election the Government has proceeded to implement its tariff policy gradually. As yet no very drastic action has been taken although the United States and Japanese treaties hold excellent promise of substantial improvement of trade. They are, of course, no more than a beginning but they have been enough to show that Mr. King means business on the tariff question.

Incidentally, perhaps the squealing of the textile industry, their pre-election threat and the post-election conduct, explains why the U.S. trade treaty was not concluded until Mr. King came into office.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

D21222

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Regina Leader Post Nov 16/35

A "News" Policy

There seems general approval of Premier King's policy of "open house" with the newspapermen. The Ottawa Journal, a Conservative newspaper, regards the new Premier's intention of keeping the public informed to the fullest possible extent on activities of the Government as a welcome departure. The Toronto Globe commends the press conferences Mr. King seemingly is inaugurating, after the fashion of President Roosevelt's periodic talks with the newspapermen. It remarks: "The public, eager for authentic news of what its Government at Ottawa is doing or intends to do, will be keenly interested in Premier King's inauguration of open conferences with newspaper correspondents. These meetings may be held weekly or oftener, as circumstances warrant. . . At these conferences press men may ask questions, which will be answered by the Premier, at least so far as he may go in making announcements of policy. . . Another good feature of the Premier's plan is indicated in his announcement that he will not assume to speak for every department, and his intimation that Ministers in charge should be approached freely for news. There was meaning to his statement that more than a dozen men are running the Government, not only one. Of course, the best thing about this arrangement is that the Government brings itself closer, through the press, to the people of the country. While everyone understands that there are matters of policy which may not be ready for publicity, there is the assurance that official information regarding what is going on in a general way will be available."

Premier King reveals imagination in his plans for keeping the public informed, through the press, of affairs of government. His decision doubtless is prompted in part by personal experience of his own as a newspaperman before he entered his political career.

Mr. King's "news policy" should make for public interest in government, and this is highly desirable. Is there any reason why a public should not be taken into the fullest possible confidence on its own affairs?

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21223

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Toronto Globe, Oct. 25/35

PUBLIC SERVICE ONLY.

In taking office Mr. King considered it of the utmost importance to emphasize the point that no commitments had been made to any corporation, interest or individual. That such a statement was regarded as necessary would be somewhat startling were it not for the fact that many people believe the "two old parties" are tools of favored interests, which sit in the saddle at all times. The new groups in the recent campaign were evidence to this effect.

The assurance, therefore, that the Liberal Administration takes up its responsibilities without strings attached to it, and with no object other than to serve the public welfare, is timely, and ought to assist in restoring confidence in governmental integrity.

With a clean slate in this respect on the part of the Ministry as a whole, and with the pronouncements on the public platform as the guiding principle, the electorate should be able to recall once more that "democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people."

Was the Prime Minister thinking of the special session of five years ago, called to deal with unemployment, and devoted to tariff-raising? His first step, after hearing the election results, he stated, was to communicate with the Provincial Governments to arrange an early conference on questions affecting the relations between the two jurisdictions, involving the unemployment situation and social legislation designed to ameliorate conditions.

That Mr. King intends to make full use of the political harmony that here prevails to deal with problems from the national point of view, and with the aid of the intimate knowledge obtainable from the Provincial representatives, is one justification for the faith imposed in him. He has an opportunity rare in history to weld the responsible forces of the country in support of a common cause—that from which he excludes special corporation or individual interests. Obviously, the proof will be in the results, and it is certain much will be anticipated, although, in the last analysis, as he has explained, his expectations loom largest from a more liberal attitude toward external trade.

The assurance of independence he has given for the Government he has required from the Cabinet Ministers individually. Implementing party policies, and what may be considered as Ministerial obligations, will depend on Cabinet sanction "endorsed as being clearly for the public weal." This is the sort of service the public has a right to expect. If Mr. King is able to live up to the letter of such an undertaking he will be entitled to the confidence of the country.

In structure the Cabinet is about as representative of the various sections and activities of the Dominion as could well be. It contains, in addition to expert and experienced men, much new timber, and, doubtless with a desire to neglect no Province, some surprises. But with a Ministry committed to co-operation on broad public policies, and with what might be called an Advisory Council composed of Provincial Premiers, its ability to deal with problems expeditiously and wisely cannot be questioned.

It is unnecessary to say that capacity and wisdom will be needed. The country's affairs are difficult, and are likely to remain so for some time. The best promise for their solution, however, was in the choice of a Government having no commitments to interfere with concentration on public welfare.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21224

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Toronto Star Oct 19/35

He Will Be Judged by Results

Mr. King, on election night, issued a message to the people of Canada which recognized the fact that they had declared for something nobler than the promotion of "material interests" in the conduct of the nation's affairs. This manifesto pledged the incoming government to the supreme task of securing for the humblest as well as for the highest "the health and peace and sweet content which is the rightful heritage of all." It exalted spiritual values as opposed to self-seeking and selfishness. It was, as we said at the time, a great and statesmanlike declaration of policy. But some newspapers are already questioning it.

These newspapers say that Mr. King's fine words will soon be forgotten in the hurly burly of "practical politics." By some of them it is intimated that his declaration was never intended as anything but a sort of momentary mental genuflexion towards the high ideals which it set forth. This we do not believe. The words of the premier-elect had the ring of sincerity. There is no reason to think that they were other than sincere.

But there will be plenty of political anesthetists ready to apply the ether of "practical considerations" to Mr. King: anesthetists in his own party who forget—and would have him forget—that the most practical consideration of all is the welfare of the common people. There are tories in the Liberal fold (just as there are liberals in the Conservative fold) and these Liberals in name only are often the most vocal and the most active when matters of policy are to be decided. There are special interests dear to their hearts (and in some cases their pocketbooks) which they hasten to protect. Mr. King may well make up his mind that if his ideals are to triumph in this selfish world, he must be prepared to resist with all the strength at his disposal the threats and the blandishments of these "material interests" within his own party as well as without it. The very extent of his triumph and the very multitude of his following ensure the presence and the activity of many whose aims are anything but altruistic.

Mr. King will be judged by the results which he achieves after he has had an opportunity to achieve them. He will not be judged by the premature sneers of political opponents whose anxiety to have him fail overtops their desire to have Canada blest by the sort of government which is forecast in his manifesto.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

D21225

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Toronto Star Oct 17/35

"By Sharing Each Other's Burden"

On the evening of election day, as soon as the result was known, Mr. Mackenzie King issued a statement which concluded with the following noble words:

"We take up at once, as our supreme task, the endeavor to end poverty in the midst of plenty; starvation and unnecessary suffering in a land of abundance; discontent and distress in a country more blessed by Providence than any other on the face of the globe, and to gain for individual lives, and for the nation as a whole, that 'health and peace and sweet content' which is the rightful heritage of all.

"The people of Canada have made clear that, in their opinion, 'present material interests,' and a course of action which does not distinguish between materialistic and spiritual values, must make way for something nobler in the conduct of a nation's affairs, and that self-seeking and selfishness, however much they may appear to lead to worldly success, are not the paths of true greatness, either for an individual or for a nation.

"The people of Canada to-day have reaffirmed their faith in the ancient and beneficent precept that it is only by sharing each other's burden, and doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, that men and nations can serve their own interests and the common good."

These, we have said, are noble words. Canada will await their translation into equally noble action. They are full of golden promise. A government which will put the welfare and the happiness of the common people first, a government which subordinates all other considerations to this one—such a government will usher in a new era of national well-being.

It will not be easily done. It will be fought by all the forces of selfishness and self-aggrandizement which are so accustomed to have their own way, and so well organized to secure it. But done it must be, for it is worth doing. And it is a fine thing that a premier-elect should foreshadow its accomplishment by making this his first pronouncement: that "only by sharing each other's burden, and doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, can men and nations serve their own interests and the common good."

Ending with these words, Mr. King's election-night manifesto is a trumpet call of new hope for the ordinary men and women of this dominion. It brushes aside the cynicism of those who refer to "the peepul" as a class whom politicians love to gull, and recognizes instead the incontrovertible fact that the welfare of the humblest should be the supreme concern of the highest. The fine old hymn of Ebenzer Elliott, which is sung all too seldom in the churches, is a fine companion-piece to the words which Mr. King has written:

"When wilt Thou save the people,
O God of mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations;
Not thrones and crowns, but men!
Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;
Let them not pass like weeds away,
Their heritage a sunless day—
God save the people!"

God save them indeed. For men in power have failed them too often. The message of Mr. King's manifesto is that he does not intend to fail them now.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

D 21226

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Toronto Star Oct 15/35

A Charter For Canadian Liberalism

The fine deliverance of Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, the incoming Prime Minister, last night stands out as something new in Canadian public life for this reason, that it was not a speech spoken with the hope of getting votes but a statement of policy framed in gratitude for votes already received and popular support abundantly given.

In the exalted hour of success, Mr. King said last night what tens of thousands of men of liberal mind will rejoice to read. No finer pronouncement was ever given out by a Canadian statesman and even his political opponents will find healing in his words.

The several reform parties which met with small popular support will welcome the promises of reform which the successful Liberal leader puts forward on the threshold of his renewed responsibility.

There is in Mr. Mackenzie King nothing at all of the dictator. He believes in representative, democratic and constitutional government. He respects and honors parliament. He will have and, on all matters, will consult his cabinet of ministers. The decisions arrived at will be the considered decisions of an able body of men and not the impulsive outbursts of an emotional person.

The first duty that awaits the incoming Prime Minister being the selection of his cabinet Mr. King will, we hope, in selecting its members, measure every man by his own fine spirit and the declaration of purpose as given out last night. It is fine to have a Liberal Prime Minister. Let us, too, have a Liberal cabinet—not a cabinet of men grown weary, and whose Liberalism is but a name, but a cabinet of men ready to work for public ends in the spirit so well expressed by Mr. Mackenzie King last night. We hope Mr. King will choose his colleagues so that the council chamber will not be a lethal chamber for these proposals of his that are alive with Liberalism and sympathy for humanity.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
36	135	Chronological Files	Mar.-Sept. 1935	D 20842 - D 20920	
36	136	Chronological Files	Jan.-Sept. 1935	D 20921 - D 21063	
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37	140	Chronological Files	Nov.-May 1935-1936	D 21484 - D 21639	
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38	143	Chronological Files	Apr.-May 1937	D 21844 - D 22001	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 37, pages D 21227 - D 21639

Radio Broadcasts and Campaign Speeches by Mr. Mackenzie King

Date	Place	Occasion	Subject
1935			
July 31	Ottawa	Radio Broadcast (No. 1)	
Aug. 2	Ottawa	Radio Broadcast (No. 2)	
Aug. 5	Ottawa	Radio Broadcast (No. 3)	
Aug. 7	Kingston	Campaign Speech	Dictatorship.
Aug. 13	Woodstock	Campaign Speech	Dictatorship; Trade; Ottawa Agreements.
Aug. 14	Wingham	Campaign Speech	Dictatorship;Marketing Act; Titles; Railways; Central Bank.
Aug. 15	London	Campaign Speech	Delay in Elections; Possibilities of War; Third Parties; Social Reform; Recovery; Dictatorship.
Sept. 3	St. John	Campaign Speech	Third Parties, Stevens; National Government; Dictatorship; League of Nations delegation; B.N.A. Act.
Sept. 4	Halifax	Campaign Speech	Reciprocity; Protection of Legitimate Industries; Solidarity of Liberal Party; Trade; Unemployment Dictatorship, etc.

D21228

Radio Broadcasts and Campaign Speeches by Mr. Mackenzie King

Date	Place	Occasion	Subject
1935			
Sept. 5	Charlottetown	Campaign Speech	Trade;Cost of Production; Capital;Confidence;Third Parties; Parallel to 1919; Stevens; Social Credit.
Sept. 7	Quebec	" "	War; Dictatorship; League Delegation; Social Legislation.
Sept. 7	Quebec	Luncheon,Quebec Young Liberals Association	Youth; traditional parties

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of the Leader of the Opposition

D 21229

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 1st - 1935

Subject JL 1

Mackenzie King Opens Liberal Election Fight

Declares He Will Stand or Fall By Principles of Parliamentary Govt. Hits Out at Third Parties.

Pleads For Largest Measure of Liberty

Asks Sweeping Majority to Prevent Senate Thwarting Will of People.

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader last night fired the first shot of his general election campaign. He declared he would stand or fall by the principles of parliamentary government, pleaded for the largest possible measure of liberty and struck out all tendencies in the direction of dictatorship, autocracy, fascism, communism or a national government.

Asks Sweeping Majority.

As he delivered the first of three radio addresses over a national hookup of the Canadian Radio Commission Mr. King broke a silence he has maintained since the close of parliament. He appealed for a sweeping Liberal majority in the House of Commons after the election, a majority large enough to prevent the pre-dominant Conservative Senate from thwarting the will of the people.

Canadians should study the actions and doctrines of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, Hon. H. H. Stevens and J. S. Woodsworth in the light of what had happened in other countries, said Mr. King. They should ask themselves whether these doctrines did not tend in the direction of dictatorship.

"For my part," he said, "I propose to stand or fall upholding in all things the parliamentary method of government."

National Government.

National government was only another form of dictatorship, said Mr. King. The propaganda in its favor was being financed by special interests who wanted railways, tariffs and taxation used to their own advantages as no single party would dare.

The first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada would have to be a decisive repudiation by the people of all the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested in the last five years, said Mr. King.

Canada needed a new and different spirit in government, a spirit of brotherhood at home and abroad instead of the spirit of the autocrat. Canadians had been living under a reign of terror.

Different Method Needed.

Instead of "blasting the way" as in the past five years a different method should be followed, "doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

Mr. King said Canadians had had one experience of being deceived by election promises and asked if they wanted another.

He assailed third parties, said they also arose as a result of discontent during Conservative administrations and disappeared in the prosperity brought about by Liberal administration. A voter, whatever his views, could best make his influence felt by supporting and working within one of the two old parties which had long traditions of service.

Third Parties.

"Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration," said Mr. King. "These have been years of depression due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which discontent has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21230 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Instances of the rise and fall of third parties were the Patrons of Industry and the Equal Rights party in 1896 and the Progressive party in 1921. Now under similar circumstances today there were the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation and the Reconstruction party.

In his next two addresses the Liberal leader said he would have more to say of the tendency to dictatorship and would set out in detail the policies of the Liberal party.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition
D21231

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 1st - 1935

Subject Mr. Kings, Radio Address, Number (1)

Full Text of Address By Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Following is the text in full of the address of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:

"During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings.

"There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

"It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom, not for today only, nor for the coming year, but for the next five years, our country is to be governed.

Election Promises.

"You have had one experience of being deceived by promises at a general election. Are you prepared to risk another? You have seen how long a period of time five years is; what opportunity it affords a ministry, if the ministry be so inclined, altogether to ignore, and even defy, your clearly expressed will, and your most evident wishes. You have reason to know how all important, in the administration of a nation's affairs, are a right attitude and sound policies. You have seen how a wrong attitude has made for bitterness of feeling, for unrest and discontent, for friction between governments, and for a divided Canada. You have seen, too, how wrong policies, despite vast expenditures of public monies, have only served to increase debt and taxation, to augment unemployment, and to prolong depression.

"Are you going to risk more in the way of bitterness, of unrest, of discontent, of conflict between governments? Are you prepared to take chances on policies which, over a period af another five years, will mean bankruptcy for yourself and the country, more in the way of unemployment, and further prolonged depression? These are questions you do well to ask yourselves, with respect, not only to a government which long since has lost the confidence of the electorate in all parts of Canada, and is now, shamefacedly, appealing to you for a renewal of your confidence; but also with respect to what is being promised and proposed by untried and newly created political parties.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

D 21232

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

On Political Parties.

"Let me pause to say a word about political parties. To listen to what some people are saying, one would believe that there is something sinister, if not fundamentally wrong, about a political party as such. To see how absurd this is, one has only to ask oneself what means is possible, other than the agency of a political party, for men and women who feel and think alike on great social, economic and political questions, to gain expression in legislation and administration for aims and ideals which they share in common. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the means whereby men and women who hold similar views are enabled so to augment and to consolidate their numbers as to gain a majority over all opposing forces. They thereby secure the power necessary to give effect to their views in matters of government.

"Even Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Stevens," the Liberal leader continued, "who seek to create a prejudice in your minds against what they speak of as the two old political parties, have found it necessary, in order to further the aims they have in view, to organize political parties of their own. Are their aims any the less genuine because they are being championed by a political party? Would these parties be any the less worthy of support if, in addition to their names, they had great traditions, and had fought from generation to generation for the ends they profess to be seeking to serve? You will do well, especially where there is a tendency to tear up everything by the roots, and to get aboard the last carry-all that comes along, to see that the vehicle to which, for the next five years, you intend to trust your individual fortunes, and the political and economic life of our country, is made of something more substantial than the banners pinned to its sides, and the volume of sound its musicians are capable of producing:

Third Parties.

"In Canada we have long had the two parties known as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896, for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921 there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario and in Alberta, and the Independent Labor party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C.C.F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction party.

"Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country. Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21233
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Two Major Parties.

"Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties —the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

"Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

"Just as the great rivers of our land, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces and deepen their channels and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger and mightier tasks as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of thought and influence and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

Cause of Third Parties.

"It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part rather than with the whole of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

"I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which discontent has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21234
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Prosperity Vanishes Then.

"As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

"The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government under Mr. Meighen long after the Union government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office, that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Outcome of Tory Rule.

"Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depression and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. Now hope and expectation are that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations than for the methods of big business and of high finance and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity, and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21235
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

"Balance of Power."

"Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted.

"Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the members of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means, the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

Time Is Not Now.

"There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were, on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or withholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason.

"Such, however, is not the situation in Canada. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the government which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has labored for so long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms.

"I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Frequently Thwarted

"Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada.

"Of this I am perfectly sure," he went on, "that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing Liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people, will not have a ghost of a chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

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"These are facts, not fancies, of which everyone who is more concerned with enactments than with manifestoes, will do well to take full account. We hear much of the wisdom of being realists. The realist in politics in Canada today will remember that all measures, to be enacted, require not only the approval of a majority in the House of Commons, but the approval, as well, of a majority in the Senate. The realist in politics will also remember that, unless sympathetically administered, the best of laws can be rendered of little or no avail.

Tory Dictatorship

"If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons.

"I ask you to think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate are to be made amenable to public opinion, and Liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

Whither Are We Tending

"This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is 'whither.' Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain.

"It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself as he has blazed a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

"Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the 'whispers of death' were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to see all that lies behind that one word 'whither.'

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21237
Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Self-government.

"I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustomed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

"Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government. None of them wholly succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and prosperous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; an Italy with its free Parliament, to which the memory of Garibaldi was still dear; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Negation of Freedom

"If," he said, "with respect to the liberties of the people of Europe, the student of government, even immediately prior to the war, had been asked the question, 'Whither are these nations tending?' he would have found much to lead him to say, 'Towards a larger liberty, based on an increasing recognition of the importance of self-government.'

"What has happened since? War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the people of Russia, surrender the ambition of remaining or of becoming democracies.

"It was not until someone began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and overriding the constitution, that in Europe parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

Death of Democracy

"And what has come in the stead of parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

"For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I propose to test all policies and all proposals by the simple method of asking whither they tend. If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21238

Office of
The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Opposes National Govt.

"That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favor of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible.

"I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubtedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system.

Last Desperate Effort.

"Traced to its source—the source that is financing the present movement—it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs and taxation in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests.

"Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service, it would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

"In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbors in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such detail as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems.

Must Repudiate Tendency

"My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of the party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these.

"What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government than the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighborhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror.

"Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21239 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 3 - 1935

Subject (1691)

Liberal Party Will Stand On 1933 Platform

Mackenzie King Says 14 Points Then Enunciated Have Been Endorsed By Victories in Elections.

Declares Control of Credit Public Matter

Stands For Properly Constituted Central Bank to Perform Functions.

Liberalism holds personality more sacred than property and the Liberal party will devote itself to finding means of distributing the wealth of the nation with increasing regard to human needs, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, said last night in the second of his pre-election radio speeches.

Speaking from Ottawa over a national hookup arranged by the Canadian Radio Commission Mr. King declared the party would go to the election on the 14-point platform enunciated in 1933.

This platform had been endorsed by Liberal victories in federal by-elections and provincial general elections. Neither the Liberal party nor its leader saw any reason for changing them as time had shown they met the needs of Canada today.

Control of Credit.

Regarding the control of credit, Mr. King said: "The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted National Central Bank, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange."

No Armful of Promises.

The Canadian people were sick of promises, said Mr. King. They wanted to know where parties stood on the problems of the day, what their policies were and what their underlying principles. He said the Liberal party would offer no armful of promises and advised his hearers to consider the promises made by other parties in the light of the Bennett government's failure to fulfill its 1930 promises.

The 14 points of the Liberal platform were:

A representative national commission to administer unemployment relief and provide work and a national system of unemployment insurance;

Reciprocal trade agreements with other countries, removal of extravagant increases in tariff, abolition of all unwarranted extra imposts on imports such as exchange and dumping duties and a substantial British preference;

Promotion in internal trade by ending artificial price control and agreements in restraint of trade;

Development of primary industries by reducing costs of production and obtaining wider markets;

National control of credit through a national central bank;

Protection of investors by an investment control board;

Maintenance of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly-owned and publicly-controlled service;

Democratization of industry through granting workers and consumers a larger share in control;

Restoration of responsible government by doing away with "blank check legislation";

Free speech, free association and repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code;

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D21240 Office of The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Electoral reform;

A balanced budget through reducing public expenditures, reducing interest rates, reducing taxes and increasing revenue by encouraging trade;

Peace and goodwill in international affairs;

A more equitable distribution of wealth with greater regard for human needs, for social justice and the promotion of the common good.

Tendencies of Fascism.

Mr. King saw tendencies of Fascism in the way Prime Minister R. B. Bennett made promises and announced policies without consulting the members of his party or even his cabinet. Hon. H. H. Stevens had followed the same course when he announced he would form a party and announce its name and platform later. Ordinarily in democratic countries the people formed the party and the party chose a leader, but Mr. Stevens had reversed the process. He had filled in the interval between announcements by going through every political program he could find with scissors and pastepot.

Mere political power, however, was no guarantee a policy of promises could be carried out, Mr. King said. A policy had to be backed by a political party which understood it and by a force of public opinion.

The Liberal policy represented the consensus of agreed views of Liberals and Liberal organizations in every part of Canada. It was the minimum of united effort to which the party was pledged. More venturesome members of the party could make other proposals which would be added to the party's program as these members were able to persuade others of their wisdom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21241

The Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 3rd - 1935

Subject Mr. King's Radio Broadcast (Number 2)

Full Text of Mr. King's Speech Giving Platform

Full text of Mr. King's speech last night follows:

The Liberal party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties, each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakeably demonstrated during the past five years.

Plenty of Promises.

Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any of these things? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called "New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be wholeheartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organizations representative of all classes and in all parts of the country, and of its representatives in parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Conservative Party Dictatorship.

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his hands to say what the party would do, what its program was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfrid Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favourable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

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But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by a cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

Liberal Party Makes Policies.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto specially suited to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines its policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett and of the Reconstruction party, under Mr. Stevens.

Mr. Bennett's Own Policies.

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the cabinet or of parliament.

More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party, and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

No Wonder at Doubts.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once questioned, not by the members of the opposition alone, but by members of the government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the leader of the senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

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Stevens' Announcement.

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies; not the leader who creates both the party and the policies. For days, the country was kept in a state of suspense, as Mr. Stevens, with scissors and paste in hand, was kept busy going through all the political programs and platforms he could collect, and, piecing them together, with as many excerpts from the report of the Price Spreads Commission, and as many platitudes of his own, as could be included in a document that would not be too long for publication. This document, too, we are told, is being given very wide circulation. But what guarantee is there that, if everyone in Canada receives a copy, he is going to be any better off?

Unanimous Liberal Policy.

As I speak to you, I have before me a statement of the Liberal party's position on some immediate problems. This statement was issued by the National Liberal Federation of Canada two and a half years ago. It sets forth the policies of the Liberal party as I was authorized to present them to the House of Commons by every Liberal member in the House, and, indeed, by the unanimous approval, in party caucus, of the Liberal members of both Houses of Parliament. I made it clear, when presenting the statement to Parliament, that it was not intended by the party to be all-inclusive; that there were other matters than those referred to, as, for example, the party's attitude towards war veterans, towards the aged, and the blind; matters pertaining to health and housing; and such subjects as the Civil Service and reform of penitentiary administration; the granting of titles; and many more, all of which would have to be mentioned, if every important question was to be taken into account.

I added that, on most of the matters not referred to in the statement, the party's position had already been made clear, either at the time of the general elections of 1930, or since, upon resolutions, or by speeches of leading members of the party in Parliament. Allowing for all this, you will, I think, be surprised at how up-to-date, and inclusive of most matters of immediate concern, the statement is. Viewed as a whole, you will find, I believe, that the policies set forth constitute a sound basis for the reconstruction of the national life of our Dominion.

Four Relevant Features.

As I read from the statement of the party's position which is before me, there are four important relevant features which I should like you to keep in mind. The first is, the time at which it was given publicity in Parliament; the second is, the circumstances which called it into being at that particular time; the third is, the authority which lies behind the statement; the fourth is, the approval which the policies therein set forth have already received from the electors themselves.

A word as to the time. This statement of the party's position and policies, as I have already mentioned, was made in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1933. You will observe that February, 1933, stands almost exactly midway between the beginning of the first session of the seventeenth Parliament and the close of its last session. It was just a little over two and a half years after the present government assumed office, and a little less than two and a half years ago.

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Recalls Reason for Statement

Now a word as to the circumstances which called the statement into being. No one will deny that, from the moment he assumed office, Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies, and those of the party, into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended an Imperial Conference in London a little later in the same year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the sessions of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation.

To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year. From that time on, the party continued to press its point of view upon the government, and to advocate, both in and out of parliament, the policies as set forth.

With Fullest Authority

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout the country.

The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings.

United and Happy Party.

In 1933, a Liberal summer conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study. In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavor. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

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Support in By-elections.

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully discussed in relationship to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those either of the government or of the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In the Provinces.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and, thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general election.

Statement of Policy.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

Liberation of External Trade.

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote trade with all nations and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will abolish the extravagant increases in the tariff made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute stability for uncertainty in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of British preference by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

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Against Prohibiting Tariffs.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

Liberation of Internal Trade.

The Liberal party will seek to end artificial price control and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed, before the mass buying and price spreads committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

Development of Primary Industries.

The Liberal party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting reductions in the costs of production of Canada's basic products and by obtaining wider markets therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

The Marketing Act.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal party is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor-in-Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representative of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements, namely, that the act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

Control of Credit

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted National Central Bank, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

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Fascist Type Institution.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in Parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of sovereignity of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has thus been lost, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

Control of Investments

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes an Investment Control Board should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent to all.

Safeguarding of National Railways.

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and publicly controlled service.

This statement of policy will, I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favoring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control, or of their countenancing either at the present time or in the next Parliament of Canada, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

Democratization of Industry.

The Liberal party believes that industrial reconstruction is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

Restoration of Responsible Government.

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of Parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of a free parliament, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives Parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) Legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) Legislation providing the executive with a "blank check" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon once more subject the executive to the control of Parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

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Re-assertion of Personal Liberty.

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of free speech and free association, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitary deportations.

The Liberal party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

Electoral Reform.

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure a true parliamentary representation of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce the cost of election campaigns.

A Balanced Budget.

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by retrenchment of public expenditures, by reduction of principal and interest on the public debt by a reduction in taxation and by increased revenues through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a reduction of the cost of government in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

International Relations.

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for peace and good-will among nations, and to promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth.

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to the furtherance of social justice, and to the promotion of the common good.

Minimum of United Effort

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. Save their inability to persuade others of the party of the wisdom of measures they may propose, there is nothing to prevent the more advanced and venturesome members from making further substantial contributions to the party's program. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, which will be the last of this series, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

Tonight, I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwarranted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There is none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

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Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 6 - 1935

Subject 96 3

Commission To Handle Relief Is Liberal Way

Mackenzie King Announces Policy as Nation-wide Co-operation Under National Body in Twin Tasks.

To Administer Relief And to Provide Work

Envisions Program of Useful Works on Sound Basis According to Plan.

Nationwide co-operation under a national commission in the twin tasks of administering relief and providing work for the unemployed is the policy of the Liberal party on the unemployment question, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King declared last night. He delivered the third and last of his series of pre-campaign radio speeches over a national network of the Canadian Radio Commission and independent stations.

A program of useful relief works, including slum clearance, national park development, afforestation, public buildings, highways, level crossing elimination, preservation of historic sites and other projects was envisioned by the Liberal leader as an outlet for the energies of unemployed Canadians, particularly young men. At the same time, he warned that state expenditures for relief, or for the purpose of giving employment could not continue indefinitely.

On Wage Basis.

Mr. King also declared that if a Liberal government were returned to power, men employed on relief projects would be placed on a wage basis, although the rate of pay would have to be lower than paid in private undertakings.

Program on Sound Basis.

A national commission could draw up a program of works which might be carried on or discontinued from time to time as the needs of the situation dictated. It would conduct the work on a sound basis according to plan, not in a haphazard manner.

Prime Minister R. B. Bennett had tried to solve the problem of unemployment and had failed because he had started too late and tried to do too much alone. The problems of labor could not be solved by one man, Mr. King declared. They required united effort. They could not be solved by endless experimentation but only by the application of principles which had stood the test of time.

The national commission would require the co-operation of provincial governments and municipalities and this it could readily obtain as all provincial governments but one would be Liberal. Was not the election of a Liberal government at Ottawa the sanest sort of approach to a National government? Mr. King asked. With provincial and federal governments all Liberal, friction would end, there would be thorough-going co-operation and constitutional difficulties would disappear with an ease which might astonish J. S. Woodsworth, the C.C.F. leader.

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Cites Precedents.

Precedents existed for a national commission of the sort proposed, said Mr. King. During the Great War the Canadian patriotic fund and after the war the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment were agencies of a similar type. If a nation-wide co-operative effort was possible in war, surely a government with vision and determination would be able to arouse the nation's will equally well in peace time.

Although Mr. Bennett had promised to end unemployment in 1930, unemployment had increased four-fold since he took office, said Mr. King. It was safe to say there were now 400,000 wage earners out of work, and the number needing relief had greatly increased. There was distress on farms too, perhaps greater than in the cities. The national committee would also administer relief for drought-stricken farmers.

Guarded in Promises.

Along with the increase in the need for relief had gone a steadily increasing expenditure of money by the federal government, said Mr King. Having this in mind, he proposed to be "a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish as Mr. Bennett or Mr. Woodsworth or Mr. Stevens."

The Liberal party took no issue with Mr. Bennett on the need for social reform, said Mr. King. But it did differ with him in the methods by which reform should be brought about and in the relation of reform to economic recovery. Mr. Bennett had confused recovery and reform. Recovery would have to precede reform. Social services could not be established and maintained on a stationary or diminishing national income.

Inflammable Material.

Young men in relief camps were "inflammable material in the hands of dangerous agitators," said Mr. King. The camps were "breeding grounds of Communism and defeatism." The ruthless handling of the recent relief strike had led to riot and loss of life.

The government would invite the national commission to consider the removal of the camps from the jurisdiction of the National Defence Department. It would instruct the commission to see that the work provided was of a character in which those engaged could take pride.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date August 6th 1935

Subject Mr. King's Radio Address (Number 3)

Text of Mr. King's Speech On Unemployment Problem

Following is the full text of the address of Mackenzie King over a national network of the Canadian Radio Commission and independent stations:

Tonight I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

I know that you do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to end unemployment"; "I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles"; "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages." Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada if a government does its duty."

Growth of Problem.

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere today its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration. Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

National Registry.

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of a national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments and municipalities have, year by year for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

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Speeches From Throne.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the speeches from the throne with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, and that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

Unemployment Figures.

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed. This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons in January, 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labor organizations and labor leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

1,272,000 on Relief.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed, they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May, 1932, to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May, 1932, there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation and want by any yardstick or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four and, for some, five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair?

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Terrifying Problems.

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focussing attention upon problems of relief and unployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children in rural and isolated communities are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products as the wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment, there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

Govt. Expenditure.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the amount guaranteed in connection with the government's wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Dominion of Canada in any years since Confederation up to the third year of the Great War.

Present Situation.

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditure, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September, 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for Communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the Capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long."

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Unemployed Band Together.

It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment." It was also in Regina that, for political purposes, the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behavior when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with this nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated, and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a representative national commismission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce a national system of unemployment insurance.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

Must Cut Expenditures.

It must be clear that expenditures for the purpose of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavor to regain markets which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; cooperation and goodwill between the federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time is Required.

Time is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures, however sound they may be. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency.. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavored to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

You will recall that during the war there was established, under act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-operated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of which was audited under the supervision of the auditor-general of Canada.

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You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment expressly for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

National Commission.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it said it would deal with existing emergency conditions of unemployment through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavor to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved? Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe? Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

Not Exact Parallels.

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adopted to the existing situation.

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavor to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the expenditures of all moneys. Similarly, in the endeavor to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the services of all departments of provincial governments will be made equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

National Govt. Movement.

Perhaps this will appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

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Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform, may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal than in having all governments of the one mind?

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of anyone else.

Need for Social Reform.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignore the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no substitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The truth is, there is no relation of cause and effect between reform and recovery. As respects cause and effect, the situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Immediate Problem.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of employment, let me say at once that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of airway facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life.

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Preservation of Beauty.

Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth. What I believe the country would welcome, above all else, would be a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists and to afford to the people fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great national beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites and monuments and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the country as distinct from its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

Single Unemployed.

Especially would co-ordinated effort of the kind make its appeal to the single, homeless, unemployed, who, engaged thereon, at this time of distress and discouragement, would be made to feel that they were citizens in every sense of the word, and engaged upon the country's work. While, necessarily, there must be a difference in the rate of payment to persons dependent on the state from that paid to persons employed by private enterprise, so that there will always be an inducement for men to enter private occupations, as opportunities arise, wages should be paid for this class of service. The commission would be especially requested to consider the early transfer of the relief camps from the control of the Department of National Defence, and to enlist the co-operation of every possible agency likely to be of service in the permanent establishment of young unemployed men in the normal economic life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen: In my three radio broadcasts I have tried to place before you, in language both simple and direct, the situation in Canada, as it is viewed by the party which I have the honor to lead, and which has accorded me its fullest confidence and loyalty during a period of leadership approaching sixteen years. Towards myself, however, in other relationships, its confidence and loyalty has extended over a much longer period of time. I was a comparatively young man when I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to enter his cabinet as minister of labor of Canada. For eight years before that time, I had held the position of deputy minister of labor, having been appointed to that office on the recommendation of the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Right Honorable Sir William Mulock. That appointment was made, because of my special interest in, and study of social and economic problems, for years previous. To trace the sources of that interest, I should have to speak of matters too personal, and to which I would not be justified in referring at this time.

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True to Labor's Cause.

In seeking, however, from my fellow-countrymen, an expression of larger confidence than any thus accorded, I may perhaps be permitted to say that to my interest in the problems of labor, more than to any other single reason, is due, I believe, the confidence which, along life's way, I have been privileged to enjoy in increasing measure. To the working men and women of Canada I think I can say that, throughout my life, I have been true to the cause!

Unemployment is the hardest cross which a working-man is called upon to bear. Mr. Bennett has tried to solve that problem, but he has tried too late, and he has tried to do it too much alone. I think, too, that his methods and policies have been at fault. The problems of labor cannot be solved by any one man; they require, more than any other problem, united effort. Their solution, moreover, will not be found in endless experimentation, but only in the application of principles and policies which have stood the test of experience and time. Even in a period of great emergency, such as the present, it is too much to hope to secure the united effort of all, but the effort of a political party, united in its aims and policies from one end of the country to the other, can go a long way towards effecting even that result.

Aim of Liberalism.

Of this, at least, I am sure: the task which confronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart. "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country at this hour of its great need a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share in larger measure some of the burdens of their fellowmen, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "Good night."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication The Ottawa Citizen

Date August 8th - 1935

Subject Mr. Kings Speech Kingston. Ont

Dictatorship In Canada To End Says Mr. King

Liberal Chief in Campaign Keynote Speech Declares His Party Will Restore Parliamentary Govt.

Thinks Premier Now Has Dictator's Powers

States Inquiry Into Penitentiary Administration Will Be Conducted.

(Canadian Press).

KINGSTON, Ont., Aug. 7. —Dictatorship in Canada will end with the election of a Liberal government, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, declared tonight. In the keynote speech of his Dominion election campaign the Liberal leader embarked on a mission which he said was aimed at smashing bureaucracy and dictatorship, restoring responsible parliamentary government and civil liberties.

Tracing the acts of the Bennett government through its five years of office Mr. King directly charged the Prime Minister with moving in the direction of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. He called upon Canadians to ask themselves if Canada was not becoming "a second Italy, a second Germany, a second Russia."

As Steps to Dictatorship.

"Blank check" relief legislation, pegging of tariffs under the Empire trade agreements, increases in military and police forces, reposing of "peace, order and government" powers in the governor-in-council, making of tariffs by executive action and certain clauses of the Natural Products Marketing Act, were cited by Mr. King as steps taken by Mr. Bennett in the direction of a dictatorship.

The Prime Minister had extorted all these powers from Parliament over the opposition of the Liberal party, Mr. King said. Under the Marketing Act he could control the whole internal and external trade of Canada. He could make laws by order-in-council. Under the "blank check" he had all the money in the treasury at his command.

"Could you give a dictator more power?" Mr. King asked.

For Penitentiary Reforms.

Apart from a brief reference to penitentiaries Mr. King devoted almost his whole speech to the theme of dictatorship and responsible government.

Standing within a few miles of one of Canada's largest penitentiaries he said one of the first acts of a Liberal government would be to inquire into penitentiary administration and see if some reforms could not be made. Recent troubles indicated something was wrong.

In Ottawa were two great buildings standing side by side, said Mr. King. One was erected by the Liberal government headed by himself. It housed the Departments of Labor and Agriculture. Right beside it was another now being completed by the Bennett government at a cost of $1,200,000. It would house the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In Calgary a huge barracks was being erected. Both like many other military and police buildings were being built from money voted for relief.

"There are drill halls and armories all over the country built at heavy cost," he said. "Why? It is to build up a great military force because all dictatorships demand force and the last word in dictatorship is the cannon and what comes out of the cannon."

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Even in his reform legislation Mr. Bennett had chosen to play the role of the dictator, said Mr. King. He had launched his policy without consulting his party, without even saying a word to the Conservative members of Parliament and senators and, if rumor was true, without mentioning it to his cabinet.

Hitler and Mussolini.

In this Mr. Bennett was following the example of Hitler and Mussolini. Under Fascism the leader was everything, made all decisions and the business of the party was to glorify him.

"It is the flood that counts," said Mr, King. It was not with individual acts of the Bennett government the people need concern themselves, but with the accumulation of acts all of the same type. Arguments about the merits of this item or that were of no benefit if the cumulative effect of the Bennett policies in creating a bureaucracy, manned by Tory office holders, were not taken into account.

For Freedom and Rights.

Liberalism stood for freedom and the rights of Parliament as attained after centuries of struggle, said Mr. King. With all provincial governments but one of Liberal complexion the election of a Liberal government at Ottawa would enable men of one mind and one purpose to inaugurate an era of freedom and co-operation and solve the problems confronting Canada.

Mr. King was addressing the Central Ontario Liberal Association at its annual meeting. He was speaking in support of his former private secretary, Prof. Norman McL. Rogers of Queen's University, Liberal candidate in Kingston.

Introduces Leader

The Liberal leader was introduced by Miss Lillian Mowat of Kingston, a niece of Sir Oliver Mowat, a former Ontario premier and one of the Fathers of Confederation.

To a group of Liberal members, Mr. King predicted he and his followers in the next Parliament would not be in opposition benches but "we will be sitting over on the government benches."

The Liberal leader said he looked forward in all humility to another term of office as prime minister, considering the state of the country. But his past experience told him of the soundness of the country and its people and his faith in the policies of his party.

Loyal Co-operation

Just as Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave Canda 15 years of its greatest prosperity, Mr. King said he was sure a Liberal government today would lead it back to progress. This was especially true, considering the loyal co-operation that had been manifest in the Liberal party in the 16 years he had been leader.

"Unless," said Mr. King, "there is a party loyal enough, big enough and strong enough to extend as one from coast to coast, to co-operate as one, the problems we have today cannot be settled satisfactorily."

Mr. King referred to the fact there were Liberal governments in every province but one and he predicted Liberals would sweep that one in a few weeks. Considering the political complexion of the provinces, Caanda had "a chance as never before for men of one will and of one thought to work together and raise this country out of the depression in which it has been for the last five years."

Tribute to Sir John A.

Speaking in the home city of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, Mr. King paid tribute to the memory of the great Conservative leader. Sir John, he said was a great believer in democracy and in the parliamentary method of government. Were he living today he would stand shoulder to shoulder with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were the old Liberal chief alive, in opposing the tendencies to autocracy now in evidence.

The city of Kingston, said Mr. King, had an intimate association with the life of his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie. It was in Kingston the rebel leader had met and married Mr. King's grandmother and in which he lived for a time after his return from exile.

"He was more fortunate than I in finding a life partner," said Mr. King. "But perhaps I was more fortunate than he in that I have never had a price put on my head."

To War Veterans.

To the war veterans of Canada Mr. King said he could point with pride to the record of the Liberal party in its nine years in office. That was the test of the Liberal attitude towards war veterans. He had said then and said now that so long as there was a war veteran left in Canada a Liberal government would not forget his service.

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Penitentiaries Inquiry.

One of the first things a Liberal government would do would be to inquire into the administration of penitentiaries and see if some reforms could not be effected. The people knew, he said, that where trouble in one penitentiary followed trouble in another there must be something wrong in methods of administration.

Peril of Dictatorship.

Mr. King then referred to the "peril" of third parties attempting to run the country in days of stress; the "greater peril" of a National government springing up, and the "still greater peril" of dictatorship. In his radio speeches, Mr. King said he referred to each of these but would elaborate on the third tonight.

In the last five years the trend in Canada had been away from parliamentary rule. The issue today was between democracy and dictatorship or parliamentary rule as against cabinet rule. In the last five years he had been appalled by some of the legislation introduced by the Bennett government and which the Liberals were forced to accept against their wishes and desires. It was only when these acts were taken as a whole it was noticed how liberties had been taken away and how close Canada was to a "precipice of complete change in our government system which assures our liberty."

Highest Tariff.

Instead of winning the goodwill of nations, Mr. Bennett raised tariffs to the highest point in history and deliberately angered them, the Liberal leader charged. Not even Sir John Macdonald, the author of the protectionist system in Canada, ever dreamed the tariff would be raised as high as Mr. Bennett set it. It was raised not only against foreign nations but against the United Kingdom as well.

As one of the "dictatorial actions" of Mr. Bennett, Mr. King instanced the blank check relief legislation, which set no limits on expenditures. Not even in war days was this necessary, said Mr. King. The Prime Minister had said it would only be temporary, but the legislation was continued year after year, being in effect even today. Under that system, a remedy for an emergency became the established order. Under the guise of relief, banks were guaranteed against loss, Newfoundland was financed.

Another instance of dictatorial power by Mr. Bennett was the "peace, order and good government" legislation, Mr. King said—a further instance of the subordination of Parliament. It was the same sort of thing that Hitler did in Germany and Mussolini in Italy and for the same reason—to deal with emergencies. Even today, with Parliament prorogued, Mr. Bennett and his cabinet could do almost anything they liked simply by passing an order-in-council under that legislation. They could do it even when Parliament was dissolved.

Control of C.N.R.

Similarly, said Mr. King, the government did away with parliamentary control over the Canadian National Railways. Formerly the board of directors of the railway were responsible to Parliament through the government. But Mr. Bennett had abolished parliamentary control by abolishing the board of directors and appointing trustees for a fixed number of years. The president of the board could only be removed by approval of the two Houses of Parliament and the Senate was now overwhelmingly Tory. What control, he asked, had the representatives of the people now over the Canadian National Railways?

Bank of Canada.

The government had shown a similar disregard for parliamentary control by setting up the Bank of Canada. The Liberal party believed in a national central bank to control credit and currency in the national interest but not the type of bank Mr. Bennett had created. He had taken the gold reserves from the federal treasury, the backing for the country's currency and turned them over to a private corporation. The government had no representative on the board of the bank except a deputy minister who had no vote. The governor and his deputy were appointed for a fixed number of years and could not be ousted by popular will.

"In this Bank of Canada Mr. Bennett has fashioned another Fascist institution," said Mr. King. "He has created a great private corporation with his own appointees in office for a fixed term of years. Again he was taking control of affairs away from the representatives of the people."

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Empire Agreements.

The Empire trade agreements were another instrument for flouting the will of Parliament, said Mr King. Under the agreements in many instances the intermediate tariff had been raised to the level of the general. This had made it more difficult to negotiate trade agreements with other countries should a new government try to negotiate.

Further, the agreements required a fixed margin of preference for British countries should always be maintained. This meant that Parliament could not lower the tariff beyond that margin while the agreements remained in force. The tariff was pegged at a certain point. The tariff was a tax and surely the most sacred right of Parliament was the power to lower taxes. Yet that right had been taken away.

Trade Treaty With U.S.

For the last two or three years, the time seemed ripe to negotiate a trade treaty with Washington, Mr. King said. Every time the subject was brought up in Parliament, Mr. Bennett said discussion would retard progress.

"I hope something of that kind (a treaty) will be brought about," Mr. King said. "But if it does, the people of Canada should ask why it was not done one, two or three years ago as it should have been. If it does not, the fault will be with Mr. Bennett for taking away from Parliament its authority over reciprocal trade treaties."

Centralized Authority.

It was the practice of Mussolini and Hitler to centralize authority in themselves just as Mr. Bennett had surrounded himself with power, Mr. King said. Even when the Conservative leader committed his party to a new reform policy, he did it on his own authority without consulting his followers or cabinet colleagues.

Hanging On.

Mr. Bennett was hanging on to office to the last minute, Mr. King said. "Let me say to those who say the constitution is impeding progress: Do you realize you would not have an election even this year without the constitution which says Parliament must be dissolved within the next eleven days?"

Marketing Act.

Turning to the Marketing Act, Mr. King said it also took away political and individual freedom. The Liberal party did not object to state assistance in marketing, it realized it was necessary. But it objected to the creation of a great bureaucracy "made up of Tory appointees" and the usurption of personal liberties under the guise of extending marketing facilities. Crimes and imprisonments could be established under the act, not by Parliament or even the cabinet, but by boards responsible to no one. The boards were not elective representatives but self-interested persons.

The Marketing Act applied not only to producers but manufacturers of national products as well, Mr. King said. This permitted manufacturers to set up monopolies "and they are doing it today. Where will we be five years from now under that sort of legislation?"

Under the Marketing Act Mr. Bennett had taken control of the whole trade of Canada to the governor-in-council which meant Mr. Bennett himself, said the Liberal leader. The government had power to regulate, restrict or prohibit the export or import of any natural product. This gave it complete control of external and internal trade.

"Could you give a dictator more power?" he asked. "He has the blank checks, he has all the money in the treasury at his command. He has control of external and internal trade. And all these were done just as they were in dictatorships in the older countries in the name of emergent conditions."

Compulsory Features.

Continuing his attack on the compulsory clauses of the Marketing Act, Mr. King said the government could require all persons wishing to export or import a regulated product to require a license, not from Parliament but from some person designated by the government. "Is that freedom?" asked Mr. King.

The act further provided that anyone who failed to obey any order of the Dominion Marketing Board or of a local board was guilty of an offence and liable to fine and imprisonment. This was not punishment for an offence against an act of Parliament but for an offence against the order of some bureaucrat of which Parliament knew nothing.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

By-election Results.

After 10 by-elections had gone against the government, Mr. Bennett made up his mind he would hold no more, Mr. King said. At the end of the last session, which considered far-reaching legislation, there were seven ridings without members. It was denying the people their right to be represented while taxed. In the same way, there were 17 vacancies in the Senate, a legislative branch. The Liberal leader charged Mr. Bennett had used the empty Senate seats as a whip over his followers, telling them they would become ineligible if they publicly spoke their minds.

"It is the flood that counts," Mr. King continued. It was not a Marketing Act in itself or the invasion of provincial rights, although dangerous in themselves, that counted. It was when scores of acts were taken together that it was noticed "we have come to the moment where our parliamentary government is at an end." If the dictatorship was carried to its conclusion, people would be refused the vote.

Hitlerism arose in the name of social reform, Mr. King continued. But today in Canada, farmers could be stopped from exporting their goods or even growing them without doing as the government said. "Are we going to let those things go on?" he asked.

R.C.M.P. Buildings.

In Ottawa, a building was being erected at a cost of $1,200,000, voted as relief money, to house the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. For Calgary, the Prime Minister's home city, a barracks was being erected for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at a cost of $1,200,000, Mr. King said.

"Those are only two of many buildings being built in Canada," Mr. King declared. "There are drill halls, armories all over the country, built at heavy cost. Why is that money being spent? It is to build up a great military force because all dictatorships demand power and the last word in dictatorship is the cannon and what comes out of the cannon."

Police Interference.

Police interference with the relief strikers was "a direct invasion of provincial rights," said Mr. King. The government of Saskatchewan was quite capable of handling the situation. It just went to show "how blind a dictatorship becomes," even on the eve of an election.

"As you think of the election to come," said Mr. King, "ask yourselves that little question 'Whither are we tending?' Think of what has happened and ask yourselves if we are making of Canada a second Italy, a second Germany, or a second Russia."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Subject (Woodstock, Ont. Aug. 13/35.

LOW EMPIRE TARIFFS TO RECONSTRUCT TRADE PROMISE OF MR. KING

Will Ask Baldwin to Reopen 1932 Offer, Liberal Leader Declares

PRAISES HEPBURN

Ontario Premier May Succeed Him, Liberal Chief Hints at Woodstock

By ROBERT LIPSETT

Woodstock, Aug. 14.—A definite pledge to work for the revival of trade within the empire by tearing down tariff barriers and to seek for wider markets throughout the world by the same enterprise, featured the opening of the Liberal national campaign in Ontario yesterday, when Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King spoke at Woodstock.

On the platform with him, and promising energetic co-operation, stood Premier Hepburn of Ontario, who made a slashing attack upon the Bank of Canada as the structure of big finance, and insisted that Graham Ford Towers, the governor, had thrown the province of Ontario down in its fight against major capitalism and contracts contrary to the interests of the people.

Mr. King declared the depression had been definitely extended by the policies applied by Mr. Bennett and held that though he be returned to power next month recovery would be delayed in consequence of those policies, but he made a firm engagement that if placed in the prime ministership he would at once seek Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, premier of Britain, and bring about a revision of Canadian tariffs on the basis of according greater preference to empire units.

Mr. Bennett, he said, had lost the great opportunity in 1932 when, instead of levelling empire customs exactions, he had raised those against the rest of the world. He was certain that if the same opportunity had come to Sir Wilfrid Laurier not only would a new era have been written for the British Empire but for world trade and world conditions.

Economic nationalism and economic imperialism, as practised by Mr. Bennett, had led to the larger and more grave situation that has arisen throughout the world, driving humanity to extreme action, now of sinister proportions in many areas and threatening to spread to all quarters.

"Should I be entrusted with the position of prime minister," said Mr. King, "I would have no hesitation in knocking on the door of Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, prime minister of Great Britain, and saying to him: 'I have here your statement of 1932 urging that empire trade agreements be not made a barrier to international trade. There is a different and a better sentiment in Canada now. Let us revise these agreements and find if we cannot get, not only a better feeling among empire countries, but a better feeling and a revival of trade throughout the world at large.'

"I have sat at two Imperial conferences with Mr. Baldwin," Mr. King recalled, "and I desire to bring your attention to his statement in Toronto on Aug. 8, 1927. He then said: 'I defy anyone to find any two statesmen who pull together better for the good of the empire than Mr. Mackenzie King and myself.' I subscribe to that view and to Mr. Baldwin's attitude that the way to build empire trade is through the lowering of our tariffs against empire goods and not through the raising of tariffs against other countries."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 21265

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Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Instances Japan Breach

The Bennett government, he held, had made trade a matter of economic warfare. The policy had not only not succeeded, but had measurably increased the volume of unemployment. Trade could not travel one way and he instanced the breach with Japan since parliament prorogued.

Throughout his speech ran bitter criticism of the Bennett ministry for hanging on to office for two years after it had become apparent that public confidence was lost and for, up to the moment that he spoke, declining to announce the date of the election though the ministry had been in office for five years last Wednesday.

The constitutional limit of five years was not meant, Mr. King held, to say that a government should carry on for that period. The by-elections of the past two years and the provincial elections had abundantly proved the lack of confidence of the public in the administration and the policy of the ministry had been to deprive the people of the right of self-government.

Mr. King assailed "third party" candidates as an effort to undermine the will of the people and followed up the attack which Mr. Hepburn made upon Hon. H. H. Stevens with more evidence that for nearly five years the head of the Reconstruction party had stood behind every policy advanced by Mr. Bennett. Mr. Hepburn said he had only started the mutiny "below decks" when it became obvious to him that Mr. Bennett was on the skids.

"These are things the public cannot ignore if they wish to preserve their liberties," Mr. King affirmed as he spoke of the appointment of Hon. Hugh Guthrie as chairman of the board of railway commissioners. The position was left vacant for 20 months along with 17 senatorships and many other important positions in order that Mr. Bennett might exercise a control over members of the House of Commons to which he was entitled, and would not otherwise have wielded, Mr. King said.

Mr. King paid high tribute to Premier Hepburn and held that no man in Canadian public life had accomplished so much in so little time in the interests of the people. He predicted for him a future in public life that could only be interpreted as eventual leadership of the federal party.

Opening of Provincial Campaigns

Mr. King, in opening his address, drew attention to his pre-campaign radio speeches. He hoped everybody would be able to secure a copy of his booklet: "Mackenzie King to the Canadian People."

Referring to the meeting at Kingston, held under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation, Mr. King said it was for a nation-wide association and it was thought advisable to open the radio campaign at Kingston. Now a new aspect of the campaign—the campaign in the provinces—was being launched.

He was glad that the campaign in Ontario should be opened under the auspices of the young Liberal premier of Ontario. He thanked him for his fine encouragement as extended at the Woodstock meeting. He said that it was a matter of pride to the Liberals who were getting on in years to regard the gallant work which had been done by Premier Hepburn since he took over the reins of government.

"Mr. Hepburn has not been the leader of his party nor the leader of his government for very long, but I venture to say that no government and no leader has accomplished so much for the mass of the people as the present premier of Ontario," he declared.

Referring to Mr. Hepburn's comparative youth, Mr. King recalled his own youth when he started his political career.

Predicts Hepburn to Rise

"In Mr. Hepburn's accomplishments to date the people of Ontario have the promise of one who will play a part, second to none in the furthering of our great Liberal policies," declared Mr. King.

He paid tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and to J. F. MacKay, prominent Ontario Liberal. "When Mr. Laurier had Mr. MacKay come to Ottawa and asked him to open a seat for me in the House of Commons he chose the county of Oxford because he thought that there was no constituency in Canada which so represented the heart of Liberalism as the county of Oxford.

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"Oxford still remains, I think, the heart of Liberalism," declared Mr. King. "In this constituency as re-organized, I know that you will return my friend Mr. Rennie.

"I have seen many men come to the House of Commons but I have seen few who came to the House of Commons in a by-election and advanced so rapidly in the estimation, not only of his colleagues, but even of members of the government," said Mr. King.

"In these times, governments cannot rely too much upon the assistance given by women," added Mr. King. "Sometimes I feel that the people do not realize how close to the home are these great economic problems.

"We hear a lot of the forgotten man, but too little of the forgotten family. We must all stand and work together.

Protests Election Delay

"I want to protest the interminable delay in setting the date for a general election," declared Mr. King. "It has been the right of the Canadian people for at least two years past to have an election."

The speaker suggested that "evasion" of a general election constituted "a breach of the spirit of British institutions." He maintained that the country was crying for the election which an "autocrat" denied.

Mr. King said it had always been part of the British form of constitutional government that no government should remain in office when it had lost the confidence of the people. "When it was said no House of Commons shall continue for more than five years it was not meant that a government that had lost the confidence of the people should continue for that time," said Mr. King.

Mr. King said that Premier Bennet had come into office promising to end unemployment and to find markets for the farmers. After three years the people of Canada had "spoken in the only possible way they could", and in the by-elections in Ontario, with one exception, Liberal candidates had been returned. The one exception was a case where a minority candidate was elected due to a third party candidate, he said.

Warns Against Third Party

"Let me warn you against this third party business," said Mr. King. "The business of third parties in this election is to make possible the return of a government that ought not to be returned.

"It is an effort to undermine the strength of a great political party that needs, for effective action, as large a majority as possible. Had we been in Great Britain and by-election after by-election had gone against the government, the prime minister would have said: 'The people are not in favor of my present policies. The people want to express their opinions anew.'

"That is the British principle and when you ignore that principle then we are on the highway to dictatorship and you see some of the things that exist under dictatorship in Europe to-day.

"Have Five Years to Judge"

"Five years ago Wednesday last I handed over the reins of government to Mr. Bennett. Well, the people of Canada have had an opportunity to judge.

"Talk of dictatorship, what have we got in Canada to-day? We have a government carrying on and making appointments, yet more than five years have gone by.

"We are told in the press that we may expect some announcement to-morrow and that the election may not be held until October. That runs over five years. That runs well into six years," said Mr. King.

"Is that playing the game?" asked the speaker. "I say it is robbing the people of their right to self-government, and in no uncertain way. If you send any member of such a government back into power, you have only yourselves to blame.

"You will get your chance to express yourselves, sometime after the end of this week because of a clause in the constitution. Immediately after that we will have to have a pronouncement."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D21267 Office of the Leader of the Opposition

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

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Public Desire Clear

Mr. King said the country had spoken its mind in by-elections and in provincial elections. It was clearly indicated, he said, that a Liberal government in Ottawa was what was popularly desired.

"I protest against this government carrying on in this way after parliament has ceased to sit because the aim of it is to build up a strong Tory bureaucracy in this country," said Mr. King, who protested against Premier Bennett appointing deputy ministers at this stage. The result would be that an incoming Liberal government would be faced by the "strongest Tory bureaucracy in the history of this Dominion."

"Mr. Bennett has been holding a club over the heads of his own members to silence them," continued Mr. King, "because if they had not remained silent their chances to preferment would have vanished.

Constituencies Without Members

"Do you believe in taxation without representation? Mr. Bennett evidently does because there were constituencies which were without representation. Why? Because Mr. Bennett was afraid of by-elections?

"Parliament has two branches, the House of Commons and the Senate. When this parliament was over Mr. Bennett had 17 Senate vacancies on his hands. If the Senate is a legislative body, it has a right to be filled," Mr. King charged that Mr. Bennett delayed Senate appointments so as to avoid possible criticism of his choice in the House of Commons, and to keep a supply of Senate favors until the last minute to keep his followers in silent obedience to him.

"Methods of a Dictator"

"Those are the methods of a dictator, those are not the methods of a constitutional government as we have come to know it," he declared.

Commenting on the appointment of Hon. Hugh Guthrie to the chairmanship of the railway commission, Mr. King declare: "Either that body requires a chairman or it does not. If it does, the vacancy should have been filled a year and a half ago after Mr. Fullerton was appointed to the board of the C.N.R. But the position remained vacant until the last minute of his administration.

"These policies have prolonged the depression," charged Mr. King, pointing to the unrest and business uncertainty resulting "from Mr. Bennett's dictatorial methods."

"You know as well as I that no business man will embark upon a new venture until there is an election. For two years now our businessmen have been waiting to see what would happen. If you have hundreds of thousands of unemployed, it is because of Mr. Bennett's attitude in this respect. He is more to blame for the present unemployment situation than any other single cause."

"But that is not all. Let me point out something more serious still. By delaying the election until October or the end of September it means that the government that goes into office, and I believe it will be a Liberal government, is handicapped from the very start in carrying out its policies.

"If a Liberal government went in we would seek to make reciprocal arrangements with other countries. What can we do in the months of October, November and December to do that? If we had gone into office in April or May we would have had an opportunity to put our policies into effect so that we would have been able to feel the effect this coming winter.

"Losing Trade Opportunities"

"While we are being kept this way, out of office, other countries are going into other parts of the world and taking opportunities to trade which should be ours but which we will lose forever.

"Why has Canada not had a reciprocal agreement with the United States? Argentine has been able to make an agreement for her cattle. If we were able to get in now we would find that other countries have had two years start.

"Mr. Bennett went over to London. He put forward impossible claims there. The whole thing became a farce and we lost a chance to get a place in the British market. Other countries went ahead and gained that place—a place that Canada should have had."

Mr. King accused Mr. Bennett and his cabinet of "wresting power from parliament and carrying on with as little control as possible from parliament."

"I see a lot of young people here to-day," continued Mr. King. "They are the ones who will feel the effect more and more of sound or unsound policies. I hope these young friends will look into these questions themselves and decide what will best improve conditions," said Mr. King, warning against "panaceas" offered by some politicians.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Name of Publication.....

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Subject.....

Trade Revival Basic

He argued that trade revival was fundamental to economic recovery. "The only way for people to improve their position under our economic system is by exchanging the commodities that each one has to offer. That is true whether it is between two people or two million people, or between two provinces or two countries.

"Is the home market a place, or is it not?" asked Mr. King bluntly. "It is not a place or an area but a centre where exchanges are made." He expounded the thought of trade between farmer and townsmen, community and community, and to that of trade between one province and another. All this, he said, brought a demand for employment.

"A country can't trade all one way," he warned. "You have got to have the possibility of exchange. But the minute trade is hampered, employment begins to fall off. Trade restrictions are most injurious to the growth of a country. Less trade means less shipping by water and rail and has a like effect upon allied industries.

"It is all nonsense to say these markets are closed because of the action of other countries. We have, since the last session of parliament, lost our trade with Japan. We have brought about a war in trade and we have lost our trade for lumber.

"Lost Chance in 1930"

"What is our position in regard to British trade? Prior to 1930 we were trying to reduce tariffs. I will say nothing about the result of the election. Mr. Bennett immediately put up a tariff against Britain and Mr. Bennett went there and told them they must put up their tariffs, too. He told them that if they wanted preference they must put up the tariffs to other countries instead of the preference we sought to give. The conference came to nothing. The first chance was lost in 1930.

"The representatives of the British government came over to see what they could achieve in the way of better trade relations with Canada. They had at the head of their delegation no less a man than Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, now prime minister of Great Britain. They had discussed the situation among themselves. They brought forward what they thought was best for the empire as a whole.

"Mr. Baldwin, speaking on July 21, 1932, in the House of Commons, said: 'What, then, should be the aim of this conference? It should be to clear our channels of trade among ourselves.' And I say to you that our aim here in Canada should be to clear out the channels of trade among ourselves," said Mr. King, amid applause.

Quotes Baldwin Plan

The speaker went on to quote Mr. Baldwin as saying:

"We hope that as a result of this conference we may be able, not only to maintain existing preferences, but in addition to find ways of increasing them. There are two ways in which increased preference can be given—either by lowering barriers among ourselves or by raising them against others. The choice between these two must be governed largely by local considerations, but subject to that, it seems to us that we should endeavor to follow the first rather than the second course. For, however great our resources, we cannot isolate ourselves from the world.

"No nation or group of nations, however wealthy and populous, can maintain prosperity in a world where depression and impoverishment reign. Let us therefore aim at the lowering rather than the raising of barriers, even if we cannot fully achieve our purpose now, and let us remember that any action we take here is bound to have its reactions elsewhere.

"His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom therefore place before the conference as its general objective the expansion of empire trade, brought about as far as possible by lowering of trade barriers as between the several members of the empire."

"If that all-wise suggestion had been met by Canada, do you think we would have this depression to-day?" asked Mr. King. "Mr. Baldwin was thinking, not only of British empire trade, but of world trade."

Mackenzie King stated that if Mr. Baldwin's policy had been followed "there would be a very different world to-day."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

D21269
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Would Re-Open Offer

"Should I be elected prime minister, in view of the conference next year, I should go to Mr. Baldwin and present him with this statement," said Mr. King. "I should sit down with him and say that there now existed a different spirit in Canada than that revealed at the conference. I should ask him to revise his policy to meet modern conditions.

"What answer would Mr. Baldwin make to a statement of that kind? I have no doubt in my mind what Mr. Baldwin would do. I have sat in two conferences when Mr. Baldwin was prime minister and as a result we have come to know each other a good deal better.

"What did Mr. Baldwin say standing in front of the city hall in Toronto when he came here with the Prince of Wales? He said: 'I defy anyone to find two statesmen who pull together better for the good of the empire than Mr. Mackenzie King and myself.' I have no reason to think conditions have changed.

"I think we ought to have had reciprocal trade with Britain two years ago. Mr. Bennett may have something of that kind in mind. Mr. Bennett may have some card up his sleeve which he may play at the last moment—some agreement—but the people will say: 'Why have we not had this before now?'

"If a Liberal government is returned to office we will seek trade in all the markets of the world.

"Take Party All in All'

"When a man proposes to a woman I am told she has to understand that she takes him all in all or not at all," said Mr. King, amid laughter. "It is the same with a political party.

"If it is Mr. Woodsworth, you must embrace him and Miss Macphail, and a lot of others besides (laughter).

"If you take Mr. Stevens you must take him all in all, not merely as he is now, but as he has been for the last 20 years.

"Who was it that stood by Mr. Bennett for many years in his policy of high tariffs that were killing our trade?" demanded Mr. King. "He was no other than Mr. Stevens.

Stevens "Changed Too Late"

"Mr. Stevens has held in Mr. Bennett's cabinet for five years the ministry of trade and commerce. He was responsible for that portfolio.

"If he believed in lower tariffs, as he says he does now, he should have resigned the day he went in for he knew the government's policy of trade isolation by means of high tariffs.

"I am presenting this case broadly and you must trust us all together in regard to the Banking Act, the Marketing Act and all the rest of it," declared Mr. King.

"I want to present to you the position I have taken all along," he said. "I do not go around bribing province after province with promises which cannot be fulfilled. Have confidence in us, look at our record in office, remember Sir Wilfrid Laurier, raising the country from depression. Then study my eight and one-half years as premier.

"I do not hesitate to say that, once more we will see a country rise out of depression and go forward to a prosperity the like of which has never before been experienced in Canada."

Lusty cheers greeted Mr. King as he concluded his address.

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